

**‘Lost Voices’: The targeted hostility experienced by
new arrivals**

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Abstract

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This thesis explores the 'everyday' lived realities of new immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees who experience a wide range of targeted victimisation, and highlights the emotional and behavioural impacts of those experiences on victims and the wider immigrant population. The study employs the concept of 'super-diversity' and develops an original empirical approach to exploring the racism, discrimination and targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals through this lens. This thesis provides a platform for the 'hidden' voices of particularly new arrivals from socially, culturally, economically and ethnically broad backgrounds to be heard and acknowledged in all their complexity. In particular, the research focuses on the 'everyday' incidents of microaggressions and infrequently discussed 'micro-crimes' that range from being insulted and ignored to harassment and threats of violence. By moving away from dominant, decades old perceptions of 'race' and 'ethnicity' and official definitions of hate crime, this research develops scope to ensure that the everyday experiences of people targeted because of their perceived nationality, legal status or 'foreign' identity are also captured. The study adopts a qualitative, flexible and reflexive approach that draws from interviews with new arrivals, participant observation and the supplementary use of 'imaginative' and non-conventional methods of data collection. The findings of this study highlight the pervasive nature of both direct and indirect targeted victimisation of new arrivals perpetrated by both White British residents and by members of the same or different ethnic minority community. The findings also reveal the importance of perceived 'safe' and 'unsafe' space, feelings of belonging and freedom of identity in shaping new arrivals' sense of happiness in their host society. The findings also demonstrate how structural racism, discrimination and exclusion all serve to limit and restrict the opportunities and social mobility of new arrivals which ultimately has significant implications for their chances of wider, meaningful integration.

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Chapter One: Introduction

‘Thinking about power, racism is about so much more than personal prejudice, it is about being in the position to negatively affect other people’s life chances’

Reni Eddo-Lodge (2017).

‘As immigrants settle in new places, they are faced with endless uncertainties that prevent them from feeling that they belong. From language barriers, to differing social norms, to legal boundaries separating them from established residents, they are constantly navigating shifting and contradictory expectations both to assimilate to their new culture and to honour their native one’

Ernesto Castañeda (2018).

The Western world is not a hospitable or welcoming place for new immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Despite the strong resistance that exists to what appears to be a worldwide erosion of tolerance and human rights, those in power increasingly embody a brand of right-wing populist politics that intensifies collective nativism and creates an enemy out of those who are ‘outside’ trying to get ‘in’. As the process of marginalising, criminalising and dehumanising ‘undesirable’ foreign-born populations increases, so too does native and established citizens’ feelings of hostility, threat, and legitimacy in targeting those perceived of as ‘other’.

This work draws directly on the experiences of new arrivals – immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees – who have settled in the city of Leicester, UK, using data gathered from interviews, participant observation and more ‘imaginative’ and non-conventional methods. The findings are analysed through the lens of ‘super-diversity’ in a more concerted effort to acknowledge the highly nuanced diversity that exists in areas that have experienced a long history of immigration, and how this shapes the everyday lives of new arrivals moving into these areas. The result is a study that contributes new knowledge regarding the experiences of ‘hidden’ migrant populations living in super-diversity, the impacts these experiences have both directly on the victims and indirectly on the wider community, and the wider implications of experiencing racism, discrimination and targeted hostility on social cohesion and long-term integration.

This chapter begins with an attempt to position myself as the researcher in relation to the current study and conveys why this research has importance to me personally. It then considers the complex issue of defining who the terms 'immigrant', 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' most commonly refer to under UK frameworks. The chapter then briefly situates the research in the wider context of multicultural Britain and the changing demographics of the UK and how this is reflected negatively in public opinion data. Discussed next, are the legislative frameworks and protections available for victims who experience racist victimisation as a result of the hostility and prejudice continually directed towards them. The chapter also explains the definition of hate crime and targeted hostility adopted throughout the study. Finally, the chapter offers an overview of the whole thesis.

1.1 Positionality: Why am I doing this research?

Perhaps rather unconventionally I am taking the time at the beginning of the thesis to explain why I chose to conduct this research and why it has become so important to me. Growing up in rural North Norfolk, it is sad to say that as a child and adolescent I had almost no interaction with people of colour or really anyone who was not also White British and predominantly Christian. Everyone around me looked the same, thought the same, and shared much of the same experiences. Everyday beliefs and values were so normalised that it is only in hindsight that I recognise how potentially problematic an environment like that can be, especially when there is no one around to challenge underlying bias or prejudice. East Anglia, especially coastal villages like the one I am from, is so geographically and socially isolated that any aspect of 'difference' is often 'othered' and considered suspicious. I would like to make the point that as diversity has slowly increased, especially in the city of Norwich, so too has diversity in opinion and younger generations appear to be more aware of the world beyond the county border. However, when I initially told my friends and family in Norfolk that I was going to university in Leicester as an undergraduate, this was often met with confusion and disapproval. These attitudes had nothing to do with the calibre of the university, or that I had chosen to study Criminology, it was the diverse ethnic and religious make-up of the city that bothered them. It scared them. 'Why would you want to go there?' they sneered, 'you'll be the only White person there!'

Since moving to Leicester at the age of 19, I have tried to absorb as much as possible about the city's diversity and have sought to learn about the experiences of others who were not like me. I have also learnt a lot about my own identity and my position of privilege in the last nine years,

and in doing this research I fully acknowledge that I am always several steps removed from the harmful experiences caused by racism, and racial and xenophobic prejudice that is entrenched within almost every aspect of our society. However, as the research has unfolded it has afforded me moments of understanding in which I witnessed first-hand the very real fear and oppression that the participants experience as part of their everyday. The emotional labour involved in managing the multi-layered hostility they encounter from a society that is deliberately structured to make them feel unwelcome is considerable and invisible to outsiders. Having the opportunity to listen and learn about these experiences has given me such appreciation for the strength, courage and resilience of new arrivals, and because of them I am committed to the process of continuous education in the practice of 'allyship'.

1.2 Defining immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees

Conducting research that involves immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers presents many challenges that the researcher will have to assess and respond to as part of a continuous process, and my personal process is detailed throughout this thesis. One of the first issues to be addressed here is how one defines the terms 'immigrant', 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. These terms are so frequently used in official and media discourses that they have become embedded in our everyday language, yet most are unclear about *who* we actually mean when we describe groups in this way (Anderson and Blinder, 2019). Oftentimes, these terms are used interchangeably with little consensus about who they include and, when used so loosely, they tend to 'conflate issues of immigration status, race, ethnicity and asylum' (Anderson and Blinder, 2019, p. 2). Since the terms 'migrant' and 'immigrant' have no legal definition, their use tends to conflate the motivations behind the movement of people and this has become a considerable political issue in recent years. Crawley and Skleparis (2018) note that during 2015 when thousands of people primarily fleeing ongoing conflict in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, governments, political leaders and the media constructed a narrative of these people as 'migrants' as opposed to refugees. By claiming, as several EU political leaders did, that the 'overwhelming majority' of those attempting to cross the Mediterranean were in fact 'economic migrants' trying to take advantage of the situation, vulnerable and desperate people were delegitimised and denied proper protection (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018, p. 49). It is argued that by framing refugees in this way, many countries in the West denied their responsibility to offer protection to people seeking asylum in an attempt to reduce the numbers of 'undesirable others' coming into their countries (Kingsley, 2016). How we choose to define these various groups matters considerably as it has direct consequences for the way they are perceived and

treated. Although there is limited agreement, socially and legally, on these definitions I will attempt to be as clear as possible in my adopted position here.

The term '**immigrant**' is used to describe those who voluntarily moved to the UK from another country (Zhou, 2019). Predominantly, the immigrants who participated in the current research chose to move to the UK to improve their economic opportunities, but this term also reflects other factors contributing to voluntary migration. These reasons include but are not limited to: getting married and moving to be with a partner, retirement, political change and personal preference such as wanting to move to a more liberal, 'tolerant' and/or multicultural society. Not all immigrants are subject to UK immigration controls as EU citizens are currently still able to travel to the UK unregulated by the 'Free Movement' principle enshrined in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2019).

The term '**asylum seeker**' is taken from the Refugee Council (2019, n.p) to mean 'a person who has left their country of origin and formally applied for asylum in another country but whose application has not yet been concluded'. Under UK law the majority of asylum seekers are not granted the right to work and do not have access to welfare other than the cash allowance of £37.75 per week (UNHCR, 2019a). The Asylum Procedures Directive, to which the UK Home Office has said it is committed, sets a six month target for processing asylum claims but Walsh (2019, p. 9) found that 'the time taken for asylum seekers to receive an initial decision on their applications has increased substantially in recent years', and in 2018 just 25 per cent of applicants were receiving a decision within six months.

Under the UK legal framework, a person becomes a '**refugee**' 'when government agrees that an individual who has applied for asylum meets the definition in the Refugee Convention. They will 'recognise' that person as a refugee and issue them with refugee status documentation' (Refugee Council, 2019, n.p). The 1951 Convention defines a refugee as:

'Someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group'

(UNHCR, 2019b, n.p)

In the UK, and many other countries who follow a similar procedure, refugee status is not a 'right' it must be bestowed upon a person by the host government if they satisfy certain administrative checks. Ordinarily, successful applicants are granted 'leave to remain' for a period of five years, after which they can apply for 'settled status'. However, a reduced period of leave may be granted which means that individuals may have to re-apply for 'leave to remain' much more frequently (Home Office, 2019c). By May 2019, 55 per cent of applicants who submitted their claims between 2012 and 2016 were granted some form of leave by the government, and this included those who were successful at initial decision and at appeal (Walsh, 2019). However, the number of applicants being granted leave to remain at initial decision fell from 44 per cent in 2014 to 32 per cent in 2016. Critics argue that as part of the 'hostile environment' created by the government to effectively deter new arrivals from wanting to enter or stay in the UK, asylum procedures impose 'impossibly high' standards of proof on applicants (Bulman, 2018a, n.p).

The term '**irregular migrant**' is seldomly used in this thesis, primarily because as far as I am aware all the participants involved in the current research could be described accurately as fitting into one of the above categories. However, there are many ways in which a person could become an 'irregular' migrant and move to gaining a residential status that UK law would define as 'illegal'. In public debates, 'illegal' immigrants are often perceived to be those who enter the country 'illegally' by covertly evading immigration controls and living as 'undocumented'. However, illegal immigration status can also arise from providing false documents upon entry, being deceptive about the purpose of stay, overstaying on an expired but originally legal visa, or working more than 20 hours per week on a student visa, for example (Vollmer, 2011). Furthermore, a refused asylum seeker who goes 'underground' to avoid deportation is also then likely to be labelled 'illegal' (Refugee Council, 2019). Due to the very 'hidden' nature of irregular migration, the data on those living in the UK 'illegally' has always been ambiguous at best and resulting from a wild guess at worst. Some of the most reliable data estimates that between 800,000 and 1.2 million 'unauthorised' migrants are currently residing in the UK (Connor and Passel, 2019). This incomplete picture has led to much conflation of the issue and those in power have used this uncertainty as a means of increasing public fears and perception of threat in relation to immigration more widely (Shabi, 2019).

There are obviously clear legal distinctions between immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees but definitions that attempt to clarify who these terms apply to remain largely variable and fluid, and are contextualised within a nation's wider political, social and legal issues. However, what does unite these groups is the prejudice and hostility directed towards them as new arrivals.

‘New arrivals’ is a term that I use repeatedly throughout the thesis and is somewhat of an umbrella term for new immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. For the purposes of this research, I have defined ‘new’ as someone who has been in the country for roughly five years or less, but I remained flexible in this definition throughout the fieldwork – this decision is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. It is important to note that using the term ‘new arrival’ is not an attempt to homogenise these groups as I often differentiate when discussing specific issues and experiences, but it is a way of recognising that much of the hostility they face, and the incidents of hate crime they have suffered, is because of their perceived collective ‘difference’ as ‘foreigners’ and the ‘threat’ they are perceived to pose as ‘others’.

1.3 Wider context of the research

The British Nationality Act 1948 is widely associated with the beginnings of contemporary multicultural Britain since its enactment granted full British citizenship to all subjects living in Commonwealth countries and allowed them to live and work freely (Hanson, 1999). In an attempt to re-build a labour force left in ruin after the Second World War, ensure uniformity and maintain power in the somewhat fragile ex-Empire, the British government manufactured the outward appearance of an open and non-discriminatory ‘motherland’ (Spencer, 1997). According to historians, the reality of the landmark 1948 Act was that it generated momentous immigration, provoked significant racial tensions and produced many conflicting messages regarding Britain’s approach to immigration for decades to come (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987; Hanson, 1999). It is argued that ever since the inception of this ‘open-door’ policy, government officials and political elites have employed both formal and informal procedures to curb and shape immigration to increasingly exclude ‘undesirable’ groups predominantly along racial and religious lines (Spencer, 1997). Today’s anti-foreigner climate has seen institutional practices designed to control and criminalise all types of migrants with the deliberate aim of creating ‘a really hostile environment’ for new arrivals, especially those who arrive through ‘irregular’ means (Bowling and Westenra, 2018a). The increased presence of new arrivals from predominantly non-White, non-Christian countries has made asylum and immigration a more ‘visible’ phenomenon. This paired with decades of entrenched racist and xenophobic prejudice and threat perceptions of ‘othered’ migrant groups, places new immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers at the peripherals of society, vulnerable to suffering from incidents of hate crime and targeted hostility.

The number of foreign-born people currently residing in the UK has almost doubled since 2004 to 9.5 million and now constitute 14 per cent of the UK's population. Although the number of EU nationals has been steadily increasing year-on-year, it is non-EU citizens that make up the majority of foreign-born migrants in the UK (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2019). The most common countries of origin of non-EU nationals in the UK are South Asian countries: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, however, the largest proportion of non-UK nationals are from Poland (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2019). Some communities from these countries are now considerably 'established' in the UK as the majority of foreign-born residents arrived before the 1990s (Berkeley, Khan and Ambikaipaker, 2005). However, more recent arrivals have originated from a much broader range of countries and growing numbers of immigrants are from countries including: Romania, Lithuania, Nigeria, Kenya, Somalia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Turkey, the Philippines and Thailand (ONS, 2019). Comparatively, just 0.6 per cent of the country's population (around 360,000) is made up of people who originally came to the UK seeking asylum, and in 2018 asylum applicants were most commonly from Iran, Iraq, Eritrea, Pakistan and Albania (Walsh, 2019).

Public opinion research demonstrates that opposition to all types of immigration in the UK remains high with a clear majority favouring reduced numbers of new arrivals (Blinder and Richards, 2018). Despite the clear opposition to immigration overall, also evident is the public's tendency to describe a 'hierarchy' of new arrivals in which they state a preference for certain 'types' of immigrants over others. Blinder and Richards (2018, p. 6) argue that 'the 'type' of immigrant can be considered in terms of country of origin – which implicitly provides information on religion, language, culture and other indicators of 'social distance' – but also in terms of the migrants' skill levels'. Their research demonstrates that the British respondents had a clear preference for immigrants from White, English-speaking and Christian countries but this was negated somewhat by a preference for highly skilled workers, regardless of their ethnicity or nationality. This is supported by public opinion research by YouGov who also found overwhelming support for the 'hostile environment' policy enacted by the Conservative government amongst the British people. Wells (2018, n.p) argues that the public opinion of immigration and asylum points to a very conflicted yet overall anti-foreigner population:

'As is so often the case, the figures suggest the public would like to have its cake and to eat it. Britons want a tough policy that requires people to show their right to be in the country...but not one that persecutes those people with a right to be here but who have no paperwork. To cut the overall amount of immigration... but not the

sort of immigration that brings valuable skills, university students, and NHS workers to Britain.'

Importantly for this research, it must be acknowledged that anti-immigrant and anti-refugee attitudes are not only held and demonstrated at a personal, individual level. New arrivals are systematically disadvantaged, excluded and demonised within macro-level society and this is evident in many ways including official policy. In the UK, the upcoming election is placing a spotlight yet again on the issues of asylum and immigration which remain highly divisive. The Labour party's proposal of a 'liberal' immigration policy would still restrict the freedom of movement of EU nationals if the country was to reach a Brexit agreement (Mason, 2019). However, perhaps unsurprisingly, Labour's policy is not nearly as hostile towards new arrivals as the Conservative Party who have pledged that immigrants must have secured employment if they wish to stay in the country and would not be able to access any form of benefit until after five years of working. Furthermore, new arrivals would be prohibited from sending child support abroad and forced to pay an increased annual cost of £625 to access NHS services (Mason, 2019). Alone, these changes may not appear as unreasonable to many but as this thesis demonstrates, both in the following analysis of existing literature and in based on the empirical findings, the increasingly restricting and punitive legal and social practices in place that limit and control new arrivals serve to reproduce racist and xenophobic discrimination at a structural level.

In their recent report on the impact of Brexit on refugee protection and asylum policy, The House of Lords (2019) expressed concern regarding the UK government's plans to withdraw from the EU's Dublin system which sets out the minimum requirements for standards on reception conditions, fair asylum procedures, and the criteria for granting protection. They argue that without this agreement in place, it is likely that the UK will fall behind in meeting the proper and humane standards expected in other similar countries. In particular, the report criticises the UK government for failing to process family reunion applications effectively or fairly meaning that children may be left unaccompanied for prolonged periods of time. The House of Lords (2019) also argued that the reduction in legal aid would leave applicants without representation when evidence suggests that one third of asylum seekers are only granted leave to remain upon appeal. Comments are also made regarding the language used by the government to repeatedly describe asylum seekers as 'migrants' which they argue feeds into a 'harmful and largely questionable dichotomy between the 'deserving refugee' and 'underserving migrant' (p. 55).

1.4 New arrivals as victims of hate crime and targeted hostility

This thesis draws significant attention to the way in which official and media discourse has fed into wide-spread, normalised anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment amongst the general public. Racist and xenophobic attitudes intensified and manifested in the lead up to, during, and most prominently, after the 2016 UK Referendum vote to leave the European Union. It is now widely accepted that 'Brexit' was a catalyst event that provoked and encouraged a considerable spike in hate crime offending through legitimising a brand of 'common-sense' racism and nativism (Allen, 2019, BBC, 2019; UNHCR, 2019c). Although a great deal of attention has been given to the targeting of *some* immigrant populations post-Brexit, the victimisation of new arrivals is very much tied into the wider targeting of 'othered' groups based on their race, ethnicity, nationality and 'foreign' identity.

The concept of 'hate crime' is used to describe forms of identity-motivated persecution and was originally developed in the US following the various civil rights movements emerging predominantly throughout the 1950s up until the 1980s. Movements that highlighted the inequality faced by women, African-Americans and LGB people meant that legislators in the US were becoming increasingly aware of the need to take a legislative response to tackle the prevalence of prejudice-related crimes occurring (Mason-Bish, 2014). In the UK, the development of hate crime as a legal and criminal justice concept came several decades later, primarily following the Macpherson Report in 1999 which highlighted the nature and extent of racially motivated and other prejudice-based victimisation. The College of Policing (2014, p. 4) state that a hate crime constitutes:

'any crime or incident where the perpetrator's hostility or prejudice against an identifiable group of people is a factor in determining who is victimised'.

Under the guidelines implemented by The College of Policing (2014) there are a minimum of five nationally monitored strands of hate crime which include targeting a victim on the basis of their race, religion, sexuality, disability or transgender status. The hate crime legislation that exists in the UK is generally well-developed and well-intentioned, it also serves as a clear attempt to offer protection to marginalised and vulnerable victims and manage the culpability and punishment of offenders (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015). The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 outlines the provisions for prosecuting stand-alone racially and religiously aggravated offences, and currently, these offences are limited to four types of victimising behaviours: minor public order,

harassment offences, criminal damage and assaults (Home Office, 2016). Under Section 28 of the Act offences are classed as racially aggravated if:

at the time of committing the offence, or immediately before or after doing so, the offender demonstrates towards the victim of the offence hostility based on the victim's membership (or presumed membership) of a racial group; or the offence is motivated (wholly or partly) by hostility towards members of a racial group based on their membership of that group.

The creation of a specific offence motivated by prejudice is not currently afforded to other protected characteristics such as sexual orientation, disability and transgender identity and this has remained an issue of contention for many academics and practitioners over the years (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Law Commission, 2019). Furthermore, the procedural issues which arise in processing cases of aggravated offences, such as clearly differentiating between the substantive offence, the aggravated element of the offence, and the potential sentence 'uplift' requirement, has resulted in consistently low prosecution and conviction rates and proved incredibly complicated for criminal justice professionals to manage (Owusu-Bempah, 2015). Under the Public Order Act 1986 it is also possible to prosecute those who 'stir up' and incite hatred towards members of certain identity groups. Again, this legislation is not applied equally to all strands which is problematic, but in relation to racial hatred incitement applies to using, publishing or distributing written, audio or visual material which is 'threatening, abusive or insulting', and presenting this material in public on any accessible platform. However, one of the biggest challenges to bringing successful prosecutions under incitement laws has been proving intent on behalf of the defendant (Goodall, 2007). Additionally, courts will often accept a 'freedom of expression' defence which is argued to undermine the purpose of enacting laws protecting marginalised and stigmatised groups from incitement altogether (ODIHR, 2010).

The enhanced sentencing provisions are enacted in the Criminal Justice Act 2003 and gives the courts power to hand down a harsher sentence to offenders who are proved to have been motivated by hostility towards a person's actual or perceived identity (Home Office, 2016). Unlike aggravated offences, this legislation does extend to all five protected characteristics however, the sentence 'uplift' has also been tentatively used by courts since its inception. Some argue that offenders are more likely to plead guilty to substantive offences in order to avoid the additional sanctions of enhanced sentencing or being labelled 'racist' (Burney, 2002; Chakraborti and Garland, 2015). Yet even when aggravated offences or offences motivated by hostility are

tried, Judges are often reluctant to impose enhanced sentences because ‘the consequences of a misunderstanding or misapplication of the offences are significant, and include, not only poor outcomes for victims, but also the imposition of improper and unjustified convictions and sentences’ (Owusu-Bempah, 2015).

The group-based approach to hate crime legislation as well as the terminology used in connection to this phenomenon remains highly contested (Garland and Chakraborti, 2012; Chakraborti, 2014; Mason-Bish, 2014). Chakraborti and Garland (2012) argue that the concepts of perceived ‘vulnerability’, ‘difference’ and ‘risk’ should be central to debates on who should be considered a victim of hate crime. They argue that academics and practitioners need to overcome the exclusive group-based nature of current legislation, in order to create a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to protecting a wider range of people who experience various forms of identity-based abuse. The propensity to recognise that victims may be targeted based on multiple aspects of their identity, and for reasons that extend way beyond the original five strands is something that is only slowly being built into hate crime legislation and official policy. Encouragingly, academic research is making more progress in recognising the role of intersectionality and a broader range of experiences of hostility suffered by non-conventional victims (Meyer, 2010; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014; Campbell, 2018; Mason-Bish and Zempi, 2018).

In an attempt to avoid some of the issues that result from utilising very prescriptive and somewhat exclusive definitions of hate crime, for the purposes of this research, I adopt the definition offered by Chakraborti et al (2014, p. 8):

‘A hate crime refers to acts of violence, hostility and intimidation directed towards people because of their identity or perceived ‘difference’.

By engaging with a deliberately broad interpretation of targeted victimisation they were better equipped to capture the ‘hidden’ experiences of particularly marginalised and under-acknowledged groups. In the context of the current research, perpetrators of hate crime are unlikely to know the exact legal status or migration status of those they are victimising, but it is how this aspect of their identity intersects with others - such as ethnicity, religion, gender and socio-economic status - within a given situational context that makes them vulnerable to being targeted. Chakraborti et al (2014) also use the term ‘targeted hostility’ so as to highlight a wider range of victimising behaviours from harassment and bullying through to violent and sexual

assaults and this is a concept that I also adopt and use throughout this thesis. By moving away from predominant, decades old assumptions about 'race' and 'ethnicity' and official definitions of hate crime, this research also develops scope to ensure that the everyday experiences of people targeted because of their perceived nationality, legal status or 'foreign' identity are also captured.

1.5 Thesis outline

The two broad research aims sit at the heart of this project to develop a more comprehensive, nuanced and intersectional model of targeted hostility and its consequences for the longer-term integration of 'new' communities.

1. To explore both the direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility encountered by 'new' migrants, asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester.
2. To identify the emotional and behavioural impacts of experiencing targeted hostility as a new arrival and as a wider migrant community.

Each chapter is preceded with quotes from a variety of authors, activists, academics, journalists, politicians and from participants of the current research. These quotes have been selected because of their poignancy and relevance to the chapter that follows. The quotes also help to contextualise the chapter's content and, at times, demonstrate the juxtaposition that exists, especially in the UK, between the establishment's outward denial of racism and the stories of new arrivals who experience everyday racism, discrimination and exclusion.

This thesis begins with two chapters which set the context for this research. **Chapter Two** considers that a 'new' populism has emerged across the Western world that has arisen as the result of decades of normalising ethno-centric, xenophobic and racist discourse and attitudes (Shuster, 2016; Khosravini, 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Lewis, 2019; Walker, 2019). Would-be autocratic leaders in Europe and the United States have successfully utilised 21st Century technology to manipulate an anti-foreigner narrative that speaks to 'the people' and spread their message much further and faster than any right-wing movement before it. This chapter also explores the impact of this ethno-nationalist shift on new arrivals who are perceived as either 'good' or 'bad' immigrants. Theoretical explanations of 'othering' and the role of media and official discourse are also discussed in relation to the growing hostility towards new arrivals and

argues this places them in increasingly dangerous and ‘vulnerable’ positions. **Chapter Three** focuses more specifically on the manifestation of prejudice towards new arrivals as victims of targeted hostility and racist hate crime. The nature and extent of targeted hostility as a whole is also discussed and in particular, the chapter considers the pervasive but under-acknowledged incidents of ‘everyday’ microaggressions and micro-crimes (Sue, 2010; Colliver, 2019). In addition to the personal, individual experiences suffered by these groups, the discrimination and unfair criminalisation they experience at a structural level is also explored. What the literature can demonstrate regarding the wider implications on social mobility, cohesion and integration are last to be discussed here.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach taken within this research and details the methods used for data collection. It also provides details on the diverse sample of participants involved in the research, and why the research site of Leicester was considered most appropriate for the study. An account is given of the researchers qualitative, flexible and reflexive approach to researching ‘new’ migrants and refugees and why this labour-intensive engagement was necessary to generate authentic and robust data that goes far beyond what would have been gathered from more conventional and restrictive methods. A justification for engaging in more ‘imaginative’ methods to supplement the more discursive data is also discussed.

Then, the thesis moves on to two analytical chapters that discuss the results of the data alongside a discussion of the findings. **Chapter Five** highlights the nature and extent of targeted hostility experienced directly by participants with a focus on the more ‘everyday’ experiences of the new arrivals. In particular, the chapter contributes to a new and growing area of knowledge drawing attention to the harms of *indirect* hate crime victimisation (Bell and Perry, 2015; Paterson, Brown and Walters, 2019). This is especially pertinent to close-knit communities who claim a shared sense of experience even when they do not know the victim personally, yet their emotional and behavioural responses are equally evident. The chapter also explores the significantly under-researched area of minority-on-minority hostility, when perpetrators of targeted hostility are also members of stigmatised and marginalised ethnic minority migrant populations. New arrivals’ perceptions of threat and feelings of suspicion towards the same or another immigrant population are discussed and two main rationales are offered to explain this dynamic: over time immigrants begin to perceive themselves as ‘established’ and so feel somewhat ‘empowered’ to victimise new groups as they perceive majority groups to do, and that in targeting particularly new groups they displace the negative attention they previously received onto more recent arrivals. The chapter concludes by discussing various normalising and

minimising strategies that participants develop which account for the non-reporting of the majority of incidents that participants experience.

Chapter Six explores the relevance of 'super-diversity' in the current research. In taking a highly intersected approach to analysing the experiences of new arrivals the chapter is able to offer a unique account of participants' experiences of living in Leicester and how their everyday lives reflect the realities of 'everyday conviviality'. The findings of this chapter also demonstrate the impacts of targeted hostility in relation to how it, intersected with participants' socio-economic status, education, language proficiency and legal status, shapes their engagement with space, place and 'community'. The chapter highlights how the findings clearly demonstrate the role that experiencing direct and/or indirect targeted hostility, discrimination, and fear of exclusion plays in restricting the choices new arrivals make in their everyday lives. The chapter concludes by arguing that ultimately, if discrimination and social exclusion is prolonged, this can have a significant impact on new arrivals feelings of belonging, their opportunities to achieve social mobility and their ability to integrate into wider society.

The final chapter, **Chapter Seven**, not only offers a summary of the key findings but also considers the wider implications of the research. The study's contributions to theory and its place in developing the concept of 'super-diversity' in hate crime and integration research are outlined. Then, the chapter highlights how the methodological approach taken in the current research may be used to inform future practice when trying to access 'hard-to-reach' populations. Finally, the chapter makes a number of evidence-based recommendations for policy primarily in relation to integration and social cohesion. A new model is presented for encouraging integration that first meaningfully tackles racism, discrimination and targeted hostility, and acknowledges it as the most significant barrier to full and long-lasting integration for new arrivals.

Chapter Two: Understanding Targeted Hostility towards ‘New Arrivals’

‘Contemporary populism does not so much mobilize against the perceived enemy above but more against the perceived enemy abroad’

Anton Pelinka (2013).

‘What is it like to live in a country that doesn’t trust you and doesn’t want you unless you win an Olympic gold medal or a national baking competition?’

Nikesh Shukla (2016).

The UK has experienced waves of immigration for centuries. The historical settlement of people particularly from Europe, Asia and Africa has played a significant and undeniable role in shaping modern day Britain (Somerville, Sriskandarajah and Latorre, 2009). The rise of immigration, especially the steadily increasing numbers of non-White communities arriving in the country, has always attracted predominantly negative attention from populist right-wing groups. However, overall, immigration remained a relatively marginal public issue compared to housing, health care and the economy until the turn of the 21st Century. Opinion poll data demonstrates that immigration and asylum are now consistently perceived as one of the top three most important issues facing the nation. In fact, it was widely cited as *the* most important issue until mid-2016 when Brexit and the EU became most frequently cited (Blinder and Richards, 2018). Domestically, net migration figures appear to be levelling out at record highs whilst globally, the numbers of forcibly displaced people between 2015 and 2017 dwarfed that of any other refugee crisis in history (Office for National Statistics, 2017; UNHCR, 2016). Consequently, both the actual and perceived increased presence of non-British born residents in Britain has been discussed with increased frequency in recent years with xenophobic and discriminatory rhetoric continuing to dominate media and political discourse which has served to fuel widespread anti-foreigner sentiment amongst the public (Grayson, 2013; Allen, 2016; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2016; Hardy and Chakraborti, 2016). However, similar patterns of a resurgence in right-wing populism can be seen across the world and unlike traditionally autocratic societies, today’s populist leaders are emerging more often from democratic settings (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

This chapter first contextualises the current research by exploring the current unprecedented socio-political environment that encompasses Europe and the United States. It demonstrates that the resurgence of right-wing populism is delivered through a specifically anti-immigrant message and this directly increases the marginalisation and stigmatisation of new arrivals in particular. By constructing perceptions of the 'good' and 'bad' immigrant the literature also demonstrates how certain groups of new arrivals, because of their visible 'difference' and perceived undesirability, are scapegoated and left vulnerable to hostility and prejudice.

2.1 The 'new' populism: Resurgence of the right-wing in the West

Academics, journalists and NGOs alike have identified a 'new' populism that has emerged in recent years in many countries across the Western world (Shuster, 2016; Khosravini, 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Lewis, 2019; Walker, 2019). Its presence and increased popularity is undeniable and its implications are unprecedented. Right-wing populist parties are, at the time of writing, represented within government in 11 European countries, some with a ruling majority, whilst over a quarter of Europeans voted for populist parties in national elections held in 2018 (Lewis, Clarke, Barr, Holder and Kommenda, 2018). Furthermore, in the United States is a sitting president described as 'right-wing, incendiary and insulting' (Winberg, 2017, p. 1), whose presidency is characterised by 'angry populism' and divisive politics (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018, p. 766). Whilst the precise form that populist activity takes is often nationally specific and contextualised within each country's own social and political history, there are some identifiable patterns that appear to exemplify right-wing ideals across the board (Greven, 2016). Central to populism's fundamental and unyielding narrative is an anti-establishment message; the failure of a corrupt, politically correct 'elite' class of 'career' politicians to accurately or fairly represent 'the people' (Greven, 2016). Subsequently, populist leaders present themselves as the only authentic voice to represent the 'silent majority', who they argue have been deliberately disadvantaged in favour of others (Rice-Oxley and Kalia, 2018). Right-wing populism, especially more extreme variations, historically prioritises privileging the majority people at the expense of liberal democracy which typically harmfully impacts the rights of marginalised minority groups and women whilst also diminishing the powers of liberal democratic institutions (Nagan and Manausa, 2018; Rice-Oxley and Kalia, 2018). Additionally, although populists often come into power denouncing political corruption, they typically fail to reduce levels of corruption once they are in office (Ruth-Lovell et al, 2019, p. 2).

Populist strategies utilise a divisive and multifaceted 'us versus them' narrative which can be seen to permeate every right-wing populist argument. This message is used to reinforce a sense of 'threat' and 'loss' in the majority, who are encouraged to place blame with the existing establishment, those minorities protected and 'prioritised' by the establishment, and 'liberals' who support the politically correct state. In their World Report, Human Rights Watch (2019) identify the diminished state of human rights globally but specifically draw attention to the widespread right-wing presence in Europe and the United States. Unlike countries who have struggled with long-term political unrest, civil war and extensive corruption, new and emerging right-wing 'would-be autocratic' leaders are finding success in otherwise stable, democratic countries across the Western world (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Additionally, unlike populist movements of the past, it is argued that significant developments in digital technology, such as targeted social media content, has led to the resurgence gaining in momentum much quicker, reaching much wider audiences, and increasing its effectiveness in spreading simple but powerful right-wing messages. Research demonstrates how right-wing populists such as Donald Trump and the Swedish Democrats utilise social media to circumvent traditional media outlets and create their own 'alternative narrative' (Bartlett, 2018; Schroeder, 2018). Social media platforms are popular because they are readily and easily accessible to the masses and they convey simple and concise messages that favour extreme opinions over complex and nuanced explanations. Bartlett (2018) argues that social media has proven an invaluable tool to populist leaders such as Jimmie Åkesson and Donald Trump who capitalise on the perception that they are directly interacting with 'the people' in this way. In response, over time the general public become more familiar with a brand of 'Tinder politics – swipe left or right to get exactly what you want, without thinking too much' (Bartlett, 2018, n.p). This oversimplified and diversified approach to the democratic process has led to some unprecedented social, legal and political changes in recent years, directly consequential to the treatment of some of the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in Western society.

What is especially evident about the new wave of right-wing populism currently permeating Western politics is the obvious focus on ethno-centricity, which has manifested in dangerous, xenophobic socio-political and legislative changes (Greven, 2016). In most countries where right-wing influences are re-shaping the current systems, these changes are having the most profound impact on immigrants, especially new arrivals, asylum seekers and refugees (Kaufmann, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2019). Austria's Freedom Party, Hungary's Civic Alliance, Poland's Law and Justice Party, and Italy's coalition parties Northern League and Five Star Movement, are currently ruling political parties in 2019. Similarly, the National Rally (formally Front National),

Alternative for Germany and the Swedish Democrats have garnered considerable power and popularity in recent years. All of these populist parties are characterised foremost by their strong nationalist and nativist values, whilst also making radical adjustments opposing a globalisation rationale that they blame for financial downturn (Khosravinik, 2017). Liberal economic policies characterised by a 'global' community such as the free movement of people, are interpreted as a 'threat' to native citizen's resources and their way of life and it is often these arguments which are used to underpin ethnocentric, anti-immigrant and Islamophobic messages (Kallis, 2018).

Previous research has struggled to determine exactly what leads to increasing public support for right-wing politics and a particular hostility towards immigrants and asylum seekers. Literature specifically addressing the resurgence in anti-immigrant hostility in the West within the last decade demonstrates correlations between deteriorating economic conditions, austerity measures, liberal and socialist political policies, the 2015 refugee crisis and an increase in the actual and perceived numbers of new arrivals, and increases in anti-immigrant sentiment (Arendt and Consiglio, 2016; Khosravinik, 2017; Henley, 2018; Valentova and Callens, 2018; Kaufmann, 2018; Ruth-Lovell, Doyle and Hawkins, 2019). However, the data rarely demonstrates strong causal support for any one specific variable or contributing factor in explaining the current resurgence in populism. Populist leaders are often opportunistic, and who capitalise on any sense of shifting public attitudes, periods of social, financial and political uncertainty and growing inequality within society. Additionally, populist arguments are often framed ambiguously, appealing to a vague sense of majority identity whilst clearly identifying an 'other' (Nagan and Manausa, 2018). Consequently, the appeal of populist movements in Europe and the US is multifaceted and much less straightforward than it is typically depicted (Henley, 2018).

What is often missing from political debates about the resurgence in right-wing populism is the impact that these movements have on those perceived 'others' created by right-wing rhetoric, both at a structural and individual level. Collectively, the European Union sent a strong message through its lack of commitment and absence of any meaningful attempt to aid the refugees fleeing conflict during the 2015 migrant crisis. Despite opinion polls suggesting that the majority of Europeans are overwhelmingly in favour of taking in refugees (Connor, 2018), many EU member states were criticised as being uncooperative during the recent crisis and even complicit in the human rights failings of those seeking refuge (UNHCR, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2019). The process of applying for asylum was made much harder overall whilst the ability to deny asylum was made easier. Italy blocked humanitarian efforts to rescue refugees in the Mediterranean and member states, as a whole, did very little to actively rescue anyone trying

to enter Europe in the hopes that this would deter others from making the journey (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Furthermore, despite the vast numbers of people entering Europe from countries known to be suffering widespread and escalating conflict - Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq in particular – many of Europe's political leaders and national media outlets labelled many as 'migrants' seeking to take advantage of the overwhelmed processing services (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017).

Zetter (2015) argues that the frameworks that categorise migrants and refugees have become increasingly unclear, and that the current definitions do not accurately reflect the nuanced realities of how and why people move around the world. Consequently, this ambiguity and the refusal to categorise people as refugees denied many the rights that should have been afforded to them during this time. Consequently, it provided authorities with the power to simply remove people from the country or detain them for undetermined periods of time (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017). The simultaneous action and inaction in Europe during the recent crisis epitomised new populism's core values regarding the tightening of national border controls, decreasing the numbers of new arrivals, and subsequently being seen to 'prioritise' the needs of the native people over 'outsiders'. Arrocha (2019) argues that within Europe and the US asylum seekers and refugees have been subjected to a dehumanising process as states have been seen to demonise and criminalise those fleeing conflict and persecution. Furthermore, in the absence of any genuine compassion, there has been an overall departure from upholding human rights legislation in relation to irregular migrants (Mason-Bish and Trickett, 2019; Arrocha, 2019).

In the United States, the right-wing has also seen a resurgence. It is argued that, as in parts of Europe, increasing numbers of disenfranchised White low-middle classes have found themselves consistently disadvantaged by the neoliberal system. In response, they have turned to populist discourse to make sense of their situation and have subsequently become increasingly xenophobic, anti-immigrant, and anti-Muslim (Nagan and Manausa, 2018). This shift in public sentiment has served as justification for the overtly right-wing policies adopted by the Trump administration which has led to particularly hostile treatment of new arrivals. Trump's near-total ban on asylum seekers crossing from Mexico into the US has been labelled by Amnesty International as a potential 'death sentence' to those seeking safety and protection. They found that those forced to wait in Mexico 'are subject to grave harm, including kidnapping, assault, and extortion by the very authorities who are supposed to protect them' (Amnesty International, 2019, n.p). Additionally, Trump's sustained anti-Muslim vitriol capitalises on

global hysteria towards Islamic terrorism and the Islamic State (IS) and continues to encourage the normalisation of Islamophobic attitudes and increased rates in hate crime across the country (Chalabi, 2015; Waikar, 2018). The unlawful and discriminatory policies currently in place in the US are designed to specifically target, disadvantage and exclude immigrants and refugees which places them in significantly vulnerable situations with little to no access to financial or legal stability, safety or even freedom (Amnesty International, 2017; Waikar, 2018; Khan et al, 2019).

It is important to acknowledge that the production and reproduction of racist and anti-foreigner sentiment has a considerably long history in Europe (Van Dijk, 1997; Spencer, 1997; Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). In examining the hostility experienced historically by new arrivals in the UK Panayi (2014) states that racism and general xenophobia has remained endemic. He concludes that:

‘...all ethnic minorities have experienced a range of popular manifestations of hostility backed up by institutional racism, which operates in a variety of ways. While particular peaks of hostility have emerged especially during war time, but also at times of purportedly high immigration, a racist murmur has always characterized the recent history of Britain, both official and unofficial’.

(Panayi, 2014, p. 207)

The overwhelmingly negative discourse used to describe certain immigrant groups coming to the UK has served to portray the immigrant ‘other’ as a continuous ‘threat’ to British society (Richardson, 2008). Consequently, new arrivals experience a perpetuating process of demonisation, discrimination and intense hostility from previously established communities (Hayward, 1997; Spencer, 1997; Chakraborti and Garland, 2009; Webber, 2012; Hall, 2013). The sheer longevity of such a moral panic and its apparent overall acceptance has served to normalise racist discourse, thereby allowing harmful prejudices to go unchallenged (Cohen, 2011). However, the ‘new’ populism sweeping the West has had very specific implications in the UK, including most notably the country’s decision to leave the European Union following the 2016 referendum. ‘Brexit’ and the populist movement surrounding this socio-political phenomenon has been described as an unprecedented, globally significant event that contributed to the success of other populist parties in Europe and the US (Galbraith, 2017; Wahl, 2017; Bristow and Robinson, 2018). Bristow and Robinson (2018) argue that the Brexit vote was indicative of a wider resurgence in right-wing populism across the West, but also highlighted the

specific events preceding and succeeding the vote that encouraged more overt and more frequent expressions of racism, xenophobia and anti-intellectualism.

Supporters of the Leave campaign engaged heavily with a brand of 'threat' politics that strongly 'othered' many marginalised groups, with immigrants and refugees often at the heart of these debates. As rhetoric intensified, nativist sentiment amongst some majority groups grew and this has been found to be one of the strongest motivating factors that led people to vote 'leave' (Iakhnis et al, 2018). In the months following the referendum, reported levels of hate crime spiked dramatically with three-quarters of police forces recording record levels of incidents and ten forces reported an increase of over 50 per cent (BBC, 2017). The majority of hate crimes reported during this time were recorded as being motivated by race and this remains the case with over three-quarters of all hate crimes reported as racial incidents (Full-fact, 2019). Figures continue to demonstrate that the hostile and xenophobic sentiment provoked and legitimised by Brexit remain hugely problematic. The latest Home Office (2019) data on hate crimes in England and Wales demonstrates that every year since the referendum the numbers of reported hate crimes have risen and they remain at record levels. Consequently, reported hate crimes have more than doubled in just six years, from 42,255 in 2012/13 to 103,379 in 2018/19. Reflecting on the latest hate crime statistics, Allen (2019) argues that the divisive messages and xenophobic ideology that have consistently epitomised 'Brexit', are becoming ever more entrenched within British society. Similarly, Ferguson and Fearn (2019) conclude that prejudice towards ethnic and religious minorities and immigrants is now mainstream with two in five respondents considering immigrants a threat to British 'success' and one in three of those surveyed considered Muslims a threat. It is argued that the 'permission' granted by the entire Brexit phenomenon to display hostility and prejudice more openly without caution will only increase as the country officially leaves the European Union (Allen, 2019; Dearden, 2019a)

2.2 Perceptions of the 'good' and 'bad' immigrant

The persistent racialised nature of the 'immigration debate' in the West must be acknowledged in order to understand how and why the UK has, historically and in contemporary society, both shaped and encouraged an ethnic and cultural dichotomy, consequential to our perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' immigrants. Despite outward appearances which have historically presented an open and non-discriminatory United Kingdom, first to the Commonwealth and then globally, it is argued that the British government have consistently operated under racially prejudiced and hostile practices that demonstrated an 'undesirability' towards immigrants from the Indian sub-

continent, Africa, and the Caribbean (Carter et al, 1987; Spencer, 1997). Later, this hostility also extended to those coming from Eastern European countries, especially following the expansion of the EU in 2004, who are frequently depicted as both criminal and economic threats in the media and within elite discourse (Burnett, 2012; Spigelman, 2013). While official legislation has served to regulate who is granted permission to live and work in the UK, unofficial policies such as complicated administrative processes, have helped maintain a restrictive and discriminatory immigration system (Spencer, 1997; Smith and Marmo, 2014). Since dominant perceptions of 'Britishness' are generally synonymous with 'Whiteness' (McGhee, 2005), constructed notions of 'good' and 'bad' immigrants have most prominently fallen along racial lines, with non-White, non-Western groups considered less 'desirable' overall. However, cultural and religious differences, economic status, language proficiency and professional skill level have also fed into widespread attitudes about who the majority British society perceive of as 'good' immigrants (Blinder and Richards; 2018; Kaufmann, 2018).

Perry's (2001) theory of hate crime as a mechanism for 'doing difference' provides a structural explanation for how socially constructed beliefs about race, gender and class serve to inform and perpetuate an 'invisible' social hierarchy. Shared Western understandings about what constitutes the 'norm', Perry argues, are defined and enforced by the most powerful in society, typically and historically that is White, middle-class, Christian, heterosexual, cis-gender men. Consequently, those who 'deviate' from dominant norms are effectively *doing* difference and this makes them a target for discrimination and victimisation based on their identity. According to Perry (2001, p. 47), the social hierarchy allows individuals and groups to position themselves in a way that 'implies dominance, normativity, and privilege, on the one hand, and subordination, marginality and disadvantage on the other'. Those who cannot or will not confirm to in-group majority ideals are perceived of as a 'threat' to the status quo and this is challenged through imposing oppressive, discriminatory and victimising behaviours onto the 'other' on both an individual and structural level. It is possible to draw additional nuance from Perry's original concept of doing difference in relation to the perceptions of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

As already acknowledged above, not all immigrants are considered equally 'desirable' and those who are perceived to be the most 'distant' from the host society's dominant cultural values are more likely to experience stigmatisation and hostility (von Hermanni and Neumann, 2019). Furthermore, when those communities who are perceived as most 'distant' are also numerous and become increasingly 'visible' they are more likely to be perceived of as threatening

(Schneider, 2008; Stephan, Ybarra and Rios, 2016). However, regardless of how culturally and socially 'distant' immigrant groups may be from the host's norms and values, von Hermann and Neumann (2019) found that attitudes towards asylum seekers were somewhat more favourable despite still being considered a security risk by the majority society. Furthermore, they found that perceptions of immigrants as a threat to resources and a threat to a 'Western' way of life were lessened when immigrants were seen to embrace Western values and conform to a more 'desirable' identity. This included, learning the national language to a good conversational standard, gaining 'respectable' employment, buying property, and holding liberal values regarding women. Thus, suggesting that there are ways to negotiate a higher and more powerful place on the social hierarchy. The East African Asian refugees who fled to the UK in the early 1970s are regularly referred to as a 'model' community who integrated well into British life (Van Hear, 2012). Despite the significant hostility and overt racism they encountered on their arrival, the East African Asians regained the 'middle class' status in the UK that they had previously held before being exiled. As a community, their ability to speak good English, their social and cultural capital, and their overall youth allowed them to ultimately gain skilled and highly skilled employment, become successful in the housing market and attain highly in education (Robinson, 1993; Alibhai-Brown, 2002). However, Kuisma (2013) argues that where immigrants are unable to conform to Western cultural and financial expectations, they are more likely to be depicted as 'bad' and 'undesirable' meaning they are at greater risk of experiencing hostility and discrimination.

Perry's (2001) model is particularly useful as it conveys the structural prejudice, racism and xenophobia that new arrivals are likely to encounter when they cannot and do not confirm to perceptions of 'Britishness' and/or 'Whiteness'. However, while still highly influential, 'doing difference' does not sufficiently explain the widespread, everyday hostility that new arrivals experience that has become normalised in mainstream society. Instead, it suggests that people act on deep-seated prejudice and extreme negative emotion and that they seek to deliberately and overtly oppress the 'other' through victimising behaviours. In doing so, it ignores the spontaneity of many incidents of targeted hostility which are more frequently characterised by specific situational factors as opposed to actual hatred (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012). Instead, Chakraborti and Garland (2012) argue that there is scope to re-position our understanding of hate crime victimisation and perpetration through a lens of perceived 'vulnerability' and 'difference'. This viewpoint is supported by research with victims who felt that it was simply a 'difference' to the perpetrator that made them a target and that in one way or another, the perpetrator considered them 'vulnerable' (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). This broader

perspective on 'difference' as a motivating factor accounts for the many forms of targeted hostility new arrivals encounter that may not necessarily be motivated by entrenched racism, for example.

Later, Chakraborti (2015, p. 1749) developed this concept further and argued that targeted victimisation goes beyond our established understandings of certain visible and/or perceived identity characteristics. He suggests that perceived 'vulnerability' extends to:

'the way that identity intersects with other aspects of self and with other situational factors and context. In this sense, the likelihood of being targeted is increased by the presence of factors that are distinct from an individual's "main" or visible identity characteristic.'

Research in recent years has demonstrated that hate crime victimisation is nuanced and multifaceted with victims reporting being targeted because of their dress and appearance, language proficiency, accent, the area they live in, and many other factors that more sufficiently contextualise a broader range of victimising experiences (Hamad, 2017; Hardy and Chakraborti, 2017; Hardy, 2019). McDonald (2018) argues that new arrivals are subject to a broad range of victimising, discriminatory and harmful behaviours especially when their 'difference' is visible and their 'vulnerability' is exploited. It is likely that new arrivals' individual experiences of targeted hostility and prejudice are equally as multifaceted but the significant lack of empirical research in this area means that a comprehensive understanding of the issue in today's social climate has yet to be reached (Bunar, 2007; Kercher and Kuo, 2008; McDonald, 2018).

As already discussed, a significant factor influencing perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' immigrants relates to how socially and culturally 'distant' new arrivals are considered to be from the host society. When this 'difference' is performed visibly and in public, hostility towards these groups and individuals tends to increase (von Hermann and Neumann, 2019). One of the most apparent examples of this is the intensified hostility and prejudice directed towards those who identify as Muslim. The events surrounding the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and, in the UK especially, the 7/7 bombings in London are widely considered to be catalyst events for growing levels of Islamophobia in the West (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Kallis, 2018; Zempi and Awan, 2019). Hamid (2019) argues that the rise in Islamophobia is congruent with the rise in right-wing populism and that a preoccupation with Muslim communities has led to a political fixation on culture and identity. He argues that:

‘Anti-Muslim sentiment is fuelled by perceptions that Muslims are less assimilated, particularly when it comes to prevailing norms around secularism and the private nature of religious practice. These markers of Muslim religiosity include workplace prayer accommodations, abstention from alcohol, discomfort with gender mixing, conservative dress, and demands for halal meat options. Observed by significant numbers of Muslims, these are all practices that reflect “private” faith commitments that are at the same time either publicly observable or have public and legal implications.’

(Hamid, 2019, p. 1).

These perceptions are significantly harmful to Muslims in the West regardless of their nationality or citizenship status, however, when an individual’s Muslim identity intersects with their position as an immigrant, asylum seeker or refugee, their increased marginalisation and stigmatisation make them particularly vulnerable to victimisation. This is especially true when Muslim immigrants and refugees are depicted as practicing ‘conservative’ Islam as opposed to more ‘moderate’ Muslims who are more likely to be portrayed as ‘successful’ Western citizens (Shah, 2018). Shah (2018, n.p) argues that these ‘good’ and ‘bad’ representations of Muslims create a ‘false hierarchy’ in which Muslims who consume Western culture, wear Western clothes and are generally less ‘visible’ are seen as superior. Little is known about how Muslim immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees internalise or navigate these social and cultural perceptions about them or how this ‘false hierarchy’ may relate to new arrivals more broadly. However, this argument does support Perry’s (2001) structural theory, ‘doing difference’, which suggests that a hierarchy of ‘acceptable’ and ‘unacceptable’ identities exists, but it also supports the argument that it is the perception of ‘difference’ and ‘visibility’ that increases the likelihood of a person experiencing victimising behaviours (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012). Consequently, more inclusive research in this area would shed light on the implications of these ‘good’ and ‘bad’ immigrant discourses on new arrivals themselves.

Anti-Muslim resentment is of course directed towards those who identify as Muslim but equally, research demonstrates that those who are merely *perceived* by others as ‘looking’ Muslim also experience Islamophobic hostility and abuse (Awan and Zempi, 2018). Parvaresh (2014) highlights the way in which Western societies have homogenised both Muslim and non-Muslim, South Asian and Arab communities resulting in the targeting of Hindus, Sikhs and Arab Christians. Awan and Zempi (2018) argue that Brexit acted as a significant ‘trigger’ event that

resulted in intense Islamophobic vitriol. They found this directly impacted men who were targeted on the basis that they looked Muslim. Most frequently, victims reported that they had experienced verbal abuse of an Islamophobic nature based on their perceived ethnicity, because they wore a turban, and/or because they had a beard. Perceptions of 'good/bad' and 'acceptable/unacceptable' identities are clearly determined, in many instances, by physical appearance and research reflects this as being a significant motivating factor for targeted hostility. However, as briefly acknowledged previously, in the UK especially, there has developed a form of racism towards 'undesirable' Whiteness that is predominantly directed towards Eastern European immigrants. This under-researched area of study will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three when the issue of 'hidden' voices in hate crime research is addressed.

2.3 Explaining 'othering': Existing theoretical frameworks

In order to contextualise the current research and highlight its timeliness, this chapter has considered the brand of 'new' right-wing populism sweeping across Europe and the US, its widespread success in encouraging nativist and xenophobic sentiment, and the ways in which this has manifested in the hostile attitudes towards new arrivals. Additionally, the ways in which perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' immigrants have shaped attitudes towards new arrivals have also been considered and in doing so, the chapter highlights the underlying racist and class-based prejudice that define this social hierarchy. More broadly though, exclusionary and divisive social, cultural and political systems are built upon a process of 'othering'. Consequently, in order to assume understanding of the current hostilities facing new arrivals, a consideration of existing theory is necessary to explain how the 'us' verses 'them' and the in/out group dynamic evolves.

Johnson, Bottorff and Browne (2004: 253) define 'othering' as a 'process that identifies those who are thought to be different to oneself or the mainstream and it can reinforce and reproduce positions of domination and subordination'. Furthermore, it can occur in any social environment where some form of 'out-group' is perceived to exist. The human proclivity to create opposing social 'in' and 'out' groups and to assign group membership is universal and enduring (Mackie and Smith, 2002). Overwhelmingly, social psychologists' explanations of discrimination behaviours have been rooted in the development of 'prejudice' in favour of one's own in-group, and against the 'othered' out-group (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1969; Bromley and Saxe, 1980, Mackie and Smith, 1998). This section of the chapter will reflect on three of the most influential and enduring theories of 'othering' and discrimination that most appropriately explain hostility towards new arrivals; Realistic Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood,

and Sherif, 1954) Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), and Integrated or Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan and Stephan, 2000; Stephan and Renfro, 2002).

Realistic Conflict Theory, originally termed by Campbell (1965) but most famously demonstrated in Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif's (1954) 'Robbers Cave' experiments, focuses on the idea that intergroup conflict stems from competition over resources, power and economic benefit. In their original experiment, Sherif et al found that perceived rivalry between groups created feelings of hostility and prejudice towards the opposing group. Furthermore, when the competition for resources intensified, the feelings of hostility escalated into violence against the opposing group. However, Duckitt (1992) argues that much of the original research that focuses on Realistic Conflict is based on competition between groups with equal status. In reality, the 'othering' of a perceived 'out-group' is often orchestrated by a dominant majority 'in-group' who are successful in promoting prejudice attitudes towards the 'out-group' because of their political and socio-economic power (Mackie and Smith, 2002). Furthermore, if the out-group elects to challenge the in-group then the perceived threat of increased competition is likely to intensify feelings of hostility towards the out-group (Duckitt, 1992). The idea that competition for resources is a significant motivating factor in the development of in-group favouritism and out-group prejudice has remained considerably influential and forms the basis of Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Intergroup Threat Theory, arguably now the most dominant theory in this particular field. However, the argument has been made that intergroup discrimination does not always occur on the basis of a realistic conflict of interests and the social demographics of certain 'out-groups' are not always known (Campbell, 1965). In fact, in the absence of historical, ideological or material context, 'irrational' discrimination can still occur (Rubin and Hewstone, 1998). Thus, Social Identity Theory argues that a process of social categorisation and in-group identification is a more reliable predictor of bias and prejudice.

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) argues that intergroup conflicts are the result of promoting one's own self-image at the expense of those belonging to a differing group. This theory argues that social identity is directly linked to a person's sense of who they are based on their group affiliations. Thus, the groups that people belong to, whether it be based upon social class, nationality, ethnicity or football team, are an important source of pride and self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Ramiah, Hewstone and Schmid (2011) argue that as humans, it is our continuous need for positive esteem that drives us to establish social identification that is both distinct and favourable to us. Therefore, in order to increase our own self-image we enhance the status of the group we belong to while conversely, discriminating against groups to which

we do not belong (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Pfeifer et al (2007) studied the development of prejudice in children and found that six to nine year olds were more likely to hold negative bias towards immigrant children, especially when those children did not identify, in part, with being 'American'. Their research found that even partial identification with the majority in-group reduced the prejudice felt towards immigrant children although it did not eliminate it. Social Identity Theory also suggests that in an attempt to depict our own group as superior, again increasing our own self-esteem, we tend to exaggerate intra-group similarities while also exaggerating inter-group differences, consequently, allowing for the construction of prejudice stereotypes about the out-group (Rubin and Hewstone, 1998). Social Identity theory argues that the more strongly a person identifies with their group membership the more they are likely to hold prejudice attitudes towards out-groups. Conversely, Paterson, Brown and Walters (2019) found that where individuals felt a strong sense of group identification, they were more likely to feel a great sense of empathy when another perceived group member was victimised on the basis of their identity.

Despite the significant development of social psychology and the study of prejudice and discrimination during the 20th century, Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory (ITT), later adapted by Stephan and Renfro (2002), offers a more complex and multifaceted model which centres on the role of 'threat' in explaining prejudice. Like Social Identity and Realistic Conflict, ITT addresses the ways in which individuals and groups develop prejudice, but it goes further to also incorporate how perceptions of threat are developed structurally based on fear, stereotyping and misinformation. It was the first theory to take these concepts, which were being researched in silo previously, and bring them together under one comprehensive theoretical framework (Stephan and Renfro, 2002).

Stephan and Renfro (2002) argue that hostility and prejudice towards a minority out-group will arise due to perceived 'realistic' and/or 'symbolic' threats to the dominant in-group. Realistic threats describe particular resources which are often considered as being in limited supply such as jobs, health care, education services, and welfare. Consequently, prejudice will develop when in-group members perceive themselves to be in competition with out-groups for these resources. For example, economic migrants who work for a below-average wage are much more likely to be negatively perceived as a threat to native workers, especially to those in direct competition for similar jobs, as opposed to exploited victims (Meltzer et al, 2018). Additionally, ITT highlights that 'realistic' threats also include concerns that the out-group members pose a threat to the physical safety and security of in-group members, although this particular 'threat'

is given very little attention by the original theory. Conversely, 'symbolic' threats are defined as being a risk to the in-group's religion, belief system, values, ideology, morality, heritage or world view. Accordingly, symbolic individual threat is the fear that an individual's self-identity will be undermined by the presence of the out-group. Immigration therefore causes conflict as it involves the introduction of 'new' symbols to the existing culture. However, as already discussed, the amount of conflict caused by immigration varies considerably based on several variables including how symbolically distant new arrivals are from the host society (Meltzer et al, 2018). ITT also suggests that symbolic threats can include the fear of being disrespected, dishonoured or cheated by a member of the out-group (Stephan and Renfro, 2002). Central to Stephan and Renfro's (2002) revised version of ITT, is the addition that realistic and symbolic threats may be felt on a personal, 'individual' level when a direct risk is perceived and also at a 'group' level where out-groups are seen as a collective threat to the overall majority.

'Threat' narratives are overwhelmingly utilised in media and official discourses surrounding immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and this appears to have genuine consequences for public attitudes towards new arrivals (Hogan and Haltinner, 2015; Dempster and Hargrave, 2017). However, theories of 'othering', especially those discussed above, have consistently focused on the negative emotions and discriminatory attitudes that in-groups develop about new arrivals. Tartakovsky and Walsh (2016, p. 72) argue that in reality, native residents engage in what they define as a 'threat-benefit appraisal' when developing attitudes about new arrivals. In testing their theory, they found that the majority of their sample engaged in a mediating process in relation to their perceptions of asylum seekers as both threatening and beneficial. Whilst for some, the perception of asylum seekers as a threat to the economy, physical safety, social cohesion, and a threat to modernity held true, the majority also considered new arrivals to be a benefit to the host society's economy, cultural diversity and the humanitarian reputation of the receiving society (Tartakovsky and Walsh, 2016).

This study improves our understanding of threat perception towards new arrivals because it demonstrates a more nuanced approach to assessing public attitudes which are oftentimes neither wholly positive or negative. Nevertheless, despite this new perspective, established theories of 'othering' overwhelmingly depict a binary dynamic, whereby a majority in-group with established identities develop hostility and prejudice towards minority out-groups. Omitted from this narrative is any reflection on whether or not these theories can adequately explain the hostility and prejudice that exists between and within minority out-groups. Chakraborti (2015) argues that hate crime research is more frequently highlighting instances of people from

marginalised and stigmatised groups being targeted on the basis of their identity by individuals who are also members of minority groups, sometimes even the same minority group as the victim. Very little is understood about this particular victimising dynamic other than it appears to be an attempt by minority group members to 'fit in' by adopting what they perceive to be majority group values and attitudes (Shapiro and Neuberg, 2008). The voices of new arrivals and minority ethnic groups are significantly under-represented in this regard. Consequently, more research with new arrivals is needed to explore how they negotiate and internalise widespread threat narratives as well as to better understand their everyday interactions with other members of ethnic minority groups.

2.4 The othering of new arrivals and its implications

The section above outlines the most prevailing theories of 'othering' that are most frequently referred to in relation to the psychological development of prejudice and discrimination towards 'outsider' immigrant, asylum seeker and refugee groups. However, the 'othering' process has historically manifested, and continues to do so in predictably specific ways, mainly through elite narratives. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a new wave of right-wing populism has gripped much of Europe and the US, and the success of these movements is argued to have been driven predominantly by media and political discourses (Dempster and Hargrave, 2017). Immigration and asylum are contentious issues and a constant lack of clear and direct information about the costs and benefits of immigration has resulted in considerable public uncertainty (Esses, Medianu and Lawson, 2013). The convenient scapegoating and demonising of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees has left new arrival communities particularly vulnerable as a result of relentless 'othering' and dehumanising (Jones, 2015; United Nations, 2018).

Van Dijk (1997: 31) argues that elite discourse has a history of playing a considerable role in the 'production and reproduction of prejudice and racism' and because of its power to infiltrate every aspect of social life, its ability to influence and/or reinforce public perceptions is significant. However, the generally prohibited nature of overt racism and openly prejudice behaviour has forced politicians and media representatives to engage in a much more subtle and indirect discourse but that nevertheless still reproduces negative stereotypes about immigrants (Van Dijk, 1997; Capdevila and Callaghan, 2007; Richardson, 2008; Grayson, 2013). Research has demonstrated much interest in the real-world impact of media messages on public opinion and Gavin (2018) argues that consistently, anti-immigrant media discourse tends to align with prevailing public opinion. For example, Richardson (2008) found that anti-immigration

discourse predominantly makes negative assumptions about the effects of immigration on the host country's resources, thus portraying them a realistic threat. Correspondingly, the results of a Transatlantic Trends (2011) survey found that people in the UK are more likely than comparable Western nations to say that immigrants are a 'problem' who take work away from citizens, drive down wages and place too much pressure on the NHS and the state education system. Furthermore, asylum seekers are frequently labelled by right-wing media and politicians as 'cheats' who make 'bogus claims' (Grayson, 2013, p. 2), and more recently they have been depicted a threat to national security and potential terrorists despite a lack of evidence to genuinely support these concerns (Crisp, 2017; Nowrasteh, 2017).

The Migration Observatory's (2016) extensive analysis of UK media coverage found that in the decade between 2006 and 2015, journalists decreasingly reported on think-tanks and academic research, instead opting to frame the immigration debate in opinion pieces more frequently. Furthermore, when immigration was discussed it was more often done so with a focus on 'limiting' and 'controlling' the 'problem'. In an analysis of 'modifiers', words used to describe and characterise the issue being discussed, the most common modifiers to feature alongside 'immigration' and 'immigrant' were: illegal, mass, many, uncontrolled, and European. In other studies of British broadsheet and tabloid media, research has found that regardless of the type of newspaper, Eastern Europeans are overwhelmingly described using negative language demonstrating a high level of bias against them (Rozenfeld, 2011; Spigelman, 2013). Descriptors such as 'crime', 'gang', 'prostitute', 'invade' and 'influx' served to over criminalise Eastern European people and presented them as threatening, dangerous and harmful to the host society. Across almost every media platform, there has been a steady and subtle increase in reporting that connects criminality and immigration which has encouraged public perceptions that immigrant populations are to be feared and that they elicit suspicion thus creating an identifiable 'folk devil' (Hauptman, 2013). Cohen (2011, p. 23) argues that the fear and hostility felt towards new arrivals is partially the result of a moral panic that he describes as a 'single, virtually uninterrupted message of hostility and rejection'. Furthermore, Cohen (2011) argues that the sheer longevity of this process of vilification has upheld and normalised the same prejudices and bigoted assumptions about immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in the UK for decades. Debates around immigration have typically been paired with issues of race and race relations, yet the tendency of media to homogenise these significantly complex issues enables sweeping prejudice stereotypes to be applied to all those who fit under the umbrella of 'other'.

Previous research has concluded that the media does not have the power to fundamentally change the opinions held by the public but it can reinforce and cement pre-existing beliefs that people have (Gitlin, 1978; Miller and Krosnick, 1996; Newton, 2006). People are more likely to actively seek out and engage with media that aligns with existing our world view and our views become more established when we engage with a variety of media platforms which, in one form or another, present similar messaging (Newton, 2006). However, when people hold beliefs based on a lack of knowledge or misinformation – and when this is largely unchallenged by the media that we consume – people will continue to hold these beliefs and they are more likely to influence an individual's world view and potentially their behaviour. However, the established argument that the media only minimally, and in the short-term, influences public opinion has been reassessed in recent years, 'not least with regard to the creation of significant, politically important, misperceptions among electorates' (Gavin, 2018, p. 827).

Unprecedented social and political changes in recent years – illustrated for instance through Brexit and the election of Donald Trump to the White House – has been partially blamed on social media advertising which has demonstrated the power of targeted media messaging (Schroeder, 2018). More specifically, inflamed and hostile messages regarding the 'threats' of immigration and freedom of movement, both in realistic and symbolic terms, were disseminated directly to social media users whose data suggested that they were 'undecided' about how to vote in the EU referendum (BBC, 2018; Hern, 2018). Fuelled by the elite politics of the 'Leave' campaign, weaponised by media platforms, and in the absence of any concrete evidence either way, politicians capitalised on what Esses et al (2013, p. 519) have previously defined as a 'crisis mentality'. As such, 'immigrants and refugees are portrayed as "enemies at the gate," who are attempting to invade Western nations'. Framing new arrivals in this way is certainly not a new tactic. Fear-driven politics has become so normalised within the democratic process that contemporary right-wing populist movements are able to rely on historical traditions of scapegoating the 'other' to build support for their ethno-nationalist messages (Wodak, 2015).

Previous research has found that racist and anti-immigrant political discourse is generally characterised by certain specific ideologies, and right-wing political figures utilise certain 'strategies' in their messaging which promote 'common-sense' racism (Van Dijk, 1997; Capdevila and Callaghan, 2007; Rubio-Carbonero and Zapata-Barrero, 2017). The concept of 'nationalism' features heavily in right-wing politics and politicians like Boris Johnson have been accused of utilising a 'destructive, populist, nationalist ideology' whilst ignoring the harmful consequences to those it demonises (Lavelle, 2019). Promoting a nation's own identity as favourable and

valuable whilst also promoting national loyalty and pride essentially draws a distinction between the self and the 'other' which is always portrayed as detrimental to the nation's coveted way of life (Rubio-Carbonero and Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Consequently, discrimination manifests in the face of multiculturalism and diversity when this is seen to threaten the status quo and traditionalism (Triandafyllidou, 2013). Centralising the concept of nationalism is similar to Van Dijk's (1997) original findings that anti-immigrant political discourse employs 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation' strategies in order to normalise hostility and prejudice towards 'outsiders'. This is also a strategy that Capdevila and Callaghan (2007) found was frequently utilised in mainstream political speeches directed specifically at national citizens to encourage a 'common-sense' racism mindset. Aside from nationalism, Rubio-Carbonero and Zapata-Barrero, (2017) also found that racist and anti-immigrant political rhetoric often promotes welfare protectionism and identitarianism; a need to safeguard the nation's economy against 'outsiders' who may take advantage, and an emphasis on in-group membership through shared values and interests at the expense of out-group members who are 'different' and therefore incompatible.

Especially in the last decade, research regarding the power of elite discourse to shape wider attitudes towards new arrivals has erupted. Considerable attention is given to the ways in which media and political rhetoric have continued to frame the issues of immigration and asylum, by promoting social identification and conflict through the perception of competition and threat. Whilst existing research allows us to be well-informed about how anti-immigrant hostility and prejudice is produced and exacerbated, we are still much less informed about how this hostility and prejudice plays out in the everyday lives of new arrivals themselves. Research in this area generally implies that increased hostility and racial tensions result from overwhelmingly discriminatory media and political discourse. However, it only seldomly takes an additional step in considering the behavioural manifestations of this ongoing conflict, and even rarer does research include the genuine voices of those who suffer from targeted hostility.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to contextualise the current socio-political landscape as it pertains to the reception and portrayal of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. It was first important to examine the 'new' wave of right-wing populism that has gripped the Western world in recent years. With over a quarter of Europeans voting populist in national elections held in 2018 (Lewis et al, 2018), and right-wing politicians gaining considerable power in several European countries

and in the US, this chapter has explored the impact of this ethno-nationalist shift on new arrivals who are perceived as 'bad' immigrants. Second to be considered was the way in which new arrivals who are perceived as particularly 'distant', in terms of their social and cultural norms and values, from the host country are generally considered less 'desirable'. This is especially true when new arrivals cannot and do not confirm to perceptions of 'Britishness' and/or 'Whiteness'. The chapter also discusses the influence of Islamophobia in shaping attitudes towards certain new arrivals and how those who are visibly identifiable as Muslim are most likely to experience hostility because of threat perceptions.

This chapter then examined some key theoretical explanations of 'othering'. These theories suggest that prejudice arises when the perceived 'threats' to the in-groups self-esteem, values and beliefs and competition over scarce resources are created by the presence of an 'out-group'. The realistic and symbolic threats that 'outsiders' are perceived to pose were given particular attention as this model is well-placed to specifically explain the most frequently produced narratives about new arrivals; that they drain native citizen's resources, that they are a risk to national security, that they are criminal, and that they threaten the host country's way of life. As such, the chapter also considered how a sustained moral panic created by the media and political rhetoric also serves as an 'othering' mechanism and has consequently created intense hostility towards immigrants and refugees. This discourse, academics argue, is significantly dangerous because it has turned highly discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes into widely accepted truths (Van Dijk, 1997; Capdevila and Callaghan, 2007; Wodak, 2015; Gavin, 2018).

The literature discussed in this chapter has been able to provide a wealth of knowledge regarding the prejudice and hostility directed towards new arrivals in the UK and across the West. However, there is a distinct lack of literature that can comprehensively reflect the experiences of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees both in regards to their perceptions of the current socio-political environment in a post-Brexit era, and their experiences of everyday targeted hostility. The following chapter will focus more specifically on the manifestation of prejudice towards new arrivals as victims of targeted hostility and racist hate crime and consider the direct and indirect implications of their victimisation and exclusion.

Chapter Three: Understanding the Implications of Targeted Hostility for ‘New Arrivals’

‘A Very British Brand of Racism; a polite denial, quiet amusement or outright outrage that one could dare to suggest that the mother of liberty is not a total meritocracy after all, that we too, like so many ‘less civilised’ nations around the world, have a caste system’

Akala (2018).

‘The great hate crime hoax - Britain is one of the most tolerant places on Earth. So why do police pretend we’re in the grip of a record wave of vile attacks by bigots?’

Douglas Murray (2019).

Chapter Two laid out the context in which a resurgence in right-wing populism has seen age-old racist and xenophobic sentiment re-emerge to frame ‘bad’ immigrants as enemies to national resources, culture and security. Immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees have been relentlessly and consistently depicted as ‘villains’ in media and official discourses during a period of rising right-wing populism in the West. Attempts to disrupt this narrative and re-frame new arrivals as legitimate victims have been met with contention, scepticism and even outrage. For many decades the field of social psychology has explored the prejudice-behaviour relationship to establish to what extent one leads to the other. Generally, theorists tended to conclude that not all prejudice is acted out and displayed publicly. Social pressure, equality legislation and the general belief that overt discrimination is wrong tends to prevent many individuals from expressing prejudice openly (Wagner, Christ and Pettigrew, 2008). As such, merely holding a negative view of an out-group will not necessarily result in an individual then engaging in active discrimination or in acts of targeted hostility towards members of that out-group. However, it is also widely established that when prejudice goes unchallenged and becomes normalised, it is much more likely to escalate and manifest behaviourally (Allport, 1954). More recent research has established that holding racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant attitudes does in fact predict later discriminatory and hostile behaviour towards those perceived to be members of these groups (Wagner, Christ and Pettigrew, 2008; Zick, Wolf, Kupper, Davidov, Schmidt and Heitmeyer, 2008).

This chapter explores the existing literature relating to the development of racist hate crime in the UK and how conventional definitions and interpretations of 'race' have meant that the experiences of many groups suffering from targeted victimisation have remained 'hidden', including the experiences of White Eastern European communities. The nature and extent of targeted hostility as a whole is also discussed and in particular, the chapter considers the pervasive but under-acknowledged incidents of 'everyday' microaggressions and micro-crimes. The chapter then explores the direct and indirect impacts of targeted hostility on the individual victim, their families and on the wider community. Conventionally, racism and the perpetration of racially-motivated hate crime has been perceived as an individual prejudice manifested in a single or repeated act of one person or a small group of individuals. What has been less often discussed is the structural and systemic racism and discrimination that new arrivals face *alongside* individual incidents of victimisation. The harmful discrimination that new arrivals suffer as a result of the developed 'crimmigration' system in the UK, as well as the exclusion they experience in the housing and employment market, all serves to increasingly disadvantage, marginalise and stigmatise new arrivals. Finally, the wider implications of suffering racism, discrimination and victimisation for social mobility, social cohesion and integration are considered, which in turn sets the context for the research that follows.

3.1 Racist hate crime

Societies across the world have experienced a long history of 'identity-motivated persecution' (Hall, 2013, p. 19). Predominantly due to the civil rights movements that arose throughout the 1960s and earlier legislation that aimed to curb the violent and extreme behaviour of the Ku Klux Klan, the US were forced to engage in meaningful discussions about the equal treatment and protection of its African-American citizens (Levin, 2002; Hall, 2013). Consequently, research and activism focused on racial discrimination and racially-motivated crime began developing in the US several decades before it emerged in the UK (Chakrabarti and Garland, 2015). Especially during its infancy, hate crime research typically highlighted the nature and extent of the victimisation of African-American communities, and this is likely because anti-Black hate crimes emerged as the most pervasive in the US (Torres, 1999; Perry, 2001; Lyons, 2008; Gerstenfeld, 2011; Aaronson, 2014). However, the propensity to associate the term 'race', and subsequently racist hate crime, with specific ethnic groups resulted in many other communities affected by targeted victimisation remaining 'hidden' and under-researched for many years (Garland, Spalek and Chakrabarti, 2006).

Garland and Chakraborti (2012) argue that the way in which each nation prioritises its hate crime agenda is heavily shaped by their own culture and history. For example, in the UK, priority has been given to responding to racism directed towards African-Caribbean communities and certain South Asian communities, Indian and Pakistani in particular. This is likely due to the significant number of people from these communities who have migrated to the UK in waves since the late 1940s and who fought to establish themselves in a predominantly White British society (Ballard, 2002; Phillips and Phillips, 1999). Additionally, it is important to acknowledge the considerable influence that the racially motivated murder of Black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993, and the subsequent Macpherson Report (1999), had in shaping official hate crime policy in the UK (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Hall, 2013). The Stephen Lawrence case is fundamental to our contemporary understanding of hate crime legislation and police practice in part because it brought to the fore a clear and serious example of targeted victimisation based purely on the victim's identity, and this remains reflected in the victim-centred definition of hate crime (Home Office, 2018). In addition, it allowed certain ethnic minority groups, to identify and express their victimising experiences with the official support and recognition that is supposedly provided by hate crime legislation.

However, increasingly it was acknowledged that the concept of 'race' was conceived of in such a way that, in practice, those who were not perceived of by the authorities as 'Black' or 'Asian' were less likely to be considered victims of racially motivated crimes. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (2014) argued that alternative concepts such as ancestry, national origin and ethnicity should be more widely engaged with in order to capture the experiences of especially marginalised and stigmatised groups such as immigrants, Gypsy and Traveller communities, asylum seekers and refugees. The College of Policing (2014, p. 30) released operational guidelines in which they more broadly established their definition of racist hate crime:

'Race hate crime can include any group defined by race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origin, including countries within the UK, and Gypsy or Irish Travellers. It automatically includes a person who is targeted because they are an asylum seeker or refugee as this is intrinsically linked to their ethnicity and origins.'

Despite the fact that official policy more frequently refers to the racist and xenophobic hostility encountered by new communities, research continues to indicate that of the racist hate crimes reported to the police, the majority are reported by native citizens and those from 'established'

communities as opposed to immigrant and asylum seeker community members, despite being more likely to experience victimisation (Shively et al, 2014; EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2016; Hardy, 2019). Research suggests that immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees may encounter specific barriers to reporting their victimisation which results in under-representative hate crime statistics. For example, lacking in confidence or encountering a language barrier may mean that new arrivals find it more difficult to express the targeted nature of their victimisation, which increases the likelihood that their experiences are mis-understood or recorded inaccurately (Kielinger and Paterson, 2013). Furthermore, new arrivals may fear discussing their immigration status with the authorities who they perceive as an additional arm of the state, and new arrivals are much less likely to be fully aware of, or enforce, their rights as victims (Shively et al, 2014; FRA, 2016; Hardy, 2019).

The most recent combined statistics from the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) including data from 2015/16 to 2017/18 indicate that around 184,000 incidents of hate crime occurred per year. Consistent with previous trends in reporting, the majority of hate crimes - around three-quarters - recorded by both the CSEW and the police involved incidents where the victim was targeted on the basis of their perceived race or ethnicity (Home Office, 2019a). The data also reveals that the numbers of reported hate crimes have risen year-on-year since the 2016 EU referendum and they remain at record levels. Consequently, reported hate crimes have increased by more than 50 per cent in the last six years, from 42,255 in 2012/13 to 103,379 in 2018/19 (Home Office, 2019a). McBride (2016) also found that hate crimes involving harassment occurred much more frequently in socio-economically deprived areas, which were also more likely to be designated asylum seeker dispersal areas. Overall, they found that hostility was greatest in areas where resources such as housing and welfare were already limited, suggesting the perception of realistic threat was a motivating factor in the perpetration of hate crime.

Where more than one motivating factor is perceived by the victim, research and official statistics most frequently show this to be on the basis of race and religion, highlighting the intersectionality demonstrated in many hate crime incidents (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014; Awan, 2019; Home Office, 2019a). Recorded numbers of religiously motivated hate crimes have also dramatically increased in recent years with more than half of these incidents being directed towards those with a perceived Muslim identity (Dearden, 2018). However, data also reveals that it is Jewish men and Muslim women who are being targeted most frequently, suggesting the 'visibility' of religious identity through a victim's dress and appearance played a

significant role in their targeted victimisation (Home Office, 2019a). Female victims of anti-Muslim hate crime also report that perpetrators view their religious dress as an indicator that they cannot speak English, that they are subservient, and that they are 'dangerous' (Sanghani, 2015). These representations of Muslim women reflect the role of perceived 'difference' and 'vulnerability' in hate crime perpetration, which highlights more broadly the nuanced nature of hostility and prejudice (Chakraborti and Garland, 2012). Evidently, hate crime statistics in and of themselves are not sufficient enough in explaining the complicated lives of new arrivals and the ways in which hostility, prejudice and discrimination, at an individual and structural level, intersect with their everyday lives.

Due to the newsworthiness of violence, it tends to be more extreme examples of hate crimes that are reported and discussed in the media and in official discourse (Iganski, 2008; Hardy and Chakraborti, 2016). Much of the media reporting on racist hate crime following the Brexit vote focused predominantly on the serious and violent incidents that occurred, there was less acknowledgement that incidents of verbal abuse had also increased significantly (Burnett, 2016). Overwhelmingly, hate crimes that are reported to the police tend to be more serious incidents of assault or property damage as opposed to other incidents that may be perceived of as 'minor' to the victim (Shively et al, 2014; Crown Prosecution Service, 2017; Hambly et al, 2018). Victims are much less likely to report 'everyday' hate crimes or incidents when they do not feel that the police will take them seriously, when they do not think it's worth police time, and when this type of victimisation becomes a normalised 'ordinary' experience (Hambly et al, 2018). The tendency to perceive hate crimes as serious offences that often result in physical injury means that, despite the growing acknowledgement that 'everyday' incidents are pervasive and equally harmful (Iganski, 2008, Walters, 2013, Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014), much of the research in this area focuses on incidents of targeted hostility that are characterised by their hate-fuelled, brutal violence. Bunar (2007) argues that the police are too quick to dismiss many 'everyday' incidents of anti-immigrant crime as youths engaging in anti-social behaviour. Walters (2014) argues that this is also an issue in the UK as bias-motivated incidents are often not considered serious or particularly harmful to the victim. He found that many hate crime cases that resulted in mediation had escalated from anti-social behaviour and neighbourly disputes. Therefore, he argues that it is very important that the authorities are able to properly identify the difference between 'ordinary' crimes and those that are motivated by a prejudiced motive.

There remains a lack of research that directly explores the experiences of new arrivals, in part, because they are often considered a particularly 'hard-to-reach' group (Wahoush, 2009; Seedat, Hargreaves and Friedland, 2014). Therefore, there is perhaps unsurprisingly, still very little research that comprehensively explores the 'everyday' experiences of new arrivals. Sue (2010) argues that as overt expressions of racism became increasingly unacceptable in mainstream society, more covert and subtle forms of racism and discriminatory behaviours emerged as the new norm. 'Microaggressions', as these insults and invalidations are often called, are defined as:

'the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group'

(Sue, 2010, p. 5).

The 'everyday' nature of these less obvious forms of victimisation means that 'for targets, microaggressions are often continual, never-ending, and cumulative in nature' (Torino et al, 2019, p. 11). Research also highlights the *gendered* racism that can be expressed through microaggressions such as those who insult or invalidate Black women based on physical appearance including comments made about body type, hair or facial features (Lewis et al, 2016). This could also be extended to Muslim women when discriminatory assumptions are made based on their religious dress about their 'oppressed' female status. Furthermore, research also demonstrates that individuals or groups are more likely to experience racist microaggressions when they are also perceived to be of a lower socio-economic status suggesting that perceptions of power and status also affect levels of racist hostility (Torino et al, 2019).

Defining and conceptualising incidents of microaggressions is useful because it provides the language necessary to describe incidents motivated by prejudice and hostility that do not include physical violence. However, because the term predominantly refers to non-criminal acts or events in which criminality is ambiguous, Colliver (2019) argues that a 'gap' in knowledge exists in relation to those prejudice-motivated acts which constitute a 'less serious' criminal offence such as harassment, threatening behaviour and verbal abuse. He coins and defines the term 'micro-crime' as describing 'any offence that is motivated by discrimination or prejudice and is less socially recognisable than traditionally media reported crimes that involve physical

and sexual violence' (Colliver, 2019, p. 42). The need to explore and understand the nature and extent of 'micro-crimes' in the current study is significantly important as previous research indicates that these types of incidents are commonplace. Chakraborti et al (2014) found that of those who had been targeted because of their ethnicity, 91 per cent had been a victim of verbal abuse at least once although many experienced this frequently in their everyday lives. Furthermore, almost three quarters had experienced a form of harassment such as bullying or threatening behaviour. This particularly diverse sample of participants included 55 individuals who identified as refugees or asylum seekers, and many came from 'new' communities originating from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Somalia and Iraq. Thus, the study does shed some much-needed light on the experiences of new arrivals although the data is combined to include the experiences of more 'established' minority groups also. By embracing and utilising the terms 'microaggression', 'micro-crime' and 'hate crime' the current research is able to explore a broader range of experiences encountered by new arrivals whilst ensuring that more 'ordinary', 'low level' and 'everyday' experiences are fully acknowledged.

The targeted victimisation of immigrants and other new communities across Europe is pervasive and causes considerable harm to victims (FRA, 2016). The FRA (2015) found that across the EU, 37 per cent of new migrants had experienced discrimination in the previous 12 months, many of those respondents identified as Muslim or Roma. However, the discussion about immigrants and asylum seekers as victims is almost always subsumed by wider discussions about racist discrimination (Turpin-Petrosino, 2015). Consequently, the lack of research that looks specifically at the 'hidden' victimisation of new arrivals and the particularly low reporting rates from these communities means that the issue remains largely invisible. This is especially true for new arrivals who are less 'visible' because of their ethnicity and religiosity and yet are still widely considered 'undesirable'. In the UK, hostility towards Eastern European immigrant groups has been widely expressed and the media, particularly since the expansion of the EU in 2004 consistently depicts these communities as an economic and criminal threat (Spigelman, 2013). The production and reproduction of hostile and discriminatory discourse is discussed at length in Chapter Two and for some new and historically stigmatised communities, this has manifested as 'White racism' (Bhopal, 2011). Chakraborti and Garland (2015) argue that racist hate crimes motivated by the victims 'undesirable Whiteness' is much less often recognised. Although dated, Gilroy's (1987 p. 43) highly relevant definition of 'new' racism is useful in understanding hostility towards Eastern European communities:

'New forms of racism have the capacity to link discourses of patriotism, nationalism, xenophobia, Englishness, Britishness, militarism and gender difference into a complex situation which gives 'race' its contemporary meaning'.

Xeno-racism towards White 'foreigners' has developed as a result of wider anti-immigrant discourses and perceptions of threat (Sivanandan, 2009; Rzepnikowska, 2019). Burnett (2012) found that Eastern European families who moved into predominantly White British and rural areas suffered significant repeat victimisation. This victimisation often took the form of lengthy and relentless campaigns of harassment, bullying and threatening behaviour, often from groups of young, native residents. Rzepnikowska (2019) found that because Polish people are predominantly White, victims of targeted hostility were instead identified by where they lived, the number plates on their cars, their Polish satellite dishes, or simply because they looked 'foreign'.

The racist targeting of Polish people and other Eastern European immigrants gained considerable media attention following the Brexit vote in 2016. Cards with the words 'Leave the EU/No more Polish vermin' which were being posted through the doors of Polish residents in Cambridgeshire made national news (Pells, 2016). Rzepnikowska (2019) found that after the referendum, Polish residents who lived in ethnically and culturally diverse areas were less likely to experience elevated levels of hostility and continued to feel safe and generally welcome. Conversely, those who lived in predominantly White British areas, or worked with predominantly White British colleagues, were more likely to feel suddenly ignored or unwelcome, and experience verbal insults or abuse. Recent studies that highlight the experiences of Polish immigrants have tended to focus more on those who moved to the UK when Poland first ascended to the EU or prior. Furthermore, many of these now more established groups have since considerably improved their socio-economic situation and are often living in affluent areas and are considered better integrated than more recent arrivals (Gill, 2010; Ryan, 2018; Rzepnikowska, 2019). There is little acknowledgement for the experiences of new waves of Poles who have continued to arrive in the UK during the pre and post Brexit years. New immigrants are more likely to occupy a low socio-economic status and live in deprived areas, meaning they are also more likely to experience higher rates of hate crime (Majumder, 2017).

3.2 Direct and indirect harms of targeted hostility

It is well documented that the impacts on victims of experiencing microaggressions, micro-crimes and hate crime are wide-ranging and significantly harmful (Williams and Tregidga, 2013; Chakraborti et al, 2014; Hardy and Chakraborti, 2016; Paterson, Walters, Brown and Fearn, 2018). It is also maintained that hate crimes cause greater levels of harm than equivalent offences that are not motivated by prejudice (Iganski, 2001; Iganski and Lagou, 2015). Craig-Henderson and Sloan (2003, p. 482) argue that the negative impacts of racist hate crime on victims are 'qualitatively distinct' from the emotions victims of parallel crimes may experience because of the deeply personal nature of the attack on their core identity. Victims are especially likely to experience greater harms when, as a member of a stigmatised and marginalised ethnic minority group, their victimisation brings to the fore the fear and pain caused by historical, systematic discriminative attacks on their identity group.

Victims of hate crime frequently report high levels of psychological and emotional trauma as a result of their experiences, with increased levels of anxiety, depression, loss of confidence, nervousness, anger, and fear of repeat victimisation often discussed (McDevitt et al, 2001; Perry and Alvi, 2012; Chakraborti et al, 2014). Although Iganski and Lagou (2015) found that not all victims report being affected by their experiences of hate crime, Chakraborti et al (2014) found that 97 per cent of racist hate crime victims said that their experiences had impacted upon them in one form or another, ranging from feeling upset or fearful to wanting to live in another city. Furthermore, of those who had experienced violent victimisation a quarter had been left feeling depressed with many more reporting feelings of anger and distrust in others. In the wake of increasing numbers of reported hate crimes post-Brexit, the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Hate Crime found that rising offences were causing significant emotional and psychological harms including leaving some victims suicidal and feeling unable to leave their house (Dearden, 2019b). Victims also reported feeling increasingly vulnerable to attacks from right-wing extremists and felt that inflamed hostility created by right-wing politicians was to blame (Dearden, 2019b). Especially in a post-Brexit environment where incidents of targeted hostility remain considerably high, it is important to explore the harms caused to particularly marginalised and 'hidden' communities who are much less likely to report their experiences or seek appropriate support for fear of negative consequences, or due to a lack of knowledge about their rights (Hardy, 2019).

Much of what is reported in the media and features in official policy describes the direct harms that occur from instances that can be clearly defined as a 'hate crime' and to a lesser extent 'micro-crimes'. Typically, acts of microaggressive behaviour such as making assumptions about a person's intelligence based on their ethnicity or invalidating ethnic minority experiences through colour 'blindness', have been perceived as 'innocent' mistakes that should not cause offence (Sue et al, 2007). Consequently, microaggressions are perceived to cause minimal or no harm and people of colour are encouraged to 'let it go' (Sue et al, 2007, p. 278). However, there is a growing body of research that examines the true impact of microaggressions and argues that the cumulative effect of being subjected to insults, being racially stereotyped, and having your experiences invalidated or denied, must be taken more seriously (Sue, 2010; Nadal et al, 2014). Research demonstrates that experiencing racial microaggressions impacts negatively on mental health and those who suffer a higher number of cumulative experiences are more likely to exhibit depressive symptoms, hold a more negative world view, and are less willing to trust people (Nadal et al, 2014). El-Bialy and Mulay (2018, p. 1) found that 'the mental health of resettled refugees is not only affected by the trauma they experience before and while fleeing persecution, but also by experiences during the resettlement process'. New arrivals reported that they experienced discrimination whilst being resettled in North America and were denied a sense of belonging by native residents who made them feel unwanted and unwelcome. The microaggressive behaviours experienced by the refugees exacerbated their existing trauma and significantly impacted their sense of well-being (El-Bialy and Mulay, 2018).

Aside from the emotional and psychological harms that may be suffered by victims of microaggressions, micro-crimes and hate crimes, for many, there are often behavioural implications to their experiences. Research demonstrates that victims of targeted hostility develop coping strategies and adapt their everyday lives to try and avoid repeat victimisation, reduce their fears and anxieties about being targeted, and to ultimately feel safer (Williams and Tregida, 2013; Chakraborti et al, 2014; Paterson et al, 2018). Behavioural impacts of hate crime involve both taking proactive steps taken to feel safer and engaging in avoidance behaviours which may result in social isolation and withdrawal from everyday life. Chakraborti et al (2014) found that almost a third of victims had improved their home security as a result of their previous experiences while some also began carrying personal security devices. Many victims also reported attempting to change or hide aspects of their identity and appearance in order to reduce or avoid negative attention. One in ten victims said that they had even begun concealing their nationality, hiding their asylum seeker status and/or hiding their race/ethnicity where possible (Chakraborti et al, 2014). Also frequently reported are the avoidance behaviours that

victims assume to reduce the risk of further victimisation. Chakraborti et al (2014, p.51) found that three-fifths of people would 'avoid walking in certain areas or going to certain places' perceiving them to be unsafe. Williams and Tregida (2013) found that some of those who had experienced targeted hostility were willing to take even more extreme measures to avoid certain areas, as one-third of victims had considered moving away from their local area completely. Following the significant spikes in hate crime post-referendum, fear of victimisation intensified for some communities and this led to increased social withdrawal with some rarely leaving their houses (Dearden, 2019b). When examining the use of space, especially public space, identity characteristics such as age, gender, race and immigrant status intersect to influence an individual's fear of crime (Pain, 2001). Consequently, in areas where racial and anti-immigrant hostility are perceived to be high, new arrivals and people of colour fear victimisation more and this directly impacts the way in which they do or do not engage with the space around them (Stanko, 1990; Day, 1999).

Experiencing targeted hostility, especially for repeat victims, may lead to prolonged social isolation which disadvantages new arrivals at a structural level as well as causing trauma on a personal, psychological level. McBride (2016, p. 16) critiques the conventional approach of studying the emotional and psychological impacts of hate crime on victims. She argues that especially for new arrivals, such as asylum seekers and refugees, this perspective often ignores the wider socio-economic and political contexts within which new arrivals are targeted, and neglects to consider the impact of policy decisions, such as the dispersal of asylum seekers into predominantly White, working-class areas. Consequently, McBride (2016) argues that more attention needs to be given to the way in which structural discrimination, such as unequal access to the labour and housing market, combined with the impacts of hate crime exacerbate the harms suffered by victims and negatively shape their whole life experiences. These issues, and how they impact upon the wider 'belonging' and integration of new arrivals, will be explored in greater detail later in the chapter.

As the canon of hate crime research has grown over the last couple of decades in the UK, so too has an appreciation for the direct harms caused by targeted hostility on individual victims. However, what remains less clear is the extent to which microaggressions, micro-crimes and hate crime causes harm *indirectly*, not just to the families of victims, but to the wider community as well (Perry and Alvi, 2012; Bell and Perry, 2015; Paterson et al, 2018). Hate crimes are often described as 'message crimes' because victims are targeted on the basis of the group identity they are perceived to represent, not because of who they are personally (OSCE, 2014). As such,

the act itself is designed to convey a 'message' to both the direct victim and anyone else who identifies as part of that identity group that they are unwelcome and unsafe. Paterson et al (2018) found that the indirect impacts of hate crime on wider community members often occurred as part of a process. Incidents of targeted hostility initially increased group members' feelings of vulnerability and empathy and this, in turn, increased their emotional reactions which manifested as anger, anxiety and fear. Depending on their emotional response, some community members' anger led them to consciously resist negative behaviours associated with 'victimhood' and some became *more* active within their communities. While those who felt anxiety and fear were much more likely to exhibit security concerns and engage with avoidance behaviours (Paterson et al, 2018).

The more 'connected' to a group identity a person is, the more empathy they feel when someone who is also a group member is targeted as they identify a sense of 'shared suffering' (Walters et al, 2019). However, the most significant indirect harms are felt when incidents also occur within someone's local area as they are more likely to perceive that their immediate community has been targeted. Paterson et al (2018, p.21) found that 'simply hearing about others' victimisation – whether they are friends, friends of a friend, or even a complete stranger – can make people feel vulnerable, angry, and are likely to affect their behaviours'. Especially within tight-knit religious communities and communities with strong national and cultural ties, information travels quickly and deeply (Hardy, 2019). Consequently, experiences of targeted hostility are likely to be shared and felt by wider immigrant populations quite significantly, although this has not been specifically explored with new arrivals to date.

The emotional, psychological and behavioural impacts of targeted hostility on the individual victim and the wider community are clearly demonstrated in previous research, although the harms caused by indirect experiences remain under-explored. However, there is evidence that some victims may have an alternative emotional response to being targeted. Hardy (2019) found that victims of hate crime, including new arrivals, did not report their experiences to the authorities because they had developed a level of personal 'resilience' that led them to deal with the incident themselves or with support from others. Hardy (2019, p. 13) says that 'participants spoke of having the 'strength' to cope, becoming 'hardened', and developing a 'thick skin' and techniques to survive'. Depending on an individual's personal values and feelings, some new arrivals feel relatively unaffected by hate crime; they actively reject the role of victim and are resistant against the 'burden narrative' they are subjected to by the media and official discourses (Crawley, McMahon and Jones, 2016; El-Bialy and Mulay, 2018).

Contemporary feminist theorists have moved away from framing women's and minority groups' experiences as a form of 'victimhood' based on the assertion that the concept of 'victim' denies the presence of 'agency' (Convery, 2006). By rejecting any perception that they are 'vulnerable', 'passive' and 'oppressed', people who experience harm due to crime often identify with an alternative narrative that does not depict them as a victim (Papendick and Bohner, 2017). Erentzen, Schuller and Gardner (2018, p. 1) argue that hate crime victims are regularly depicted as 'passive recipients of harassment and violence' yet this does not reflect the 'real' experiences of many victims who do engage with their perpetrator in some way either prior, during or immediately after the incident. In fact, Chakraborti et al (2014, p. 51) found that almost one in five victims of targeted hostility had retaliated 'verbally or physically' to their victimisation. These less 'typical' emotional responses do not necessarily mean that victims do not incur any harm as a result of their experiences, but the extent to which resilience and personal feelings influence or negate the victimising experiences that new arrivals encounter is an under-explored area.

3.3 The structural discrimination of new arrivals

Racism and racially-motivated acts of targeted hostility are often framed as expressions of individual prejudice rather than as being part of wider society's systemic discriminatory and exclusionary systems that continue to disadvantage minority groups (Salter, Adams and Perez, 2018). Furthermore, whilst serious and violent incidents of hate crime are considered rare, racism in its broader sense is not extraordinary at all and is in fact entrenched in the structure of the everyday (Brown et al, 2003). Salter et al (2018, p.151) argue that:

'the racism of modern society not only is a function of its distant origins but also refers to manifestations embedded in practices, artefacts, discourse, and institutional realities, for example, legal, educational and economic systems'.

Decades of relentless demonising of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees by powerful and influential institutions means that new arrivals are susceptible to victimisation that is considerably multifaceted. Both at a personal and structural level, multiple harms often occur simultaneously. Bowling and Westenra (2018a) argue that migrants are perceived by institutions as 'suspicious' and 'untrustworthy' which has ultimately led to a significant increase in the targeted social control of new arrivals. Practices that involve the surveillance, regulation, investigation and exclusion of new migrants are observable within social policy, criminal justice

and wider policing agencies but they are also evident in more subtle ways within areas of housing, employment, education and health care (Bowling and Westenra, 2018a).

In seeking to stabilise and control societies divided by long-term austerity, unemployment, and an increasing number of citizens who feel 'left behind' by their governments, the 'undesirable' immigrant has become the most prominent scapegoat and most popular 'folk devil' (Bosworth, Parmar and Vazquez, 2018; Bowling and Westenra, 2018b). Non-White, non-Christian and non-English speaking migrants are generally not afforded the same 'privilege' of geographical mobility as White Westerners, and many countries, including the UK, allow racism to shape the policing and punishment of all new arrivals. Bowling and Westenra (2018b, p.61) argue that what was initially a system of social control aimed to target and prevent 'illegal' immigrants from entering the UK, has evolved into a much broader, global 'crimmigration system' which operates on the perception that all visible 'difference' is 'suspicious' and 'dangerous' and must be surveyed and controlled.

Where the legal status of new arrivals remains ambiguous so do their rights as non-residents and non-citizens. The racism and inequality built into official immigration and asylum policies plays out in courts of law where cases that may have previously been heard in a civil court become part of criminal jurisdiction (Bowling and Westenra, 2018a; Vazquez, 2018; Bosworth, 2019). In previous decades, when individuals breached visa regulations, such as arriving without documents or overstaying, this was dealt with administratively. However, with the creation of specific immigration-crime offences, the Home Office and immigration officers now have the power to criminally charge and prosecute people for almost every possible type of breach (Bowling and Westenra, 2018a). Aliverti (2012) argues that although the prosecution rate for immigration crimes is relatively low in the UK, these laws have been seen to disproportionately target the most vulnerable of new arrivals. Asylum seekers who may arrive with false or incorrect documents can be imprisoned while their claims are assessed meaning that otherwise law-abiding people and families are criminalised (Aliverti, 2012). Bowling and Westenra (2018a) argue that it is not just the act of criminalising immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers that is problematic, the crimmigration system has the power to instil constant feelings of threat and fear in all those who may be perceived as 'undesirable' immigrants. As such, it could be argued that experiencing structural discrimination, even indirectly, causes psychological and emotional harm to new arrivals much in the same way that hate crime also impacts wider community members.

Vazquez (2018, p. 142) argues that the current 'crimmigration' system has widespread, discriminatory consequences for new arrivals:

'Those labelled as 'criminal' can be legally excluded from certain employment, housing, social programmes, freedom of association, and voting. As a result, they are more likely to live in poverty, be unemployed, be less healthy, under-educated, and their children, families, and communities are more likely to suffer from the same social disadvantages.'

These issues are so endemic that the aggressively hostile immigration policies currently in place in the UK has even directly impacted long-established immigrants, some of whom arrived in the UK in the 1950s and 60s as part of the 'Windrush' generation (de Noronha, 2019). Immigrants native to the Caribbean who had long been granted indefinite leave to remain began to lose their houses, jobs and access to health care; some even faced deportation because they had suddenly been illegalised (Gentleman, 2018). In a recent UN report, Special Rapporteur, Tendayi Achiume acknowledged the ongoing work by the UK government to improve racial equality through its comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation and laws to protect victims of hate crime, but argued that not enough is being done at a structural level to combat deep-rooted institutionalised racism and hostility towards new arrivals (UNHCR, 2019c). The report calls for immediate and radical change to UK immigration policy after finding that the 'hostile environment' strategy employed by the Government 'exacerbates discrimination, stokes xenophobic sentiment and further entrenches racial inequality' (UNHCR, 2019c, p. 17). For example, the Home Office's 'Go Home or Face Arrest' billboards and other inflammatory immigration campaigns have been found to make immigrant communities feel particularly fearful, angry, anxious, confused and vulnerable to targeted victimisation (Dhaliwal, 2015). Additionally, the campaigns encouraged members of the public to conflate legal and illegal immigration which led to an increase in victimisation of new arrivals based on the perception that they were 'illegal' despite having settled status or even citizenship (Jones et al, 2015).

Even for those new arrivals not labelled officially as 'criminal', once new migrants arrive and settle in the UK they enter into a more localised yet still 'hostile' system of continued exclusion and disadvantage. Previous research has established that immigrants seeking private housing are treated less favourably than native residents, and new arrivals, especially non-English speaking and non-Christian groups, have reported experiencing racial discrimination when trying to secure accommodation (Dunn et al, 2009; Markus, 2014). Research across Europe has found that African, Asian and Eastern European immigrants are most likely to experience

discrimination in the housing market and struggle to find accommodation that is appropriate for their needs (Aaltonen, Joronen, & Villa, 2009; Wysieńska, 2013). The 'Right to Rent' scheme outlined in the Immigration Act 2014 and 2016 require landlords to check and confirm the immigration status of all potential tenants with the wider aim of increasingly denying irregular migrants' access to services and accommodation. Failure to do so could result in criminal sanctions for the landlord (Home Office, 2019b). Patel and Peel (2017) found that these checks were inadvertently disadvantaging a wide range of ethnic minority and immigrant groups as the threat of penalties for landlords increased the chances of them being excluded from the application process entirely. Half of the landlords surveyed said that they would be less inclined to rent to foreign nationals or those without a British passport as a result of the checks, and many also reported that noticing a 'foreign accent or name' would make them less likely to agree the tenancy (Patel and Peel, 2017, p. 5).

MacDonald et al (2016) found that native residents were treated much more positively and taken more seriously by housing agents and in ways that would meaningfully impact upon the outcome of accommodation searches for immigrants. For example, native residents were much more likely than Indian or Muslim Middle Eastern immigrants to be offered an appointment to view the property after an initial phone call; native's housing needs were taken into account by agents more often and they were more likely to be told about other available housing; and 'agents were more likely to explain the application form...and provide additional information beyond the standard elements' to native residents (MacDonald et al, 2016, p. 38). For new arrivals who also lack financial capital, the discrimination that they face in the housing market paired with their lower socio-economic status significantly restricts their opportunities and pushes them into under-serviced, deprived areas (Aalbers, 2007; Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011). Furthermore, these are also areas within which, as previously discussed, new arrivals are at more risk of experiencing hate crime due to the hostility and prejudice that may be generated through the perception of realistic threat (McBride, 2016).

Similarly, the racism, discrimination and exclusion suffered by new arrivals in the labour market is also well-documented. Clark and Drinkwater (2002) found that living in ethnic minority-concentrated areas had negative consequences for new arrivals' equal engagement with the labour market. Unemployment is higher in deprived areas because there is less demand for products and labour generally and these are also areas most likely to be populated by new arrivals. Nunn et al (2010) argue that employers may engage in 'postcode selection' and discriminate against potential employees based on where they live and what this may tell the

employer about their racial, ethnic or national identity. More broadly, Hills et al (2010) found that racial discrimination and exclusion were present at early recruitment stages which immediately marginalised and restricted the labour opportunities of ethnic minorities regardless of their geographical position.

Fernandez-Reino and Rienzo (2019) found that employed immigrants were more likely than UK-born residents to hold precarious zero-hours or temporary contracts and were more likely to have jobs that required them to work night shifts. Immigrant workers, especially those from the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, were also more likely to remain in part-time posts because they were unable to find full-time employment. It is now thought that working under these conditions can negatively impact a person's mental and physical health. The financial instability and irregular, unpredictable working patterns created by non-permanent and zero-hours contracts has been found to increase stress and anxiety in workers (Marsh, 2017). Furthermore, not only does working night shifts disrupt the quantity and quality of sleep which impacts significantly on mental and physical health, those who work unsociable hours are more likely to experience high levels of stress, and report suffering from cardiovascular and gastrointestinal disorders (Harrington, 2001). Consequently, as a result of experiencing racism, discrimination and exclusion within the labour market, new arrivals are also disproportionately suffering from poorer health.

3.4 Wider implications for new migrant communities

It has long been observed that migrants in a 'host' environment often attempt to forge a collective space which allows them to establish a new 'home'; a place that offers them a sense of community and familiarity and is also a place that can be 'owned' in some sense by migrant communities (Gill, 2010). The process of 'place-making' is something that new arrivals are especially likely to engage with if they face discrimination and deprivation in the host society (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Creating spaces within which new communities can exist peacefully and safely, and in areas that provide properly for their diverse needs is not always a straightforward and harmonious process. Herbert (2008) argues that as cities become increasingly multicultural, established residents and newly arrived communities engage in a process of negotiation over the boundaries that dictate the space that new arrivals are 'allowed' to occupy and settle. She argues that in the city of Leicester throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s, 'White flight' most often occurred in disadvantaged and neglected areas of a city, yet because of the more affordable housing and close proximity to employment opportunities these areas

were more attractive to new arrivals. These areas, in the city centre and wards to the West of the city, have remained established conduits for newly arrived communities who continue to settle there (Herbert, 2008).

It is perceived that socio-spatial negotiations with the established residents leads to a very particular dispersal of immigrant groups in diverse cities with highly concentrated areas of immigrants in the most disadvantaged and neglected sections of the city (Jargowsky, 2006). This pattern of segregation in living space can be seen in many cities across the UK, however, conventional explanations of these spatial divisions tend to fall almost exclusively along racial lines. Ethnic-minority concentrated areas in Leicester are so long-established that they represent a diversity that goes far beyond the traditional concept of 'multiculturalism', which often only reflects ethno-national diversity (Grzymala-Kazłowska and Phillimore, 2018; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018). Vertovec (2007) introduced the concept of 'super-diversity' in acknowledgement that populations have become increasingly diverse in multiple and intersecting ways. As well as being racially and ethnically diverse, new and emerging populations also vary in faith, gender, socio-economic status, legal status, educational attainment and language proficiency. Pemberton and Phillimore (2018, p. 734) also argue that 'super-diverse neighbourhoods are demographically layered, accommodating both old (established) and new (more recently arrived) immigrants from multiple countries of origin, as well as long-standing non-migrant populations'. As such, in order to truly understand the place-making negotiations undertaken by new arrivals settling in super-diverse cities, it must also be acknowledged how multiple identity characteristics intersect to shape and influence their individual experiences. Furthermore, in recognition of the super-diverse communities in Leicester where no one ethnic group constitutes a majority, the study explores how migrant populations negotiate space between themselves in the absence of White British residents.

Establishing a sense of 'community' and 'belonging' is also a part of new arrivals' place-making processes and previous research suggests that where these social bonds can be formed, cohesion in a local area is likely to be high (Gill, 2010; Boschman and van Ham, 2015). Previous research within the field of urban and environmental studies, has demonstrated a variety of benefits that exist for those living in minority-concentrated areas where social cohesion is strong. Firstly, new arrivals are able to maintain a shared sense of identity with those who share the same faith, culture and/or national traditions as them (Logan, Zhang and Alba, 2002). Secondly, they also find it easier to maintain family ties when living in close proximity and build strong local support systems which provides a sense of security (Phillips, 2007). Living together

can also be useful in practical terms for new arrivals and improve their employment and housing opportunities because minority-concentrated communities have been found to share information and knowledge in order to better support one another (Logan et al, 2002; Hickman, Crowley and Mai, 2008; Hedman, 2013). However, research in this area has predominantly focused on neighbourhoods where the population demographics are very similar, and as such, the minority-concentrated areas often consist of people from the same ethnic, national or faith group (Boschman and van Ham, 2015). In a super-diverse area like Leicester, even minority-concentrated areas are likely to be diverse in terms of nationality, faith, legal status, age, cultural practices and other personal characteristics. Consequently, it is less clear whether or not the same benefits to living together exist in super-diverse areas or whether the same level of social cohesion can be reached.

Despite some of the benefits to living in ethnic minority-concentrated areas, living in these almost 'self-sufficient' and 'separate' enclaves has been labelled as significantly problematic by some in wider society, particularly by those in government who see minority-concentrated areas as a barrier to 'integration'. Pemberton and Phillimore (2018, p. 734) argue that minority-concentrated areas can become a 'catalyst for racism' because they are perceived by the majority society as a sign of self-segregation and rejection of the host society's way of life. As such, by living together, new arrivals may experience increased hostility as they attempt to create a new 'home' in the host society. Hickman et al (2008) found that there was a general belief that Somali families in Kilburn and Leicester weakened community relations because they were perceived by established residents as unsociable and lacking conviviality because they did not want to 'mix' with others in the neighbourhood. Official and media discourse also tends to frame minority-concentrated areas as 'dangerous', 'hostile', 'inward looking' and as increasing the risk of ideological extremism and radicalisation. Evidence suggests that this is especially the case when these areas are home to predominantly Muslim residents (Gilligan and Griffiths, 2017).

However, these arguments assume that self-segregation is a choice that new arrivals make freely. While there is evidence to suggest that members of ethnic minorities demonstrate a preference for living in diverse areas, there is some research to support the argument that new arrivals' choices are limited and restricted by their lack of social capital, lack of opportunity, and the threat of targeted victimisation (Phillips, 2007; Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011; Boschman and van Ham, 2015). Earlier, this chapter discussed the discrimination that new arrivals face in the housing and employment markets. Boschman and van Ham (2015) argue that it is partially

due to these negative experiences that causes migrant communities to lack in social and financial capital. This, in turn, limits the choices new arrivals can make meaning they are more likely to live in poorer, more deprived areas which are often minority-concentration neighbourhoods. Although, the Somali community in Leicester are considered to have settled well in super-diverse areas, when new families were placed in predominantly White areas outside of the city centre, they encountered significant hostility and some were even physically attacked (Hickman et al, 2008). Previous studies have found that new arrivals' decisions to live in minority-concentrated areas are constrained by the fear of racist victimisation that they anticipate they would experience if they were living in predominantly White areas (Bowes and Sim, 2002; Phillips, 2007). Phillips (2007, p. 1149) found that 'some minority ethnic households in the UK are prepared to sacrifice better quality housing in order to achieve greater security from racial harassment'. Consequently, without access to wider social networks, better-paid employment, and improved housing, social mobility overall is much more difficult to achieve (Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011).

Despite the wealth of previous research on minority-concentrated neighbourhoods, it is also important to acknowledge that viewing minority-concentrated areas as inherent zones of safety, community and familiarity is problematic. This is because it ignores the experiences of many hate crime victims who are targeted by people who may also be a part of the minority community and people who are victimised in and around their home or local area. Earlier in this chapter, the emotional, psychological and behavioural impacts of experiencing targeted victimisation were discussed. One of the most frequent findings is that victims tend to withdraw to their neighbourhoods in an attempt to avoid 'unsafe' spaces in which they fear repeat victimisation. However, previous research does not adequately capture the experiences of hate crimes that occur *within* neighbourhoods or local space and rarely considers the impact that then has on the victims' sense of community, feelings of belonging, and their eventual opportunities to integrate (Phillips, 2007; Benier, 2017). Chakraborti et al (2014) found that almost a quarter of hate crime incidents had occurred outside or near the victim's home and this appeared to increase the victim's feelings of fear and vulnerability because perpetrators knew where they lived. Benier (2017) found that victims of hate crime who had been targeted within their neighbourhood began to restrict their movements and became less involved in neighbourhood interactions. They also reported having fewer friends in the local area which led to an increase in social isolation and a deteriorated state of well-being.

‘Hate crime victims reported a reduced sense of belonging and pride in their community, which may also result in less engagement with other residents in the neighbourhood in which they live’

(Benier, 2017, p. 194).

The behavioural impacts of hate crime *within* neighbourhoods not only reduces the likelihood of establishing social capital because it leads to less interaction with other community members, but also has economic consequences because victims develop a reluctance to participate in public space. Overall, as feelings of belonging and acceptance diminish, and feelings of fear, exclusion and inequality become more prevalent, local social cohesion and trust is undermined (Benier, 2017). These findings are useful because they shed new light on the localised nature of hate crime victimisation and its impacts, but the participants of the research were ethnic minority families living in predominantly White areas. Benier (2017, p. 182) argues that the White residents were seeking to ‘eliminate difference in the neighbourhood’. This is not the case in super-diverse neighbourhoods where ‘difference’ is considerably more prevalent and White residents are unlikely to constitute a majority. Consequently, it is still unclear what behavioural impacts hate crime causes to new arrivals in super-diverse neighbourhoods and this is explored through the current research project.

As discussed in Chapter Two, immigration and asylum have become increasingly central within political discourse, particularly in the last two decades. The increasing diversity of many areas of the UK, divisive public opinion and a resurgence in right-wing xenophobic discourse have contributed to an ‘integration agenda’ framed by reactive panic-driven measures, biased and often discriminatory assumptions and an ignorance towards the layered, nuanced and complex variations in new arrivals demographics, experiences and access to opportunity (Dearden, 2016). Furthermore, living in minority-concentrated areas is increasingly associated with elevated risks of ideological extremism and radicalisation (Home Office, 2015). The pressures on government and social institutions to address the social, political and economic marginalisation, exclusion and isolation of certain groups has, amongst other things, led to minority-concentrated neighbourhoods being repeatedly labelled as ‘problematic’ and as working against the goal of promoting social cohesion through integration. There appears to be no acknowledgement of wider research in official policy that acknowledges the genuine benefits for new arrivals who live together (Boschman and van Ham, 2015).

Two of the most prominent and influential individuals to work with the government on inquiries and reviews into integration and social cohesion in recent years, Sir Trevor Phillips and Dame Louise Casey, have repeatedly denounced Muslim immigrants as posing the biggest ‘challenge’ to building a more successfully integrated society. Most likely drawing on the official EU definition of integration, this process is most commonly referred to by UK politicians, government representatives and official institutions as a ‘two-way street’ (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018). However, both Phillips (2016, p. 27) and Casey (2016) overwhelmingly present the argument that Britain is a welcoming and hospitable nation that has continuously ‘shifted’ and ‘flexed’ to accommodate new arrivals. Consequently, their arguments reflect the view that the onus should primarily rest with new arrivals to make *more* effort to integrate. Underlying assumptions that, especially Muslim immigrants, are resistant to adapting to their host country, and that targeted pro-active intervention will move society towards greater equality and cohesion, are obvious within their recommendations to government. Importantly for the current research, it is arguably the incomplete, unbalanced and one-dimensional work of both Phillips and Casey that has encouraged a ‘one-way street’ perspective with high expectations placed on new arrivals, ignoring the role that the established society play in also shaping this process.

As Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, Phillips’ Equalities Review published in 2007 acknowledged the role of discrimination in limiting the employment opportunities of people from an ethnic minority background. The evidence suggested this was especially true for those from Pakistan and Bangladesh, predominantly Muslim countries, and the panel concluded that this was a significant barrier in their attempts to fully integrate into wider society. However, by 2015/16 Phillips’ commentary regarding the progress that certain ethnic and religious communities were making in relation to integration had shifted focus and was now shaped by an immigrant-blaming perspective. Phillips (2016) argues strongly that whilst ‘organic’ integration had occurred slowly but successfully in previous decades, new super-diverse environments have led to a culture ‘clash’ between established groups and ‘newcomers’. Without much hesitation Phillips goes on to argue that religious minorities, primarily Muslims and Orthodox Jewish communities, are most ‘problematic’ because the attitudes and beliefs held by some are dangerous, predatory, sexist and generally incompatible with Western values. Ultimately, he proposes a more aggressive integration approach must be actively enforced upon these communities if we are to live ‘harmoniously’ as a whole society. The underlying messages of Phillips’ later work was very much mirrored in the Casey Review which was published shortly after.

The Casey Review has emerged as an influential yet divisive account of modern-day integration in the UK. Casey (2016) addresses the 'regressive attitudes' that conservative religious teachings promote and argues that sexism, misogyny and homophobia are harmful to integrative efforts. However, the majority of the report frames Islam as an oppressive religion for women because it argues they are 'forced' to wear religious dress by the men of their faith. It arguably remains important to acknowledge the role of Islam in shaping the gendered identities of Muslim women. There is now a plethora of established research that demonstrates the agency and self-determination that Muslim women express in their everyday lives, particularly those living in Western and non-Muslim societies (Brown, 2006). In particular, research with Muslim women living in the UK and other non-predominantly Muslim societies, has shown that women exercise a personal choice to wear religious dress for many reasons including religious piety, public modesty, an expression of belonging within their community and to outwardly demonstrate agency (Williams and Vashi, 2007; Hopkins and Greenwood, 2013; Zempi, 2015). The view that Casey (2016) takes within her report entirely omits this perspective and commentators have criticised the report as being ignorant and potentially damaging to community relations, and arguing it ignores the role that discrimination plays in restricting the social mobility of Muslim women (Khan, 2016, 2018; Bassel, 2016; Taylor, 2016). The problematic nature of official integration policy is challenged throughout this thesis and is explored in greater detail in Chapter Six.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the implications of the increasingly 'hostile environment' created by the societal conditions set out in Chapter Two. The behavioural manifestation of racial and xenophobic prejudice results in the pervasive and multifaceted victimisation of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees on an everyday basis and at great emotional and psychological cost to victims, their families, and wider community members. The chapter highlights the importance of exploring the experiences of groups who have remained at the peripherals of the hate debate. Due to conventional interpretations of 'race' and 'ethnicity', only certain 'established' voices have been able to gain recognition for their targeted victimisation but new and emerging groups with less social capital and power remain largely unheard. Similarly, while serious and violent hate crimes are often reported on in the media and discussed within social discourse, it is still the case that 'everyday' incidents of racial microaggressions and micro-crimes are considered less harmful and as something the victim should simply ignore. The emotional, psychological and behavioural impacts of targeted hostility are also explored but literature suggests that not only

are new arrivals less likely to report their personal experiences to the authorities, they may also be suffering significant harm as *indirect* victims which goes considerably under-acknowledged. The chapter also reflects on the broader, structural discrimination suffered by migrant groups as hate crime literature has been critiqued for ignoring the wider socio-economic and political contexts within which new arrivals are targeted. The literature also suggests that both structural and individual experiences of racism, discrimination and victimisation create a complex process within which new arrivals live in fear of being targeted for their 'difference', are excluded from opportunities that would afford them social mobility and suffer from social isolation. These negative experiences can potentially accumulate to create significant barriers to meaningful integration with wider society.

Chapter Four: Methodology

‘Are you sure you want to research racism? You’ll struggle, maybe consider something else’

Delegate in conversation with me at an academic conference (2015).

‘It’s more important to account for social phenomena than it is to count them’

Pat Carlen (2010).

As demonstrated in the previous literature review chapters, current British hate crime legislation, government policies and previous academic research appears to reflect a significant but limited understanding of racism in the UK. However, it has become evident that what the government, agencies of criminal justice, academics and the general public know about targeted hostility based on race tends to come predominantly from certain ‘established’ voices. While the experiences of some minority ethnic groups are well documented, ‘new arrivals’ in the form of emerging migrant communities and refugees are increasingly stigmatised, demonised and overlooked. At a time in history when anti-immigrant and xenophobic sentiment is once again inflamed and right-wing populism receives great attention, it is more important than ever for researchers to find more flexible and non-traditional methods to access these ‘hard-to-reach’ victim groups.

This chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the methodological process by which this study was conducted. Data for this study was collected in three strands: participant observation, semi-structured interviews and through what Jacobsen and Walklate (2017) describe as ‘imaginative’ methods. The main purpose of this research was to gain a more comprehensive understanding of racially motivated targeted hostility by focusing on the experiences of ‘new’ migrants and refugees that are currently living in the city of Leicester, UK. The nature of this study meant that it was necessary to embrace a framework that allowed for a recursive process of numerous cycles of planning, fieldwork and analysis. Due to the significant social and political changes that were occurring throughout the duration of this study, it was deemed most appropriate to employ a Grounded Theory (GT) approach to this research. One of the main strengths of utilising an exploratory framework is that it allows the researcher to regularly reflect

on and adapt their approach in order to create new knowledge that is both meaningful and relevant.

This chapter will demonstrate the value of employing an exclusively qualitative approach when trying to engage with a 'minority perspective' and justify why flexible and sometimes labour intensive methods were necessary to collect data with this study's particular sample. The chapter will also highlight the ways in which the researcher's own identity as a young, middle-class, White, British female PhD student working with a sample of both male and female migrants and refugees from a variety of ethnic, religious and social backgrounds, inevitably impacted upon the research. Consequently, the way in which I managed my position as an 'outsider', which ultimately was neither a fixed position nor a disadvantage most of the time, will also be considered in this chapter. Evaluating the effectiveness of this methodology and acknowledging the barriers and limitations that arose throughout the process, could inform the research practices of other academics in the field who have previously continued to overlook certain groups who remain peripheral to research because they are perceived as 'hidden' and 'hard-to-reach'.

Despite the iterative nature of GT, with sampling, data collection and analysis often happening in parallel, there must be a starting point which typically begins with general research aims or questions (Bryman, 2012). The earlier literature review chapters point toward the focus of this thesis being about the prejudice and hostility suffered by 'new' immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees coming to the UK. Consequently, two broad research aims were generated to investigate these themes and ultimately help develop a model of targeted hostility and integration of new arrivals that 'fits' and 'works' in the real world (Glaser and Strauss, 1967):

1. To explore both the direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility encountered by 'new' migrants, asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester.
2. To identify the emotional and behavioural impacts of experiencing targeted hostility as a new arrival and as a wider migrant community.

4.1 Leicester: The UK's most diverse city?

One of the most important aspects of the current research was establishing where would be the most fitting place to undertake the fieldwork and where would offer opportunities to access a particularly diverse sample of new arrivals. There are a number of key factors that make the city

of Leicester a particularly appropriate site in which to conduct this research. Leicester has, for many decades, been a city of significant immigration and especially since the 1950s, the city has been a place of settlement for an increasingly diverse population particularly in terms of ethnicity and religion (Panayi, 1999; Herbert, 2008). Like a number of post-industrial cities experiencing labour shortages, inner-city Leicester became a hugely popular settlement for new arrivals throughout the second half of the twentieth century, with large numbers of South Asians and East African Asians beginning to settle in the city in the late 1950s (Herbert, 2008). Southeast of the city centre is the area of Highfields; it was already an 'established conduit' for immigrants looking to settle in the city and had previously been the original settlement of the Irish and Eastern Europeans who had arrived before them in the years immediately following World War II (Herbert, 2008, p. 23). The area remains popular with new arrivals because of the affordable accommodation and diversity. Highfields is also close to the city centre and previously, the hosiery factories where many South Asian men and women worked. Conversely, many of the East African Asians initially settled in the city centre itself and were quite dispersed. However, throughout the 1970s more immigrants began to move out of the city centre towards the Belgrave area in the North of the city where more affordable accommodation was available (Herbert, 2008). The numbers of immigrants from these regions continued to steadily increase with Gujarat Indians becoming the largest minority community to settle in the city (Bonney and Le Goff, 2007; Runnymede, 2012). The South Asian and East African Asian communities that settled in Leicester post-World War II, as well as throughout the 1970s and 80s, became highly 'established' primarily due to their entrepreneurial efforts (Ram and Jones, 2008; Jones, Ram and Theodorakopoulos, 2010). Long-settled groups, such as Gujarati and, to a lesser extent Punjabi communities, were able to capitalise on the residential and business spaces left abandoned by White flight (Aldrich et al, 1981). They became and remain successfully 'established', in part, because of the increasing numbers of settlers from these communities who they provide services for. Furthermore, these more 'established' groups, including their second and third generation family members, achieved entrepreneurial success outside of the immigrant 'hotspots' such as Leicester city centre, moving into more affluent and predominantly White spaces (Jones, Ram and Theodorakopoulos, 2010).

By the turn of the twenty-first century though, Leicester began to see a noticeable change in its already diverse population with a significant number of Somalis arriving in the city. The most recent estimates suggest that Leicester is now home to around 15,000 people of Somali heritage, most of whom arrived between 2000 and 2005 and around 50 per cent previously lived in the Netherlands (Open Society Foundations, 2014). There remains a strong sense of community

amongst the Somali diaspora, and decisions about migration are rarely made in isolation but rather 'within the context of a larger collective livelihood strategy' (van Liempt, 2011, p. 260). Scattered Somali communities have been driven to relocate from other parts of Europe to the UK primarily for family reunification, job prospects and the hopes of a more hospitable political climate (van den Reek and Hussein, 2003; van Liempt, 2011). The Somali Diaspora have predominantly settled in superdiverse areas of the country such as Birmingham, particularly in the South-east area of the city (BBC, 2014), and in London, concentrating in the East and North-east of the city (Tower Hamlet Borough Council, 2016). However, the relative success of the Somali community in Leicester is largely associated with the 'energy and activism among the city's Somali women, who occupy a very public role in the life of the community' (Open Society Foundation, 2014).

Additionally, new waves of Eastern European citizens have settled in Leicester in higher proportions than expected following the ascension of ten countries to the European Union in 2004. Estimates put the number of Leicester residents who were born in one of the EU ascension countries, including Poland, Slovakia, Lithuania and Latvia, at around 10,000 (Leicester City Council, 2012). Overall, non-UK born residents make up over one third of Leicester's population which translates to around 120,000 immigrants living in the city (Ottewell, 2017). Additionally, in October 2018, G4S, who manage Leicester's National Asylum Seeker Service (NASS) advised that there were around 1000 asylum seekers settled in the city (City of Sanctuary, 2019). This is the number of adults and children who have yet to be granted legal 'right to remain' and does not include those who have been granted 'refugee' status. It's important to note that the number of asylum seekers is likely to be an underestimation as this does not reflect rejected asylum seekers who are still living in the city but may have gone 'underground' to avoid deportation. Leicester City Council (2016) estimate that the number of 'hidden people' living in the city could be up to 3000.

It is not surprising, based on the above information that Leicester emerged as the UK's first plural city following the 2011 census data; that is that no one ethnic group makes up an overall majority in the city (Jones and Baker, 2013). Notably, unlike a number of other considerably diverse towns and cities in the UK, Leicester has long been praised as a 'model' city of harmonious multiculturalism (Cantle, 2001; Bonney and Le Goff, 2007; Herbert, 2008; Popham, 2013). The depiction of Leicester as a successful modern day multicultural utopia was boosted significantly following the race riots in 2001 that took place in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. The Cantle Report (2001) claimed that the lack of racial disturbances in Leicester suggested that much could

be learnt from the way in which all aspects of the city's community encouraged cohesion, tolerance and integration. Clayton (2012) summarises the unique environment that appears to make Leicester somewhat distinctive from other ethnically diverse settlements:

'...early opportunities seized by some sections of the BME community for political representation, links established between the local authority and community led/faith-based organizations, the growth of multicultural projects, regular large-scale celebrations of diversity, shifting approaches taken by city institutions (including the police and the media) in dealing with community relations, migrating as extended families and placing limited demands on services...the out-migration of some of the most vocal racists, the rejection of far-right political parties by White working class communities and the role of a strong and visible anti-racist movement in the city are also recognized as contributing to this picture.'

(Clayton, 2012, p. 1676)

It is this particular social and political environment that Clayton argues allowed for the development of the 'modern-day' city of Leicester and that makes it a particularly attractive place for new arrivals to settle and maintain harmonious cohesion. However, there is a different perspective uncovered by academic research which has found hostility and prejudice towards ethnic minority groups in Leicester as well as the perpetration of hate crime to be widespread (Herbert, 2008; Clayton, 2009; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Herbert (2008) found that native White residents exhibited significant hostility towards the newly arrived South Asians in the 1970s and many of the immigrants she interviewed stated that the racism they experienced was often overt and extreme. Victims reported that when the numbers of Indian migrants in Leicester was relatively low, they felt they were treated as 'novelties', with most people being friendly and welcoming. However, with a rise in numbers of non-White residents, particularly following the arrival of the Ugandan Asians in 1972, racist attacks and verbal abuse became commonplace (Herbert, 2008).

Although, as was discussed in the literature review chapters, overt racism is much less apparent in today's society, racial tension and hostility still exists in the city of Leicester even if it sometimes appears to take 'less obvious' forms (Clayton, 2012, p.1677). When studying the concept of 'everyday' multiculturalism, Hardy (2014) found that young people in Leicester openly expressed racist hostility and felt comfortable admitting to committing a variety of hate

incidents and crimes. Correspondingly, The Leicester Hate Crime Project recorded the experiences of around 1,500 victims of hate incidents/crimes and found that one third of the sample felt they had been targeted because of their ethnicity (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Furthermore, of those who had been targeted because of their ethnicity, over 90 per cent had experienced verbal abuse, over 70 per cent had experienced some form of harassment and around a third had been victim of a violent crime (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Evidently, despite the outward reputation of a multicultural utopia, when looking more closely at the grassroots experiences of Leicester's minority ethnic residents there is much to be learnt about the hostility and prejudice they encounter. Ultimately, it is this gap in knowledge and the particular social demographics of Leicester's residents that make it an appropriate site to conduct this research.

4.2 The sample

4.2.1 How, who and why?

Once the research aims were established it became evident that a Straussian approach to selective sampling would be most appropriate for this study. This sampling method allows the researcher to make some decisions about the sample prior to fieldwork, such as the demographics of the participants, in order to meet the research aims. It also allows the researcher to consider any access restrictions that may be present as well as taking into account the time and resources available to them (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). The time and resources at my disposal were obviously something I had to consider carefully as this was a PhD project with no additional funding and ultimately the sample size would most likely reflect this. It was also necessary to rely on snowball sampling in this study. This sampling technique is especially useful if the target population is relatively unknown to the researcher and/or when trying to recruit participants from hard-to-reach populations because of the absence of a sampling frame (Noy, 2008). Essentially, it is hoped that initial participants will 'lead' the researcher to additional participants and the sample grows in size this way (Bryman, 2012). Finding a sample in this study was particularly time consuming because even with access to the relevant population, in my case new migrants and refugees, of course not all of them had experienced any targeted hostility or felt that they would be comfortable giving me an interview. Snowball sampling helped with this as those I spoke to who had experienced hostility and racially motivated incidents often knew of others who had experienced similar things as it was something they discussed often within their social groups.

As the purpose of this study is to document the experiences of 'new' and 'emerging' communities, it very quickly became central to think more specifically about *who* was being referred to when using these ambiguous terms. I first set out to see if there were any existing definitions for what would constitute a 'new' immigrant community in the UK. However, this search yielded very little guidance as the definitions found were very limited and differed significantly. They ranged from describing very specific groups and time periods of settlement, generally with a focus on the European Union expansion in 2004 (Institute for Public Policy Research, 2007), to being deliberately broad and ambiguous. For example, the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) (2010, p.4), described new and emerging migrant communities as people 'who may potentially change the dynamics of a neighbourhood'. It is useful to acknowledge that there are several benefits to having an encompassing definition such as this, like promoting inclusivity and granting participants the power to define their own identity. This approach was taken by the Leicester Hate Crime Project who chose a deliberately broad definition of hate crime in order to include anyone from any background who felt they had been targeted (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Their decision to be as inclusive as possible meant that they were able to access a particularly large sample of hate crime victims many of whom are continuously overlooked by academics, policy makers and practitioners.

This approach also limits the researcher's power to place their own racialised paradigms and labels on the research framework. This can mean alienating potential participants who do not necessarily identify with the 'membership' ascribed to them by someone else (Lim, 2009; Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). For these reasons, I felt it was important not to be too specific when it came to defining whether or not someone would be labelled as a 'new' migrant. However, for practical reasons it was necessary for me to decide on a workable 'cut-off' point that would still promote inclusivity and yield a relevant yet diverse range of participants. The fieldwork for this study took place between June 2016 and January 2018 and I ultimately chose to focus on people who had lived in the UK for five years or less but remained open to hearing the experiences of those who had been in the country for longer.

After establishing that, for the purposes of this research, a 'new' arrival would be someone who had lived in the UK for five years or less, it was then necessary to identify which specific community groups were new and emerging in Leicester, which was initially quite challenging. Much of the data on ethnic minority groups in Leicester did not distinguish between 'new' and 'established' communities and discussions about the city's 'diversity' were very homogenous in nature. To an extent, my knowledge of 'new' communities in Leicester stemmed from my

experiences working alongside my supervisors during the data analysis stage of the Leicester Hate Crime Project. Chakraborti et al (2014) as previously mentioned, gathered data from over 4,000 residents from Leicester's established and emerging communities, including many 'hidden' ethnic and religious minorities as well as asylum seekers. Gaining familiarity with their sample allowed me to identify some of the more prominent 'new' communities such as those from Somalia, Zimbabwe, Turkey (Kurdish) and Eastern European countries. This led me to attend some initial meetings with organisations that would later become key gatekeepers for the current research. In addition to this, my own research into charities and community groups that work directly with new arrivals meant that I could reach out and begin to establish relationships with community 'leaders' and support workers. However, in reality, knowledge on who was actually 'new' to Leicester and where they came from appeared very elusive until I actually entered the field and began meeting people face-to-face.

Consequently, it was necessary to employ what Teddlie and Yu (2007) refer to as a 'sequential' approach to purposive sampling which allows the researcher to gradually add to the sample throughout the fieldwork as appropriate. Ultimately, because of this approach the sample is considerably broad and diverse, particularly in terms of ethnicity and nationality. The demographics of participants who spoke to me on a one-to-one basis can be seen below:

Total number of participants = 44

Gender:

Male	Female
18	26

Country of origin:

Africa	
East	
Somalia	13
Eritrea	3
Djibouti	1
Zimbabwe	2
West	
Nigeria	2
North	
Egypt	1
Asia	
West	
Turkey (Kurdish)	4
Iraq	2
Syria	2
South	
Bangladesh	2
Sri Lanka	1
Nepal	1
Afghanistan	1
Europe	
East	
Poland	8
West:	
England	1*

* Participant was a White British support worker at a refugee/asylum seeker charity

During the course of this study in total, I engaged with around 150 individuals who came to the UK as either an economic migrant or an asylum seeker. However, for a multitude of reasons, only 44 people agreed to a more conventional in-depth one-to-one interview that could be recorded. As is mentioned again later in this chapter, it is not uncommon within research on race and racism for participants to be very hesitant and sceptical regarding formal data gathering efforts (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). Despite my most genuine efforts to build meaningful and trusting relationships with the new arrivals whom I met over time, often I only got one fleeting opportunity to converse with people, introduce myself, and learn a little about them and their lives. Although the majority of new arrivals I spoke to were more than happy to have a quick 'chat' with me, time restraints, childcare responsibilities and having only just met me, meant that most were not able to or prepared to commit to a full, recorded interview. Consequently, the many informal conversations that I had with these new arrivals, mostly recorded in researcher field diaries, and the 44 qualitative interviews all combined to inform my approach to this research as well as the findings presented in Chapters Five and Six.

Of the 43 new arrivals who agreed to participate in a qualitative interview, 24 came to the UK as an economic migrant and 19 as an asylum seeker. Furthermore, almost one quarter of the economic migrants I interviewed had previously held asylum seeker status before gaining European citizenship and then later settling in the UK. This was most commonly the case for Somali participants. Many of the Somali participants involved in the current research fled Somalia in the early 1990s after the outbreak of the civil war. 'Abdi' described his journey to me in an interview:

I was born in the Southern part of Somalia and during the conflicts and the wars, I left Somalia as a refugee and travelled to a neighbouring country, Kenya. We stayed there a while but my uncle decided we should move to a more developed country so from there, I came to the UK back in 2005... I watched my country go from being one of the most developed and powerful countries in East Africa to one of the most ruined and devastated.

Researcher: What made your family want to move to the UK?

We wanted to make our lives safer after going through all those difficulties back home, safer and more, shall we say have more freedom than back in Africa. Because if you go to another country in Africa that is not your own you will probably suffer more because you have no rights if you are not a citizen. Kenya is a Christian country and it was hard being a Muslim in Kenya, we did not really have the freedom to practice our religion as we wanted.

However, the most common route that Somali participants took to the UK was via the Netherlands, Sweden or Norway and as a result they could often speak multiple languages. As is discussed in Chapter Six, Leicester's specific reputation as a 'multicultural utopia' became a significant pull factor for immigrants deciding on where to settle, this was especially apparent within the Somali and Polish communities I worked with and it was something they often discussed. The participants involved in the current study also ranged significantly in age, with the youngest participant being 19 years old at the time of interview and the oldest being 72 years old. Immigrant participants most often came to the UK with a spouse/co-habiting partner, parents and/or siblings, or they came alone to join family members already in the UK. This was also true for the many of refugee and asylum seeker participants, although it was not uncommon for refugees and asylum seekers to arrive in the UK completely alone because they were either

the first able to flee their situation, or they had unfortunately lost their family prior to or during their journey.

Newly arrived migrants and refugees are among those who are often described by academics and practitioners as ‘hard-to reach’ due to their marginalised status and often isolated positions in society (Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti, 2006; Hall, 2013; Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014; College of Policing, 2014). Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti (2006) argue that in order to access ‘hidden’ groups it is vital that researchers make serious efforts to understand the true nature of each community and the nuances within them. Through the methods discussed in this chapter I collected data in the form of 43 qualitative interviews with new arrivals, four of whom were also support workers who worked directly with other new arrivals. One additional participant was a White British man who worked as a senior support worker at a refugee/asylum seeker charity. Additionally, as well as taking part in one-to-one interviews, some of the same participants, in addition to other new arrivals who attended drop-in sessions or any of the classes set up by the charities I worked with, participated in a number of group discussions that focused on my research topic throughout the fieldwork stage. In the findings chapters, these discussions are reflected in the form of direct quotes and my own field diary notes.

4.2.2 Accessing the ‘hard-to-reach’

Johl and Renganathan (2010) argue that actually gaining access to the desired sample can be incredibly labour intensive and challenging for many researchers, particularly when the research is looking to cover a sensitive topic. Furthermore, they point out that these obstacles are often not thoroughly discussed in written accounts of research projects which does nothing to aid further research in the field. An important element to my research process was to manage and adjust to obstacles and issues that arose throughout my fieldwork. This methodology chapter will fully acknowledge the particular difficulties that I encountered whilst also recognising the aspects of my approach that worked well.

First, it must be acknowledged that the first potential barrier to access within academic research is likely to be the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC), and this is especially likely to be the case when researching ‘hidden’ groups like new communities, asylum seekers and refugees (Machin and Shardlow, 2018). Gaining ethical approval for the current research was lengthy and my submission required several amendments. There were also some technical difficulties with the university ethical approval system which ultimately resulted in additional months being

added on to the process. I was assigned an ethics authoriser who, although a member of the same academic college, had no criminological expertise which resulted in several requests to explain conceptual issues in more detail. Ensuring the ethical integrity of any research project should be an absolute priority, especially when proposing to work with vulnerable people. However, it is acknowledged by researchers how laborious and frustrating UREC's can sometimes be (Monaghan, Dwyer and Gabe, 2013). One challenging aspect of the ethics approval process that I experienced for example, was being asked for signed letter-headed documents from gatekeepers stating that they agreed to give me access to their relevant charities/community groups. However, some of the groups I worked with were so informally organised they did not have letter-headed paper and were wholly unfamiliar with the bureaucratic nature of UREC's. Furthermore, in most cases I engaged with 'informal' gatekeepers who were likely to find my asking them to sign these documents off-putting and suspicious. Ultimately, I gathered the documentation that I could and spent even longer negotiating with the ethics authorisers about why it was not appropriate in every case before they eventually granted approval.

In order to access and attempt to recruit new arrivals, I attended a variety of community support groups that were specifically designed for recent migrants and/or asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester, and I negotiated access through the relevant contacts. As a White British researcher, I was entering the field from an 'outsider' position with no direct connection to my target population. It was therefore necessary for me to initially rely on gatekeepers to access my sample. 'Gatekeepers' are those with the power or influence to grant or deny access to a research field and they can serve to help or hinder the research process. This often depends on their own opinions regarding the researcher and the research topic itself (Reeves, 2010; McFadyen and Rankin, 2016). Gatekeepers of 'hard-to-reach' groups can be understandably protective of potentially highly vulnerable individuals and groups. They may be sceptical about the researcher's motives for wanting to access the sample while some may simply be uninterested in offering support (Keenan, Fives and Canavan, 2012). Therefore, before attempting to enter the field I sought the experiences of other researchers and then formulated a plan for selecting and negotiating with gatekeepers.

Many researchers report that if a mutual friend or colleague can facilitate the initial communication between the researcher and target population, negotiating access becomes a lot easier (Wilkes, 1999; Duke, 2002; Reeves, 2010). Similarly, in her research with sex workers, Sanders (2005, p.28) found that 'in the same way as cold-calling resulted in non-response for

others, emailing without prior introduction was not a successful recruitment method'. Consequently, to begin with I emailed gatekeepers who had previously been involved in research with my supervisors and I was able to use their names with the insinuation that they could 'vouch' for me. This did appear to be a successful strategy as I then got to meet the gatekeepers in person to provide more detail about my study. Additionally, Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) highlight the advantages of putting participants in the position of 'educators' or 'experts' based on their 'insider' knowledge. This approach will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter but for me, approaching the gatekeepers as a genuinely compassionate and inquisitive researcher hoping to 'learn' from them and the community they serve seemed to ease their concerns about an 'outsider' who may misrepresent their community. Furthermore, as a researcher seeking permission from a gatekeeper to ask community members about sensitive and potentially distressing experiences, it was vital for me to demonstrate my ability to approach such topics with empathy and careful consideration (Wieviorka, 2004; Johl and Renganathan, 2010). This practice was familiar to me because of my previous experiences working for Victim Support and specialising in supporting victims of hate crime and sexual violence. Without these skills and having an understanding of the delicate and nuanced nature of victimisation, gatekeepers may have been much more reluctant to work with me.

The first gatekeepers whom I contacted worked for third sector organisations. Both of these organisations have worked with academics and journalists in the past and I believe this made a difference when it came to their initial attitudes towards my study. Thankfully, these particular gatekeepers had positive experiences with previous researchers who were evidently careful not to 'spoil' the field for future researchers (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). Consequently, they seemed relatively at ease with the idea of me attending their drop-in sessions. It is widely acknowledged by researchers that barriers can arise when relying on gatekeepers as not only do they have the power to deny access to a sample, even if they are open to the researcher's presence they could revoke access at any time (Reeves, 2010; McAreavey and Das, 2013; Zempi, 2016). Furthermore, it is not always the case that gatekeepers accurately represent all the views and opinions of the communities they lead (Fulton and Pohler, 2014). Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy (2014) argue that if it is possible, accessing participants at a grassroots level can yield the most meaningful understanding of the lived realities of hate crime victims. Therefore, to ensure that my data would reflect a valid representation of participants' everyday experiences, I decided to actively engage at a grassroots level as much as possible and work closely with 'informal' gatekeepers. In this research, the informal gatekeepers were those who regularly and

directly provided support to the new arrivals or those who played a more central role to participants' social, educational or religious activities.

Alternatively, McFadyen and Rankin (2016) argue that gatekeepers can prove very useful to researchers as some may help to facilitate and encourage the research and even help gather more participants for the researcher. As well as the weekly drop-ins that I was attending, I was also invited by gatekeepers to several additional events and sessions to help me reach a wider range of potential participants. However, it is important to acknowledge that whilst I had a generally positive response from the key gatekeepers whom I approached, I did encounter challenges with others. Over a period of about six months I exchanged a number of emails with and then met with one gatekeeper who works for the city council. He is well-known to a very diverse range of community groups in the city due to his professional role and was initially very enthusiastic about my research. However, despite his many pledges to help me and provide me with useful contacts such as a Polish mothers' group he worked with regularly, he simply failed to ever deliver this information.

Additionally, I also contacted a Lottery funded project set up specifically to provide support services to Eastern European people living in Leicester and received no response at all. The project has since ceased because their funding came to an end so perhaps working with a researcher was simply not a priority, or perhaps because I had no one to 'vouch' for me my attempts to engage were ignored. Either way, because of these issues it took me much longer than initially anticipated to access Eastern European residents compared to other groups I had approached. It was not until I heard about a local Polish church from a colleague who had heard me present at a university conference, that I then found a contact who could get me 'in'. Although I did not technically need her 'permission' to attend the church, it certainly lent legitimacy to my being there and provided me with a feeling of security when approaching people and introducing myself. Overall, my experiences with 'formal' gatekeepers was inconsistent, but the relationships that I built with a number of 'informal' gatekeepers who encouraged new arrivals to participate in my research was overwhelmingly positive.

4.3 Employing a qualitative research framework

Qualitative methods of research are usually categorised by their emphasis on the interpretive meaning of words and behaviour rather than the 'hard' science approach of objective quantification (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative approaches are considered particularly appropriate when trying to engage with marginalised groups who experience 'hidden' crime (Noaks and

Wincup, 2004). This approach also allows the researcher to develop an 'appreciation' of the social world from the point of view of victims; their thoughts, feelings and opinions (Jupp, 2001). In other words, it allows the researcher to develop an understanding of the social phenomenon that is provided by those on the 'inside' from within their natural environments (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Quraishi and Philburn (2015) argue that qualitative methods are best suited to researching race and racism because, unlike quantitative methods, they allow for more nuanced and meaningful interaction between researcher and participant about complex aspects of identity. The previous two literature chapters identified several significant gaps within the cannon of racism research that this research has aimed to address. Firstly, there is a noticeable lack of academic research that considers the racism and incidents of targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals in the UK and the harm this hostility causes. Secondly, research that directly and meaningfully engages with new migrants and refugees is rare. Consequently, a GT approach allowed me to fulfil a main objective of this research; to provide a platform upon which those unheard voices can be accurately and comprehensively represented (Noaks and Wincup, 2004).

GT is often described as both a 'tool' with which to collect data and the product of a particular qualitative process (Charmaz, 2005; Bryman, 2012). Charmaz (2005, p.507) describes GT as 'a set of flexible and analytic guidelines' that allow researchers to build new theories or develop existing concepts using the data collected. Glaser and Strauss (1967) originally developed GT as an alternative to quantitative methods that they argued encouraged researchers to position themselves 'outside' the social reality in which their participants live. As a result, they strove to develop a research process that would generate theory that 'fits' and 'works' in the real world (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 3). Utilising a GT approach allowed me to firstly, engage directly and in-depth with the participants over a period of around 18 months whilst iteratively collecting and analysing data about their experiences. Secondly, it allowed me to go further to establish whether or not these experiences 'fit' and 'work' alongside the well-established models of racist victimisation that are based on research with more 'established' minority groups.

However, there are limitations to this 'Classic' strain of GT that relate to the practicalities of research and the focus on objectivity in research. Strauss later adapted his approach and offered a version of GT that provided a much more transparent and instructive account of how to analyse and evaluate data collected using a GT framework (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Walker and Myrick, 2006). To an early career researcher working to complete a PhD, data analysis can seem particularly daunting and labour intensive so the operational guidelines offered by the

Straussian strand of GT are beneficial. Additionally, Strauss offers a more linear approach to the theory that did seem more compatible with the structure of this particular project. While Classic GT maintains that the use of literature could later inform the theory once it had emerged from the data, the Straussian approach argues that to engage with literature in the early stages can help the researcher gain a better understanding of the field they are about to enter and generate research aims (as cited in Heath and Cowley, 2004). It was necessary for me to continuously refine the literature chapters of this thesis in order to reflect the realities of the area I was researching. Understandably, a significant amount of what I learnt came from the fieldwork itself. However, I felt that the 'Classic' approach, in this respect, would have been inappropriate for this thesis as ultimately, spending time reviewing previous literature allowed me to identify the 'gaps' in knowledge and provided me with a focus when in the field.

Both the Classical and Straussian strains of GT strongly advocate for qualitative methods that are rigorous and objective (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Straus and Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1998). However, Charmaz (2005, p. 510) offers yet another alternative strain of GT most commonly described as 'Constructivist' that argues conversely that, 'no analysis is neutral' and that there are multiple 'truths'. According to this approach, as researchers it is beneficial to acknowledge that we and our data are intrinsically linked as 'we do not come to our studies uninitiated...what we know shapes, but does not necessarily determine what we find' (Charmaz, 2005, p. 510). Acknowledging the researcher's role within the research process allows us to explore our data to an elevated level of depth and richness (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006). This aspect of the Constructivist strain was particularly important to the present study. It has been necessary to acknowledge the way that my own identity and life experiences influenced and shaped the entire research process from the way in which I interpreted the literature that informed this study, to how I engaged with others and in turn, how they interacted with me.

Charmaz (2005, p. 510) argues that to claim real objectivity in research suggests that participants are 'mere objects that we passively observe'. However, this cannot be the case when trying to understand complex human behaviour, particularly when working with participants who are considered 'vulnerable'. In order to comprehensively understand the experiences of the participants I also had to contextualise that information. This was achieved by gaining an in-depth familiarity with the participants' identities as a whole, not just through the lens of 'race'. For example, how each individual perceived other aspects of their identity such as their gender, religion, socio-economic status, nationality and political views subjectively affected their experiences of prejudice and hostility (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014). Furthermore, it

was also necessary for me to explore how these experiences were influenced by the social, political and cultural setting in which we were in. Consequently, engaging with the 'Constructivist' epistemology allowed me to develop some key principles to underpin this research: develop in-depth relationships with participants; acknowledge how the researcher's identity could influence the study; and try to create a collaborative environment that minimised power imbalances between researcher and participant. The strategies used to involve the participants as much as possible in the research are discussed later in this chapter.

GT, and qualitative methods of research more widely, are not without their limitations and there are a number of general criticisms made about qualitative research that will be addressed here. Notably, issues regarding the reliability of qualitative research and the extent to which qualitative data is generalisable are most commonly discussed (Bryman, 2012). Reliability refers to whether the study can be repeated to reproduce exactly the same results (Joppe, 2000). By nature, qualitative methods are much less structured than quantitative techniques and the specific way in which the data is collected is often individual to the researcher. Furthermore, the in-depth personal relationships developed with participants in qualitative research can never be replicated exactly in an alternative time or place (Stenbacka, 2001). Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 250) argue that the 'usual canons of 'good science'...require redefinition in order to fit the realities of qualitative research' and consequently, a number of researchers have suggested that the term 'dependability' is more appropriate when evaluating qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Healy and Perry, 2000). One way to demonstrate 'dependability' in research is to demonstrate transparency when discussing the methodological approach (Hammersley, 2007). This methods chapter aims to provide a clear and detailed account of the methodological approach taken in this study in order to claim that the data collected is 'dependable'. Additionally, due to the time-consuming nature of qualitative research sample sizes are generally much smaller than studies that employ quantitative methods. This often brings into question the ability to generalise data generated by a qualitative approach (Bryman, 2012). This study is exploratory and inductive in nature due to the fact that so little is known about the personal experiences of new migrants and refugees. As previously discussed, the participants' narratives are all considered within a specific social, political and cultural context all in the super-diverse setting provided by the city of Leicester. Consequently, in following a constructivist argument, this study acknowledges that there are 'multiple truths' and so is not concerned with generalising its findings. Instead, its value lies in developing a variety of in-depth perspectives about particular stigmatised groups that have previously been pushed to the margins of racism research.

When considering the criticisms of the various strains of GT it is evident that even those who advocate for its inclusion in research acknowledge its limitations, ambiguity and at times, contradictory stance (Charmaz, 2005; Reichertz, 2010; Jones and Alony, 2011). Principally though, critics claim that when this method is utilised by researchers with limited time, resources and experience the data collected often fails to generate a substantive theory (Jones and Alony, 2011). This is obviously particularly pertinent to doctoral researchers. It is therefore worth acknowledging at this point that while this study engaged with a research design originally premised on new theory generation, as a PhD study its scope is somewhat limited. Nasirin, Birks and Jones (2003) argue that particularly in under-researched areas, any attempt to meaningfully contribute to the field of knowledge is valid even if the data itself may not be generalisable to a theoretical level. Ultimately, while developing a comprehensive, substantive theory that more adequately addresses new forms of racism directed at new arrivals would be the long-term goal, this particular study offers a highly valuable and rich set of insights into a social phenomenon worthy of academic attention and advocacy.

4.4 Methods of data collection

4.4.1 Participant observation - the engagement period and beyond

Morse (1996) argues that qualitative research is in-depth, demanding and often intense. He goes on to explain that it 'requires the researcher to constantly distinguish between another's world and one's own, yet become close enough to the lives of another that it be both experienced and analysed' (p. 1). One way to achieve the closeness and engagement required in this study was through the use of participant observation. Participant observation is commonly utilised as part of a GT approach where ethnographic strategies are most valued (Tedlock, 2005). Historically, research on racism has failed to relate directly to the experiences of those most affected because, in an attempt to remain 'objective', researchers have maintained a certain 'distance' from the field (Twine, 2000, p. 2). However, over the past two decades there has been a marked increase in the amount of in-depth, ethnographic research that clearly demonstrates the value of qualitative inquiries into race and racism (Quaraishi and Philburn, 2015). This is largely due to the growing recognition that:

'...any group of persons – prisoners, primitives, pilots or patients – develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it and a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject.'

Ethnographic studies require researchers to spend an extended amount of time in the field immersed in the daily lives of their participants using a very open and unstructured approach to gathering data. As a result, ethnographic studies demand a great deal of time, resources and experience (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland, 2007). It was primarily due to these reasons as well as access issues that a full ethnographic study was not conducted here. However, ethnographic methods were utilised in this study and Quraishi and Philburn (2015, p. 63) argue that 'even limited use of the ethnographic method can provide valuable data and enhance the research experience'.

Engaging in quality, direct, face-to-face contact with participants is paramount in race and racism research (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004; Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). Additionally, building trust and a good rapport is vital; it can get you 'in' and keep you there (Young, 2004). When considering how best to approach these hard to reach groups and ask them to discuss their experiences of hostility, it was evident that I first needed to become a familiar face in order to begin developing the kinds of positive relationships that would encourage them to open up to me. Consequently, I initially set out to participate in a period of engagement for three months, attending various weekly groups and drop-in sessions to meet the new arrivals who went there. After several weeks, I did become a familiar face to those who attended the groups regularly, and the new arrivals appeared to become increasingly more relaxed around me and were reassured that I had empathy and compassion for the challenges they faced. Additionally, it became clear very quickly that most of the new arrivals I engaged with much preferred the face-to-face, informal communication that came with the engagement strategy. They reported feeling quite comfortable with the idea of sharing 'stories' about their lives with someone who took a genuine interest. In fact, it is likely that if I gone in straight away and attempted to collect data in a more traditional and formalised manner, by using surveys or structured interviews, I would not have gotten very far at all. Although I did not conduct any full interviews with participants during the engagement period, I did collect data through my observations and initial conversations that were recorded in my field diary notes. This information helped me develop and refine some general themes for discussion during interviews.

It is important to note that rather than passively observe the groups I engaged with, I was actively involved in the group activities which included helping to deliver English lessons and employability workshops, as well as helping out at food banks, jumble sales and information

days. I also participated in a number of religious celebrations and attended worship several times; these events were often at weekends. Some of these activities, particularly the English lessons which I helped deliver weekly during school term time for over 12 months, acted as a form of 'knowledge exchange' between myself and the participants. The lessons were led by a Somali woman who, despite being more knowledgeable about the English language than me at times, was not a qualified teacher and did not have a British accent which is something they reportedly enjoyed hearing from me as it helped with their pronunciation. Feeling like they were also benefiting from my presence seemed to encourage participants' involvement in my study.

By incorporating observation as a method in this study I gained a much more comprehensive understanding of participants' everyday lives. I acquired in-depth knowledge about their culture, religion, their family life, their lives before and after moving to the UK, and their responses to unprecedented social changes that were occurring during the life course of this research study. Additionally, in line with a GT approach, what I learnt in the earlier stages of the fieldwork through observation with one group informed later stages of engagement with other groups. Consequently, discussions with participants became increasingly pertinent as the research went on and I personally grew in self-confidence. When discussing the purpose of observation, Quraishi and Philburn (2015, pp. 67) claim that:

'It is in and through observation that, perhaps more than anything else, the taken-for-granted features of the social world can be revealed and examined by you as a researcher. In the context of race and racism this can carry added significance since much of this may be part of the routine day-to-day fabric of whatever social setting you are investigating, and to that extent, invisible-through-routinisation to members of that setting.'

In the current study, being able to have informal conversations with participants over a number of months allowed me to explore the ways in which they interpret their own life experiences. This included the frequent incidents of 'everyday' hostility that they rarely acknowledged as micro-crime. Furthermore, I was always able to go back and ask questions for clarification on points that had been discussed in previous weeks.

Although this ethnographic element was a particularly effective tool that helped me to build rapport with participants and provided me with a more comprehensive understanding of their everyday lives, it did not occur without challenges. Developing in-depth relationships and

attending a variety of weekly drop-in sessions as well as the additional events was incredibly time-consuming and labour intensive. Furthermore, there were many occasions when drop-in sessions were cancelled without me knowing or when bad weather would mean that no one would turn up. I was also in the field for two Ramadan celebrations during which time most Muslim participants stopped attending classes / drop-in sessions. Consequently, there were periods of time that I spent in the field with nothing to show for my efforts. There were also occasions that my role as a researcher became secondary to the work I was doing to help the group. For example, I had been attending one particular class for several weeks when the director of the organisation asked that I enrol officially as a volunteer. The reason for this was largely due to health and safety but it still required me to fill in the application, provide references and go through the entire induction process and fire safety procedures. After this, there were a couple of occasions that I turned up to an English class only to find that I was expected to lead it because the usual teacher was off sick. It became increasingly difficult to pull myself out of situations where my time was being spent more as a volunteer than a researcher. However, because of the freedom they granted me at other times to conduct activities beneficial to my research, it ultimately appeared like a fair 'trade-off' most of the time.

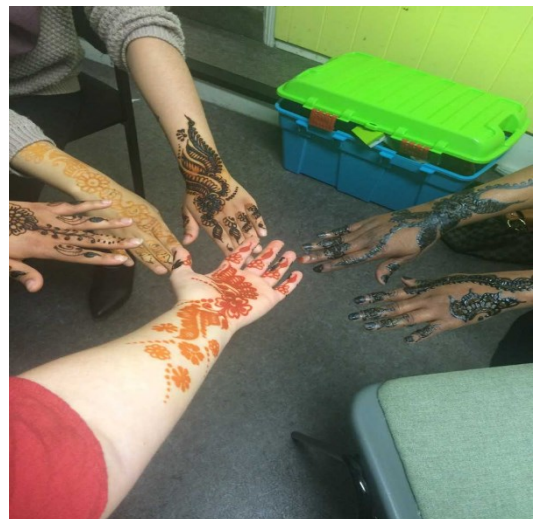
Despite the challenges that this ethnographic approach presented, it does demonstrate the need for researchers to flexibly and charitably work *with* hard-to-reach groups if they want to be granted and maintain sufficient access, as well as develop the kinds of relationships that will encourage honest and open dialogue. Additionally, as Bow (2002) explains, through participant observation it becomes clearer to the researcher which further methods of data collection will be most suitable in that particular setting. By working closely with participants and informal gatekeepers, I was able to ascertain that one-to-one and group semi-structured interviews and more imaginative methods would provide the most revealing insight into participants'

experiences, whilst also being an approach that participants were happy and comfortable to engage in.



Figure 1: Attending a community event in Leicester supporting the Somali Diaspora with Special Representative for Somalia Nicholas Kay.

Figure 2: Attending a 'henna party' to celebrate Eid al-Fitr.



4.4.2 Individual and group interviews and longitudinal reflections

During the many informal conversations that were had with participants during the engagement period, discussions mostly centred on their general experiences of what it is like to be a new arrival in the UK today. These conversations could last several hours depending on whether I was talking with one individual or a group and the breadth of the conversations were often incredibly vast. In fact, it was not uncommon for people to essentially discuss their whole life stories with me. Whilst these broad conversations were useful to help contextualise the lives of participants and added to the level of trust I built with them, I nevertheless had a specific focus for the study with research aims that I needed to address. It therefore became clear that in order to ensure that I would generate particular knowledge about experiences of hostility and

prejudice and the effects these experiences had, semi-structured interviews would be the most suitable data collection method going forward (Silverman, 1993). Semi-structured interviews are commonly used in qualitative research and include fairly specific discussion themes that are decided prior to the interview (Bryman, 2012). Moffatt, George, Lee and McGrath (2005) claim that semi-structured interviews are particularly suited to research on race and racism because they allow for a flexible, collaborative and interactive approach to generating data, that also has the potential to empower participants from marginalised minority groups. Fundamentally, the pre-determined interview 'guide' provides a base point from which the discussion can start and be brought back to if the conversation starts to drift off-point too much. Yet, the semi-structured interview also allows the participant a relative amount of freedom to discuss the themes in their own words elaborating on various points and bringing up new information that may have not been thought of previously by the researcher (Mizock, Harkins and Morant, 2011). Equally, researchers can ask follow-up questions that are not part of the guide for clarification.

All of the interviews in this study were conducted before, during or after the various weekly sessions that I attended which were held in various places including within offices, church halls and community centres. This appeared to be the most effective strategy for several reasons. Conducting interviews in these familiar environments offered a form of 'neutral ground' where both the participant and I felt comfortable and safe. Recruiting participants for interview though was not always easy even following the engagement period. As previously discussed, I decided not to limit the sample in this study to one specific group of new arrivals and aimed to get as diverse a sample as possible. There is of course no one 'community' of new arrivals, nor was there one particular place where I could go to access a sample. New arrivals, refugees and asylum seekers in particular, are a group of disparate, transient individuals who may only come together for very short period of time perhaps each week or each month. Therefore, it was often easier for participants to give me their time 'there and then' rather than set up an alternative meeting in another place. As a support worker later said to me:

The logistics of organising anything with groups of new arrivals...well I could write a book about that! It's incredibly difficult, it's never straightforward.

Even though most of the drop-in sessions and classes were held weekly, most new arrivals did not attend regularly. Some I only met once, some on a handful of occasions and a few I did see frequently, but I never knew in advance who was planning to attend. Consequently, especially in the earlier stages of fieldwork, I found it very difficult to plan my research schedule or to

actually get anyone to commit to an interview unless they were prepared to do it 'there and then'.

Furthermore, while all the interviews with support workers and community leaders were conducted one-to-one, the interviews with other new arrivals were a mixture of one-to-one and group interviews. Although attempts were always made to conduct interviews on a one-to-one basis, the group interviews were a useful tool in gathering data as they helped to overcome occasional language barriers and some participants' low self-confidence. At times, even after building a good relationship with participants, some appeared to 'clam up' when I proposed a more in-depth one-to-one discussion (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). They appeared to perceive group discussions as more informal and unobtrusive despite the fact that it was usually still recorded, I asked similar questions about the same themes and both kinds of interviews happened in the same setting. Consequently, group interviews were more appropriate for some of the participants and I was able to hear the experiences of those people that I may have missed if I had persisted with the one-to-one interview method.

As explained in the previous literature review chapters, 'immigration' and the 'refugee crisis' are currently topics of considerable media, political and societal attention, in the West particularly. Consequently, during the life course of this project it felt highly appropriate to try and capture a longitudinal perspective from those potentially most affected by this, often negative, attention. Repeat qualitative interviews are a particularly useful tool when examining the way in which people reflect on and react to change over time (Corden and Millar, 2007). Therefore, I went back to a number of participants, who I had developed particularly good relationships with on multiple occasions throughout the 18 months in the field. This approach worked especially well for group discussions and group interviews where participants were able to reflect on their opinions and feelings pre and post Brexit, the controversial Trump presidency and generally on their experiences of hostility over time. One often cited criticism of interviews is that they can only offer a 'snapshot' of the social phenomenon and therefore have the potential of giving an 'incomplete' picture (Alshenqeeti, 2014). However, utilising a longitudinal interviewing strategy helps to negate this as it can provide a fuller, more comprehensive understanding of the participants' experiences over time (Corden and Millar, 2007).

While participant observation allows the researcher to observe the present events as they unfold, the interviews allowed me to ask in-depth questions about past events in which participants had experienced acts of targeted hostility (Bryman, 2012). However, qualitative

interviews are incredibly time consuming and the task of transcribing and analysing the data they produce can be very onerous for one researcher to undertake (Davies and Francis, 2011a). Furthermore, it is also important to acknowledge that the mere presence of a researcher in an otherwise naturally occurring setting can have a significant impact on the data that is collected which in turn, can affect the validity of the findings if not properly reflected upon (Davies, 2011). This brings to the fore one aspect of qualitative research that many researchers emphasise is particularly important; reflexivity (Frankenburg, 2004; Vera and Feagin, 2004; Davies, 2011; Quaraishi and Philburn, 2015). My ability to practice reflexive research was central to building a valid and accurate study of racism and its impacts. Pompper (2010, p. 3) argues that research in which the researcher and participants are 'racially unmatched' needs to demonstrate a reflexive understanding of how this relationship dynamic impacts the research methodology and findings. This is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

4.4.3 Engaging with 'imaginative' methods

In addition to the more conventional research methods of data collection outlined above, my GT approach led me to engage with more imaginative methods to more thoroughly and accurately understand the everyday lives of the participants. The idea to make use of more flexible and creative methods that would supplement and compliment the more discursive data came only once I was in the field and was about four months into data collection. The rationale for using less conventional methods in this research stems from the work of the imaginative criminology 'movement' that has demonstrated the power and legitimacy of utilising visual, aural and performative approaches to data collection (Frauley, 2015). Jacobsen and Walklate (2017) encourage the use of imaginative methods to study the criminological world and label purely positivist approaches to creating new knowledge as 'bogus'. They argue that social reality is a 'liquid' concept and that attempts to understand the human experience require a certain amount of reflexivity, imagination, subjectivity and intersectionality which are values rarely enshrined within traditional approaches to criminological research. Similarly, Young (2011, pp. 224) argues that the criminological world, with its 'blurred, devious and ironic nature', cannot be readily captured by 'hard', standardised methods.

Through some initial conversations with participants, it appeared highly likely that space, place and social context played a significant role in whether or not new arrivals had personally experienced targeted hostility. However, attempts to simply converse with participants about this through interviews was yielding limited insight. Subsequently, it became more difficult to

develop the broader perspective that I needed to understand more comprehensively how the daily lives of new arrivals impacts their experiences of targeted hostility. Jacobsen et al (2014, pp. 11) make the point that,

‘admitting that there is not one single linear road leading to knowledge about the social world and that detours, shortcuts, excursions and roundtrips are an integral and imaginative part of the development of scientific knowledge’

When I began to engage with the idea of using less standardised methods of data collection with the participants, this quote really resonated with me because it actually reflects my whole methodological approach. From the unplanned informal conversations that unexpectedly turned into full interviews, to making voice recorded field notes in a church room toilet because participants were put off by note-taking and Dictaphones, to being asked to step in and deliver a completely unprepared English lesson to a group of 20 new arrivals, I often felt myself having to take many of the ‘detours, shortcuts, excursions and roundtrips’ that Jacobsen et al (2014) speak of. Additionally, the use of imaginative methods has very gradually become more popular within criminology. Recognition that creative and less conventional data collection brings authenticity and greater insight to criminological knowledge has seen proponents of imaginative methods utilise them effectively in recent years (O’Neill, 2008; Crossley, 2016; Erel et al, 2017; Fitzgibbon and Stengel, 2018; Harding, 2019).

Consequently, as I was already co-delivering some of the English lessons at one charity organisation I worked with, I designed an English lesson called ‘My Daily Routine’ that got participants to work in groups to produce individual paragraphs about their ‘typical’ day, what they do and where they go. The lesson taught them about sentence structure and included a mixture of examples in both the present and past participle so that whatever the participants’ level of language proficiency, they could still engage. Once they had pieced together a paragraph using the resources pictured below or written their own, as a whole group we plotted their day on a map. Discussions were then had in which participants talked about their own everyday lives in comparison to others in the group. With the use of this new visual tool, participants found it noticeably easier to articulate their feelings about what they perceived to be ‘safe’ and ‘unsafe’ space around the city. It also prompted additional memories about experiences they had encountered whilst being in those spaces which enhanced the data even further. I ran this activity three times with different groups of new arrivals, the sessions were recorded, and the discussions had during and after the session were transcribed and analysed.

The highly illuminating findings drawn from the maps are discussed in Chapter Six. It was only once I was in the field that I realised there were certain aspects of the participants' lives that needed greater understanding that could only be achieved with a more creative approach to data collection. Furthermore, it was only from gaining a familiarity with the groups that I could design an activity that would have meaning for them as well as yielding authentic results.

As a White British researcher, almost everything about my own everyday life is different to the participants. Imaginative methods can help prevent misrecognition when interpreting data because it allows participants to describe and clarify their experiences through an additional medium in combination with verbal communication (O'Neill, 2017). This was particularly helpful for participants who could not speak English as well, or who lacked the confidence to speak in front of others or speak directly to me. Seal and O'Neill (2019) argue that a participatory element in imaginative methods can be particularly empowering, especially for new migrants and refugees as it does not rely on participants being able to articulate highly complex or upsetting experiences verbally. Furthermore, Erel et al (2017, pp. 1) make the point that, 'for those who lack access to power, any opportunity to express their views and experiences is better than total silence and frustration'. Indeed, there were participants who enthusiastically took part in the activity and seemed to particularly enjoy the group-based participation element of the class, but who never contributed to purely discussion-based group interviews and expressed they had 'nothing to say'. Furthermore, some participants took a lead role and placed themselves as 'co-ordinators' to collate everyone's 'My Daily Routine' paragraphs and help others plot their routines on the map. Essentially acting as the educators to aid me with my research also helped to negate power imbalances between myself as the researcher/teacher and the participants. In order to even acknowledge the need for a more imaginative approach to certain aspects of my research, I had to engage in a continuous process of reflexivity. This was particularly important for this research because I was attempting to access many different groups and communities with very different attitudes, backgrounds and experiences. A more in-depth reflection of how I personally navigated the research process is discussed below.

4.5 Reflexivity and the insider / outsider dynamic in research

4.5.1 The case for reflexivity

Davies and Francis (2011b) argue that it has become vital for those engaging in criminological research to offer reflective accounts of their work. They argue that to recognise the ways in which the researcher and external factors influence and shape the study serves an important

function as it 'encourages us to reflect critically on what comes to pass as 'knowledge' (p. 282). Central to this research was the data collected through social interaction. It has been stressed throughout this chapter how important it was to build close, trusting relationships with gatekeepers and participants in order to gain access and build a comprehensive understanding of the everyday lived realities of new arrivals. Consequently, it is important to acknowledge how and why these interactions occurred and how they may have shaped the outcome of this study (Vera and Feagin, 2004). Within race and racism research especially, demonstrating reflexivity is crucial particularly if researchers hope to conduct ethically sensitive research (Gunaratnam, 2003; Pompper, 2010). Most relevant to this study is the dialogue most commonly referred to as the insider and outsider debate. Young (2004, p. 187) summarises this debate as, '...an understanding of the extent to which being socially distant or dissimilar to the kinds of people under study affects both the richness or accuracy of the data being collected and the subsequent analysis that unfolds'. As will more thoroughly be explored in this section, throughout the research process it was necessary for me to reflect on how I would manage my 'outsider' status as a White, British, young, middle-class female attempting to work with migrants and refugees from a wide variety of backgrounds, cultures and religions of different ages and ethnicities.

As well as considering the ways in which the researcher impacts upon the study, Quraishi and Philburn (2015) explain that reflexivity also involves considering how the research process impacts personally on the researcher. Coffey (1999, p. 159) states that 'emotional connectedness to process and practices of fieldwork is normal and appropriate. It should not be denied or stifled...Having no connection to the research endeavour, setting or people is indicative of a poorly executed project'. Fleetwood (2009) goes further to argue that there is genuine 'knowledge' that can be generated from researchers openly discussing the personal and emotional aspects of fieldwork. Within the academic field of hate crime, the experiences of new migrants and refugees are something that remain rather 'hidden' due to the consensus that they are 'hard-to-reach'. Therefore, it seems opportune for this study to offer insight into what did and did not work when it came to engaging with these groups and also what future researchers can expect to experience themselves if they choose to embark on a similar research journey.

4.5.2 Researcher's identity

Traditionally, the opinions of researchers in the field of race and racism have supported the belief that, 'only those researchers emerging from the life worlds of their subjects' can be adequate interpreters of such experiences' (Stanfield, 1994, p. 605). Similarly, Zinn (1979)

argued that only 'insiders' are granted full access to a group. In more recent years, research has demonstrated that robust, quality empirical data can be gathered even when the researcher does not share all of the same demographics as the participants (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Pompper, 2010; Milligan, 2016; Zempi, 2016). Despite a slight shift in perception about researcher-researched difference, there is still an overwhelming suggestion that the 'shortcomings' associated with the researchers' 'outsider' status must be acknowledged if they are to be managed or negated (Young, 2004, p. 190). Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti (2006) argue that within research the notion of 'Whiteness' is considered to represent 'normalness' and 'neutrality' and has become the lens through which the experiences of minority ethnic groups are discussed and analysed. As a White British researcher and a member of the majority 'in' group, I wanted to retain an awareness of my own racial and national identity and 'outsider' status and avoid creating knowledge that was misrepresentative of the participants' lives.

Almost exclusively, literature that engages with the insider/outsider debate places implicit value upon the 'insider' position as being most effective location for data collection (Young, 2004). However, there is a growing body of research that suggests that insider researchers can face a number of challenges (Gallagher, 1999; Asselin, 2003; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2014; Zempi, 2016). Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) argue that participants may not feel comfortable with sharing certain sensitive information with a researcher that they perceive as too similar to themselves as they worry that information will be revealed to their shared community. Additionally, when studying how race could impact participant-researcher interactions, Mizock, Harkins and Morant (2011) found that when both researcher and participant were African American, the researcher often used their own experiences of racism to explain the experiences of the participant. Whilst this was often done with good intentions, Mizock et al (2011, n.p) say 'to share the emotional burden', it meant that the researcher often interrupted the participant and used their personal knowledge to 'fill in the gaps' rather than allow the participant to elaborate. This tends not to happen when researcher-participant are not of the same ethnic group but with this in mind, I was always aware when honing my interview technique to allow the participant the freedom to explain themselves fully with as little input from me as was appropriate.

If referring to established understandings of what it means to be an 'outsider' then, in this particular study, I was an 'outsider' in almost every aspect. While I maintain the importance of acknowledging how my identity differed from those I was working with, this study comes from the perspective that my position as an 'outsider' was not necessarily a disadvantage. In fact, in

several ways it actually helped me collect richer and *more* accurate data. Fully acknowledging my position as an 'outsider' from the outset with gatekeepers and participants was a technique I employed to immediately try to minimise the formation of dominant power dynamics. Despite my position as a well-educated, professional doctoral researcher, I was clear that I did not consider myself an expert with regards to their lives or their experiences. Fielding (2008) argues that to come across as somewhat naïve and admit only a basic knowledge is beneficial as it encourages participants to provide greater detail during interactions. Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) discuss how positioning the participants as 'educators' empowered participants to 'teach' the researcher, with enthusiasm, about their religious and cultural beliefs and experiences. Furthermore, because a certain level of knowledge is not expected from the researcher, questions that may seem 'basic' or obvious are less likely to be considered odd or create awkward moments (Zempi, 2016). Pompper (2010, p. 9) expresses hesitancy about being a White female researcher conducting focus groups with women of colour about their experiences of working in public relations. On completion of her research, the feedback surveys showed that the researcher's 'willingness to take issues being discussed seriously' mattered more to the participants than any aspect of her personal demographics. Furthermore, when asked why participants agreed to take part in the study, the respondents said they were motivated most by the fact that the issues raised in the research mattered greatly to them personally. However, this was closely followed by the response that, 'the researcher seemed enthusiastic about the project'. These are values I demonstrated throughout the fieldwork in the hopes that this would encourage participation in my study and it was a strategy that was well received by new arrivals and led to much more authentic and robust findings.

4.5.3 Gender

There were a number of times when my gender identity came to the fore of my research activities and times when I suddenly became acutely aware of my presence as a female for different reasons. There is now a vast amount of literature that focuses on reflexivity in research. In more recent decades there has been an increase in academic attention given to how the researcher's identity, such as their ethnicity and socio-economic status, can impact upon research (Vera and Feagin, 2004). Despite this, there seems to have always been much less acknowledgement for how the researcher's gender influences research activities (Williams and Heikes, 1993; Broom, Hand and Tovey, 2009). During the fieldwork for this study I engaged with and interviewed both men and women and felt quite strongly at times, that my gender - and age to some extent - influenced the interactions that I had. Early feminist writing tended to argue

that women were best placed to interview other women as it was more likely to generate 'real' discussions (Hamberg and Johansson, 1999). Whilst this rather simplistic gendered analogy has been criticised by more contemporary feminists (Oakley, 1999), in this research I was able to use my female identity as a way to build genuine and trusting relationships with female gatekeepers and participants. Many of my female participants identified as Muslim and so the Islamic principle of avoiding contact with 'non-mahram' men – any man not related to them – was observed by some. Additionally, one of the groups I attended was a women's only group, so it is likely that I would not have been invited to attend if I was male. As already mentioned, I was an 'outsider' in almost every aspect when it came to my identity, but with female participants I was able to find 'common ground'.

When attending drop-ins and events that included both men and women I noticed that I was much more inclined to approach and begin talking with women over men. This is perhaps understandable, as a young PhD researcher I lacked confidence. I knew I could focus on our similarity as women and my experience with engaging with female participants was always positive. However, I knew that in order to recruit a sample that was diverse I had to build enough confidence to approach men as well. Warren (1988) claimed that in her experience as a female researcher, men tended to perceive her as 'harmless' and she therefore did not raise suspicion in the same way a male researcher might have. Additionally, Williams and Heikes (1993) point out that there is often a general assumption that men are more comfortable discussing sensitive topics with women because generally, they have more experience of sharing their feelings with women as opposed to other men. Despite this, I had been told by a number of people who were not involved in my research but were members of minority ethnic groups, that I would struggle to engage men from certain communities as they were unlikely to respect me as a female researcher. Nevertheless, using the approach outlined in this chapter I did manage to recruit male participants who were open and frank in their conversations with me, and I never noticed any undertones of dismissiveness when speaking with them.

Several feminist researchers have acknowledged that female researchers sometimes face an added burden of sexual overtures from male participants (Gurney, 1985; Warren, 1988; Horn, 1997), and this is something I did experience once or twice. As a young, unmarried woman approaching a man and striking up friendly conversation, it is possible that my efforts to recruit participants occasionally translated as 'flirting' to some. Kosygina (2005) also states that she had concerns about her friendly demeanour appearing like 'flirting' in her research with refugees to the extent that she only felt comfortable interviewing much older men. Consequently, when I

sensed the conversation was becoming more personal, I remained focused on discussing the research generally ignoring any advances. Only once did I have to walk away from a conversation because I felt uncomfortable with the personal questions I was being asked. My non-engagement in this instance may have meant missing out on valuable data but ultimately, I was not prepared to compromise my professionalism or continue in an environment I felt uncomfortable in.

4.5.4 The 'informed' outsider?

There is another perspective in the insider/outsider debate which argues that to describe these positions as static and rigid does not reflect the reality of 'identity' which is fluid and nuanced (Gallagher, 1999; Keval, 2009; Zempi, 2016). Before embarking on this study I worked for the charity Victim Support where I specialised in supporting victims of hate crime. Additionally, I had spent time working with the lead researcher of the Leicester Hate Crime Project. As a result of those experiences, I developed a good professional understanding of the nature and harms of hate crime. Despite this form of 'insider' knowledge I still initially considered myself an outsider when entering the field because I had never spent any concentrated time with groups of new migrants or refugees. However, Song and Parker (1995, p. 244) argue that the polarised labels of 'insider' and 'outsider' are not fixed and that these positions are 'unstable and shifting' throughout the research process. After spending several weeks and sometimes months with various groups it became clear that the knowledge they were providing me with about their lives put me in an 'informed' position. Furthermore, on a couple of occasions when other 'outsiders' came to the drop-ins for various reasons they appeared confused by my presence, but members of the group simply said 'oh, she's one of us'. This validation evidently demonstrates how flexible and variable my status was, as at some point they began to perceive me as 'familiar' and as having membership.

I feel it is important to state at this point that although I gained a great deal of insider knowledge through my research, I identify with a statement made by Anderson (1993, p. 50) about her participants in which she acknowledges that her 'understanding of these women's lives will always be partial and incomplete'. Anderson (1993) is referring to the fact that she does not believe her African American participants shared fully with her because she is White. I do not believe this was the case with participants in the present study, however, because of the privilege my identity affords me I can never truly understand what it feels like to experience

hostility in the way the participants do. Thus, in this context I will always be somewhat of an outsider.

Gallagher (1999) argues that all people are highly nuanced and consist of an indeterminate number of identity characteristics with varying personality traits. Even when offering a reflexive account of our research we ultimately do not know how others will perceive us or which aspects of our identity they will identify with (Gallagher, 1999). During fieldwork, participants responded to me in a variety of ways; in a discussion with a Somali participant, they felt comfortable to express prejudice towards Eastern Europeans, perhaps because I am British, whereas several of my Polish participants expressed hostility towards Muslims, perhaps because I am White. As Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) argue, this complexity highlights the failings of, and overly simplistic binary insider / outsider conceptual framework in accounting for multifaceted human identities. Instead, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that qualitative researchers should not restrict themselves to such simplistic classifications, but rather recognise 'the space between' in which researchers can acknowledge how multiple aspects of their identity continuously influence the research process.

4.6 Data analysis

The qualitative data produced by this research came in the form of interview transcripts, transcripts of the discussions had during the mapping activities, and written field diary notes. 'Coding, as a qualitative analysis technique, is not confined to the Grounded Theory method, but procedures for doing it are at the heart of the method' (Urquhart, 2013, p. 35). As much as possible, a 'line-by-line' approach to coding was taken in order to ensure a thorough and comprehensive analysis. Holton (2007) argues that this is essential to the GT approach in order to provide new insights, especially when researching under-explored fields. A 'bottom-up' approach to open coding was utilised as much as possible, this is when codes are derived from the data itself rather than being determined by the existing literature (Lewis, 2015). Analysis that is driven by a GT approach develops codes from the data that commonly use words or phrases utilised by the participants themselves (in vivo coding). This approach led to the development of initial broad coding categories which included: participant life histories; non-verbal and verbal abuse; avoidance strategies; ill-health implications; non-white perpetrators of hostility; community-wide harms; the fear; normalising and minimising experiences; diversity and happiness; fitting in; and belonging.

However, the coding process was, at times, also informed by existing literature, theory and my own pre-existing knowledge of the field. This not only enhanced the reliability of the initial analysis but allowed me to more easily apply the findings of this research to existing theory in order to create new and more inclusive knowledge. As additional data was collected throughout the fieldwork stage, axial coding was undertaken to inductively identify relationships and links between data. Throughout each stage of coding, which happened concurrently with data collection, I recorded 'memos' on my phone which were essentially reflections and thoughts on the emerging and reoccurring codes. The aim of this process is to 'discover conceptual properties that transcend a particular instance or example' (Lewis, 2015, p. 825). These memos were particularly useful when it came to theoretical coding; analytic concepts that describe the relationships between initial descriptive codes, from which theory and new knowledge can be built (Lewis, 2015). Some of the theoretical codes developed included: direct and indirect experiences of hostility; choosing self-segregation; minority-on-minority hostility; conveyor-belt hostility; safe vs unsafe space; structural inequality; the good/bad immigrant paradox; and doing difference correctly.

4.7 Ethical considerations

'Researchers engaged in examining social issues relating to 'hidden groups' face many ethical challenges' (Machin and Shardlow, 2018, p. 1). Consequently, having an awareness of ethical issues is particularly important when working with new arrivals and when dealing with sensitive issues such as race and victimisation (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). A well-established principle that was central to the ethical framework of this study is that researchers should not knowingly cause harm to participants (Beauchamp and Childress, 2001). Christians (2005) though, argues that researchers working in sensitive areas should go beyond the notion of 'avoiding harm' and instead promote compassion and nurturance. I was asking participants to recount their experiences of hostility and victimisation which understandably could have been distressing for some. I prepared participants for interviews as best I could either providing them with a hard copy of the participant information form or simply talking it through with them so they were aware of the discussion themes beforehand. Curtis and Curtis (2011) suggest that researchers should remain alert to participants' body language, demeanour and changes in behaviour throughout the interviews for any signs of discomfort or distress. If I noticed this occurring I always offered to stop the conversation and demonstrated patience and understanding. In all of the interviews and conversations I had with new arrivals, my previous employment was particularly helpful. I was able to draw on my experiences as a support worker to firstly, create

an environment that promoted compassion, confidentiality and non-judgmental interactions and secondly, provide details of additional support services and third-party reporting mechanisms such as Victim First and Tell MAMA.

This study places considerable value on creating an empathetic, open and compassionate environment that encourages participants to disclose their experiences to the researcher without feeling in any way disadvantaged by the process. Nevertheless, it was important to ensure that the integrity of the research was not compromised by the development of overly 'friendly' relationships or what some researchers describe as 'going native' (Alexander, 2004, p. 140). Maintaining professional boundaries was important in achieving an intersubjective interpretation of the hostility and prejudice experienced by the new arrivals in this research. Becoming emotionally involved or particularly attached to participants would have significantly hindered my ability to see things from a 'critical and interpretive distance' that is required by researchers (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015, p. 68). The main way in which I maintained a professional 'distance' was to use the weekly drop-in sessions and events as the primary location for all my interactions with participants. I never interacted with any participant more than twice a week and did not spend time with them in a personal capacity outside the research field. Subsequently, I was able to be openly friendly with participants without becoming their 'friend'.

Another fundamental consideration when undertaking ethical research is to ensure that informed consent is given. As previously mentioned, I was careful to make sure that all the participants fully understood the purpose of the research by producing participant information sheets and consent forms. The information detailed on these forms was either provided in writing or discussed verbally. Although the majority of participants were at ease with giving me consent to conduct and record the interviews, suddenly producing written participant information and consent forms which they were expected to read and sign appeared to unnerve some people. Consequently, in order to preserve the good rapport I had built with participants, consent was negotiated verbally in most instances rather than in written form. Ensuring that consent was informed was also aided by having regular discussions with the groups about why the research was important and what would happen to the data I collected. This also helped to overcome language barriers because members of the group who could speak more advanced English were able to translate to those whose English was not as good. Although in these situations I was not able to ensure that my words were being translated exactly as intended, feedback from participants suggested that they understood. Participants were also made aware

that participation was strictly voluntary and that they could withdraw from interviews or have data about them removed at any time before publishing.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that the Western notion of informed consent has previously led some researchers to exploit minority communities through their research. They claim that gaining informed consent only really extends to making sure that participants are aware of what the researcher is doing, but it does not mean that what the researcher is doing is in the best interests of the community. Therefore, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that a more holistic approach should be taken that encourages equality and collaboration. Bishop (2005, p. 128) argues that research should address issues of power in a number of ways that include these principles;

- Benefits: the community should benefit from the research
- Representation: the research should represent the voices of those in the community
- Legitimacy: the community should have the power to legitimise and validate the research

I was able to address these particular principles in the following ways. Firstly, participants regularly extended their gratitude to me for helping out at drop-in sessions, working to help them improve their English and also for simply listening to them talk about the everyday challenges they faced as new arrivals. It appeared that my presence was beneficial to many of the participants and I also hoped to create knowledge that they can use themselves to raise awareness of their own victimisation. Secondly, as discussed in this chapter, the methodological approach I took in conducting this research deliberately placed the participant's voice at the centre of its focus so I would argue they have been well represented here. Finally, I made a point to discuss my key research findings with a number of people involved in this study to get their views on whether my assessment of the situation was accurate and fair. Asking for their feedback granted them the power to legitimise and validate the knowledge that was generated through this research.

4.8 Conclusion

Chapter Four has provided a detailed account of the methodological approach that was employed to undertake this study of the racist victimisation of new migrants and refugees currently living in the British city of Leicester. Initially, the chapter establishes the fundamentals of the research project: what, who and where. It described and offered a critical justification for what specific aims this research sought to address, who would constitute the target population,

and why where this research took place – Leicester – was the most appropriate site for this particular research. The unique ‘super-diverse’ population residing in the city has allowed for a much more nuanced consideration of how the participant’s immigrant, refugee or asylum seeker status intersects with other aspects of their identity to shape their everyday experiences. This chapter then moves on to explain how a qualitative research framework utilising a GT approach allows for the use of three key principles: the development of in-depth relationships with participants and gatekeepers, the acknowledgement of the researcher’s identity, and the collaborative effort to minimise researcher-participant power imbalances. The methods used in this research are argued to be the most suited to this particular project because they generate rich and authentic data that uncovers comprehensive knowledge about the everyday realities of these particular new arrivals. More ‘imaginative’ methods are used to supplement the discursive data produced by the semi-structured interviews. The data generated by the mapping exercise adds an additional perspective in understanding the complex relationship that new arrivals have with the space around them and outside their immediate environment. Finally, the chapter considers the importance of reflexivity on the part of the researcher in research on race and victimisation. Understanding how the researcher’s identity impacts the research leads to a greater appreciation of ethical issues and acknowledging the impact the fieldwork has on the researcher provides useful knowledge for future researchers.

Chapter Five: Individual Experiences of Targeted Hostility

‘I want everybody who comes here and makes their lives here to be and to feel British, that’s the most important thing, and to learn English’

Boris Johnson (2019).

‘I know people who have been attacked, people who have had their property put on fire. If you go to these places like I did, the people there make you feel unwelcome...It doesn’t matter how British you *feel*, they will never see you as one of them’

Adbikayf, Somali male.

A main aim of this research is to explore the experiences of targeted hostility encountered by ‘new’ migrants and refugees living in Leicester. This chapter addresses this aim by drawing upon data collected from semi-structured interviews and participant observations in addition to the many informal conversations and encounters recorded through field diary entries. It firstly highlights the nature and extent of targeted hostility experienced directly by participants with a focus on the more ‘everyday’ experiences of the new arrivals. Whilst describing these experiences, the chapter also argues that there are specific challenges facing new arrivals who experience the harms of targeted hostility both as direct and indirect victims. Reflected in the data is also the need to address forms of victimisation and hostility where the perpetrators are members of the same or another ethnic minority group. Minority-on-minority hostility is not unique to the city of Leicester but conducting this study in a particularly diverse area allows for the exploration of this under-researched issue. Supported by the data, this chapter gives examples of the nature of minority-on-minority hostility as well as offering explanations for why it occurs. As well as exploring the highly nuanced nature of the targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals, the chapter correspondingly discusses various normalising and minimising strategies that participants develop which account for the non-reporting of the majority of incidents that participants experience.

5.1 Direct experiences of targeted hostility

The targeted hostility experienced by participants varied in nature and prevalence. Victims also reported that they often felt targeted for multiple reasons and that some perpetrators were known to them while others were complete strangers. By focusing on incidents of non-verbal hostility, verbal abuse and various forms of harassment, the findings will first address the complex and nuanced nature of the direct experiences of targeted hostility described by the new arrivals who engaged in this research.

It became evident early in the fieldwork that describing the research to new arrivals as a study of 'hate crime' created a barrier that prevented open and meaningful conversations with participants. When the term 'hate crime' was used, I was generally met with indifferent or confused responses. By and large this was because even though participants showed a relatively good awareness of what hate crime was, their perception was that this only pertained to physical assault or other more serious incidents. Consequently, it became central within the current research to focus more on experiences of 'hostility', 'prejudice', 'racism' or even 'negative attention'. Not only did this allow participants to share their experiences using language they were more familiar with, they more quickly opened up about 'everyday' occurrences of hostility which participants' most frequently referred to as 'minor' incidents. This in turn led to some participants building the confidence to also share their experiences of more serious hate crimes that they or people close to them had endured. As was evident from conversations with participants, hostility can take many different forms, occur in different locations and be perpetrated by people of various backgrounds as will now be explored here.

Non-verbal hostility is a form of victimisation that I include in the research findings which refers to behaviours that were most commonly experienced by participants on a regular basis but were least likely to be acknowledged as an official hate incident by new arrivals. Participants spoke about the form that non-verbal hostility took in their experience and this was often behaviour such as: being stared at, being ignored, being deliberately avoided, and generally being made to feel unwelcome and unwanted. Participants often reported experiencing non-verbal hostility and the associated feelings of unwelcomeness and uncomfortability that these incidents triggered. The following participants were able to recount their experiences of non-verbal hostility:

We had not been here long and we went to Market Harborough to buy a car, we travelled there and everyone was White, we were the only ones not White and lots of

people were looking at us strangely, watching everywhere we were going...it made me feel uncomfortable and nervous.

Aziz, Eritrean male.

We only wanted to ask directions, we went over to them [White family], they saw us and got their children, kind of pushed them away and said 'no, no, no'. We didn't even get a chance to speak.

Zaynab, Somali female.

Often, because no overtly racist language was directed at participants and no physical act of hostility took place, new arrivals did not initially know how to articulate these kinds of non-verbal incidents or think that it was serious enough to discuss in the context of this research. Natalia's response epitomises what I most often heard from new arrivals when we discussed non-verbal hostility:

I feel ignored a lot, because I am Polish, yes. People don't look you in the eye. They don't really see you... but you want to hear this stuff from me? It's not serious really, I never feel like they going to beat me up or anything like that.

Of those participants who had experienced non-verbal hostility, most did not consider themselves to be victims of hate crime. However, I began talking about non-verbal hostility more often, especially when meeting groups of migrants and refugees for the first time to get a better understanding of how prevalent these experiences were amongst new arrivals. When I asked outright if they had ever encountered non-verbal hostility because of their identity I was overwhelmingly met with comments like:

Of course, it happens everyday!

Nasrin, Kurdish female.

Oh, yeah, I don't even think, that's all the time.

Sophia, Eritrean female.

The 'everyday' nature of hate and hostility, particularly the more 'ordinary' incidents and 'microaggressions' like the ones described by the participants above, meant that victimising behaviour often became normalised for the new arrivals. As discussed in Chapter Three, microaggressions are most commonly described as insults and invalidations that are subtle, non-criminal manifestations of discriminatory and racist behaviours (Sue, 2010). Participants engaged in this study were much more often victims of microaggressions than more typical and 'obvious' forms of racially motivated hostility. The absence of injury was often the reasons new arrivals said they had not thought to share their experiences of microaggressions with me straight away. It was also the main reason that none of the non-verbal incidents experienced by the participants were reported to the authorities. The various ways in which the participant's involved in this research minimised and normalised their experiences will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

As well as regularly experiencing incidents of microaggressions, participants also repeatedly mentioned incidents of name calling and verbal abuse which, although not as frequently occurring as the non-verbal hostility, had been experienced at least once by the majority of participants. These types of incidents more accurately reflect what Colliver (2019) defines as 'micro-crimes' because elements of harassment, fear and threatening behaviour were common within these experiences which could potentially constitute a criminal offence. The comments below indicate the kinds of 'micro-crimes' that the new arrivals encountered:

*They could see that I'm Muslim, they kept shouting 'F*** Mohammed' and 'You wanna kill us, you terrorist! They were getting closer and closer to me, I was so scared because I was on my own.*

Eva, Bangladeshi female.

I was just in the car park after I did some shopping when he pointed at me and said, 'you are all that is wrong with the world...you people cause all the world's problems'. I felt quite threatened, he was a lot bigger than me.

Narges, Iraqi female.

*We got in an argument, he called me all the names...I forgot to say 'please'. I apologised, it was just a cultural mistake. He kept saying 'you lot are f***** rude'. I kept saying I'm sorry but he was so angry.*

Adbikayf, Somali male.

Overt verbal abuse such as this was most often discussed by participants who were visibly identifiable as Muslim or by participants who felt they had been perceived as Muslim by the perpetrator. The language used by perpetrators in many incidents was Islamophobic in nature and appeared to demonstrate that the victim's perceived religious identity provoked the abuse. Islam is the fastest growing religion in the UK, and the world (Lipka and Hackett, 2017). Furthermore, the majority of individuals currently coming to the UK as refugees are fleeing from predominantly Muslim countries (Walsh, 2019). The changing ethnic and religious landscape in the UK has led to findings that specific anti-Muslim prejudice has become a more widely held attitude than anti-immigration prejudice more generally (O'Carroll, 2018). In particular, previous research suggests that Muslim women who are visibly identifiable as such because of their dress and appearance are especially vulnerable to targeted victimisation (Chakraborti et al 2014; Perry, 2014; Mason-Bish and Zempi, 2018). Routine representations of Muslim women as 'culturally dangerous' and 'threatening', but also as oppressed characters, means that they experience elevated levels of hate crime motivated by intersected prejudice of Islamophobia and misogyny (Zempi and Chakraborti, 2014, p. 25). Many of the women involved in this research also reported feeling particularly vulnerable because of the 'visibility' of their Muslim identity. This, alongside their gender and their refugee/asylum seeker status created a sense of powerlessness for some women but this was not true in all cases. From spending prolonged periods of time at various drop-in groups, it became apparent that the women who regularly came together in 'safe' spaces as a community found significant strength and resilience from their shared experiences. Even when faith, nationality, educational attainment and age differed between the women, they were often unified because they were all facing similar hostilities as women of colour, women of faith or simply 'foreign' women.

Observing the intersections of participants identities was important in this research in order to meaningfully understand the nuanced and diverse range of experiences they shared with me. The new arrivals I spoke with throughout the fieldwork stage of this research were by no means a homogenous group. As outlined in Chapter Four, the participants ranged in age, nationality, ethnicity, religious and cultural identity, length of stay, citizenship status, socio-economic status

and educational attainment. Consequently, many participants reported that they felt they had been targeted because of aspects of their identity that are much less frequently discussed within hate crime policy or practice. New arrivals perceived that their victimisation, alongside their ethnicity and/or religion, was motivated by their 'foreign' accent, their perceived nationality, their lack of English language skills, overhearing them speaking in a foreign language or that it was simply their 'difference' to the perpetrator that made them a target. The examples below highlight some of this complexity:

I am made to feel scared and not welcome and I think that's because I am Muslim but when those boys came for me I think they saw a young woman on her own and thought, this is an easy target.

Eva, Bangladeshi female.

I am a White Christian but I have met some people who don't like me, you can just tell, you know? They might look like me on the outside but it's because they can tell I'm not British, they hear me speak, my accent, they don't trust Polish...it's just stereotypes.

Jan, Polish male.

People who want to pick on other people because they are different will find any excuse. Everyday it could be different. Today you hate me because I am Brown, tomorrow because I am Sikh, maybe you just hate me because I am not like you.

Faysal, Bangladeshi male.

Despite the personal resilience of many of the participants, when discussed in more detail, it was clear that 'everyday' incidents of targeted hostility caused emotional harm and had real-life consequences for the way they lived their lives. Previous research has argued that 'mundane' acts of hostility must be treated seriously as they are often part of a process of repeat victimisation that leads to cumulative harm for the victim (Walters and Hoyle, 2012; Chakraborti, et al 2014; Amnesty International, 2017). The current research supports these findings as the longer I spent in the field, the more participants opened up about the harms of 'everyday' hostility. My own field diary entries illustrate this here:

It was very obvious that these (non-verbal) incidents were discussed jokingly, they appeared to laugh them off. I honestly didn't know what to do with myself, I felt a strange obligation to laugh along with them (13.04.16).

Sometimes I feel like I hear the same stories over and over, but actually, each time I hear something slightly different. The women still say they are not that bothered about what they call 'minor' incidents such as being stared at, ignored, generally treated differently and occasionally called names. Their response is generally to just ignore it. But now, they also talk about sleepless nights, depression and feeling scared all the time (25.05.16).

In total, I spent about eight months with this particular group of women at a weekly English lesson for new migrants. This enabled me to develop initial conversations about their experiences to gain a more genuine understanding of the prevalence and impact of non-verbal hostility they encountered in their everyday lives. Rather than assume, based on our first few weeks together, that 'everyday' expressions of hostility were not negatively impacting the new arrival's lives, the more labour-intensive approach I took uncovered the truly harmful consequences of 'everyday' hate incidents that are often ignored within media and political rhetoric (Chakraborti et al, 2014). Additional harms discussed by other participants also included feelings of vulnerability, anxiety, sadness, embarrassment and humiliation, especially if the incidents occurred in public. For Zaynab (Somali female), the prolonged feelings of anxiousness and fear after being verbally abused on three separate occasions, led to exhaustion which had to be treated by her doctor. Whereas Fathima (Sri Lankan female), would deliberately avoid going to the local marketplace to buy food even though she struggled to afford basic necessities from the supermarket because of one particular market stall owner who had been aggressive towards her on more than one occasion.

Many of the incidents of targeted hostility reported by participants were perpetrated by strangers to the victim. It was particularly common for participants to experience verbal abuse from people in passing cars, for example. However, participants who were repeat victims of intimidatory and threatening behaviour, bullying and property damage reported that ongoing harassment was often perpetrated by neighbours:

Me and my wife were given a house in Braunstone and I saw men covered in tattoos who came to my house, stood outside and every time they saw us they would say 'why

are you here', 'go back to where you came from'. They would break into the house. But if you want to move it can take a long time. I saw people get burgled several times, every time they replace the locks or fix the window and get all new stuff, they just brake in again and take all your stuff.

Geesi, Nigerian male.

We got into an argument over the kids. I don't know, silly thing that happened between the kids and all of a sudden she started saying 'you shouldn't even be here...you immigrants'. She was becoming very aggressive and it was now about me being an immigrant, not about the kids anymore.

Fathima, Sri Lankan female.

The man and his wife told my friend's husband that 'the neighbourhood was much better before people like you arrived here and it's not as safe anymore', like saying the crime rate has increased there now.

Narges, Iraqi female.

In more recent years, the hate crime victim-perpetrator relationship has been acknowledged to be much more complex than historically thought. Whilst Chakraborti et al (2014) found that the majority of racially motivated incidents and hate crimes were perpetrated by strangers, 8 per cent overall were perpetrated by neighbours. More specifically, they found that refugees and those with asylum seeker status were more likely to be targeted by neighbours than anyone else known to them. Similarly, Walters and Krasodonski-Jones (2018) also found that neighbours were the most common perpetrators of racial hostility when the perpetrator was known to the victim. Correspondingly, the findings from this research would support that for new arrivals, neighbours were frequent perpetrators of targeted hostility. Participants' in this research lived predominantly within the inner-city of Leicester and the surrounding wards, yet these areas varied, sometimes considerably, in terms of their affluence and racial and religious diversity. Generally, wards to the West and South of the city centre have typically been populated by much higher numbers of White British and to some extent White European residents (Leicester City Council, 2012). Subsequently, in a number of cases, as highlighted by the participants above, it was when they moved into a predominantly White area that they encountered often quite overt

hostility and became victims of hate crimes. Participants were immediately identified by residents as unwanted 'outsiders' and they often reported an escalation in intimidatory and threatening behaviour if they remained living in the area. The territorial response to the new arrivals by local residents appears to be a reaction to the belief that they are being 'invaded by the problematic other' (Turpin-Petrosino, 2015, p. 10). McDevitt, Levin and Bennett (2002) describe these types of perpetrators as 'defensive offenders'; those who feel the need to protect their resources from 'others' who pose a threat. In displaying hostile and threatening behaviours, residents convey the strong message that 'outsiders' are not welcome in the hopes that they will push them out. This 'defensive message' was present in many of the incidents reported by the participants. For Layla, her experiences of targeted hostility began the moment she entered a predominantly White neighbourhood in Leicester:

*A few years ago the council offered me and my kids a house in New Parks. We went to see the house but when we came out we saw four men standing together just staring at us. As we walked away one said 'f*** off back to wherever you came from' and spat on the floor. I felt bad and scared, especially for my kids. We did not go and live there.*

Layla, Somali female.

Sibbitt (1997) found that the hostile attitudes held by perpetrators of racially motivated hate crime were reflected in the local communities they came from. She surmised that perpetrators are not distinct from non-offending citizens but that they are influenced by existing racist and xenophobic prejudice that is reinforced and even nurtured within the wider society. Sibbitt's work suggests that the 'common sense' xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiment which has become entangled within everyday social, political and economic discourse is likely to be reflected in the experiences of those people who are being targeted. The power and impact that 'defensive offenders' have on new arrivals is substantial. Direct experiences of targeted hostility consciously effected the way in which participants went about their everyday lives and informed their choices about where they would live, even when this was not advantageous to them or their families. The wider implications of this on new arrivals themselves and on society's ability to foster meaningful social integration will be discussed at length in the following chapter. In addition to the direct experiences of victimisation, it is also demonstrated within the findings of this thesis that *indirect* experiences of targeted hostility also had significant impacts on the new arrivals, both in terms of the harms they incurred and also how these indirect experiences

informed their daily decision making. The experiences and implications of indirect racially motivated victimisation will now be discussed in more detail.

5.2 Indirect experiences of targeted hostility

Initially, my conversations with the new arrivals that I met centred on their own direct experiences of targeted hostility. For several months during the fieldwork phase, I focused on accumulating first-hand accounts and gaining an understanding into the implications of these direct experiences. However, it soon became clear that by taking this approach I was simply narrowing my research field and ignoring the diverse and under-acknowledged experiences of those who were also affected by targeted hostility *indirectly*. Participants who told me that they had never personally experienced any form of hostility or prejudice because of who they were whilst living in the UK still had numerous stories of friends, relatives or other community members who had. Additionally, whilst some participants could recollect one or two incidents of racial hostility where they felt they were the intended target, they would talk about these experiences alongside or interchangeably with the experiences of people they knew. The exchange of stories about what was happening in the 'community' was somewhat of a weekly ritual that I noticed the longer I spent with certain groups. The examples below are indicative of the accounts the vast majority of participants shared with me:

Actually my Mrs, her relatives used to live in Braunstone and they had to swap their house because it got so bad, so we helped them swap that house with a family who lived near the hospital in town, so they can live in in a more diverse place. They were actually attacked, their neighbours were attacked. I visited them when they were in that house and they were always living in fear. There was a big park outside but the kids couldn't really go outside and play because they were never 100% safe.

Abdi, Somali male.

Today, Hawa and Faduma told me that their friend's son had recently been physically assaulted by a group of three men and they believe it is because he is Somali. Before I arrived they said they were deciding whether or not to let their sons go out tonight as they are worried they will also be attacked.

Field notes (02.10.16)

Fathima and Samia have both recently been granted leave to remain and were talking about where they thought they would be moved to by the council. Fathima said she has heard that more immigrant/refugee families are being offered houses in Braunstone and this was causing them significant concern. Samia said a friend of hers told her it's a very racist area and that local residents will vandalise the houses of immigrants there. They expressed several times throughout the conversation that they would not feel safe there.

Field notes (07.12.16)

The prevalence of new arrivals who knew of at least one person who had experienced some form of targeted hostility while living in Leicester was high in this research. Similarly, the Sussex Hate Crime Project found that 80 per cent of respondents knew of someone who had been victimised in the last three years and half knew of someone who had been physically assaulted because of their actual or perceived identity (Paterson, Walters, Brown and Fearn, 2018). It is important to acknowledge that the impacts of hate crime and expressions of targeted hostility are not limited to those individuals who are directly victimised. Harms caused by these incidents have far-reaching consequences for members of the wider community. Participants involved in this research frequently reported feelings of fear, vulnerability, anxiety and sadness when hearing of or discussing the victimisation of others in their community. This finding is supported by previous research which also demonstrates similar harms of experiencing targeted hostility indirectly (Bell and Perry, 2015; Paterson, Brown and Walters, 2019).

As well as an emotional response to others in their community being targeted because of their perceived identity, participants also adapted their behaviour much in the same way as those who had been direct victims. Avoidance behaviours and withdrawing from some or all social activity has also found to be a consequence of an increased fear in victimisation amongst communities with a sense of shared identity (Bell and Perry, 2015). During the first few years of their residency in Leicester, the new arrivals often relied heavily on the experiences of those in their communities to inform them about the wider society. Unlike more 'settled' immigrants or refugees who have gone on to become permanent residents, new arrivals are much less likely to have any established connections to people and institutions outside of their immediate, familiar environment. Decision-making that affected their everyday lives was greatly influenced by the experiences, beliefs and opinions of others in their own, particular community. This was perhaps most evidently captured in a conversation I had with one of the support workers who

was also an economic migrant originally from Somalia. I had just told her that many participants had talked to me about 'unsafe' places that they would actively avoid. I asked if, as someone who comes into contact with a wide variety of new arrivals, she felt that many people shared this awareness of there they felt they would and would not go:

Oh yes, it's the fear. If you get offered a house in New Parks for example, there is a fear always. If you get offered a house in Braunstone then it's a fear, 'I don't want to go' they say, straight away. Is the fear always true...? Does it matter? They believe it so much. I told you that I live in New Parks now and I don't have any big problems. Sometimes they are scared because they heard someone say that some time ago things happened and because of that, the fear spread. The danger is less now in some areas...but I have to say some places are still not great...we really have to encourage them to take the houses in New Parks because they are better for them, better areas. But the fear is still there.

Support worker, Somali female.

'The fear' that this participant spoke of is something that came up often, especially in my conversations with support workers. Through these discussions, it emerged that because of how quickly and easily stories of victimisation are shared within certain groups, new arrivals experienced genuine and often equally harmful impacts indirectly of the actual victimisation being experienced by others in the group; particularly behavioural adaptations. One of the most commonly discussed impacts of 'the fear' of being targeted was that it detrimentally influenced new arrivals decisions on where to live within the city. Consequently, rather than accept a house that was more suitable for their family size, offered improved access to health care, primary and secondary education and was in many cases, in better condition, new arrivals remained where they felt at less risk of being targeted. Moreover, this was also most likely to be the areas in which others from their community also lived in highly concentrated numbers. The broader implications of the responses to both indirect and direct victimisation on social cohesion and integration is the central focus of Chapter Six, so this particular behavioural impact will be revisited in greater detail then.

The severity of the emotional and behavioural impacts of indirect victimisation arguably highlights the unique and complex dynamics associated with hate crime victimisation. This appeared most prominently to me when, in September 2017, a Somali woman from the local

area who was personally known to some of the participants, was run over twice with a car being driven by a man who had directly targeted her because of her visible Muslim identity. This horrific incident has been reported in national news and Zaynab, the victim, sustained life-changing injuries which I know she is still healing from and adjusting to at the time of writing. A month after the incident I spoke with participants from the community about it although understandably, most felt too upset to talk about it.

Some people are angry, some are very scared, but most people are just devastated, so sad. We feel it so much because it could have been any one of us. He only went after her because she was wearing a headscarf, it's very scary to be honest. I think we are surprised this could happen in Leicester, but the whole community are supporting her.

Layla, Somali female.

Previous research offers insight into why group members who have not been targeted directly are still likely to incur harm. Hate crimes have long been described as 'message crimes'; the targeting of a person based on actual or perceived identity characteristics, consequently sending a 'message' to others who identify as part of the same group that they are unwelcome and unwanted, and therefore equally vulnerable to also being targeted (Hall, 2013). When attempting to analyse the nature and severity of indirect harms, there is relatively limited previous research to draw from (Perry and Alvi, 2012). Despite this, attempts to understand the indirect impacts of hate crime have uncovered that simply having an awareness of the hostility directed towards the community increases group members' fear, anger and anxiety as well prompting avoidance behaviours (Perry and Alvi, 2012; Bell and Perry, 2015; Paterson et al, 2018). However, these studies most prominently focused on the indirect experiences of LGBT communities although the Sussex Hate Crime Project also included the experiences of some Muslim groups. The impact of indirect targeted hostility within communities has not yet been examined purely from the perspective of new arrivals. As will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, new arrivals are particularly vulnerable to experiencing both direct and indirect targeted hostility and the subsequent harms of these experiences. This is for a myriad of reasons, partly relating to their lack of knowledge about their own rights, but also their social isolation and the fact that they simply have not had the time necessary to build any support networks outside of their immediate environment. Consequently, the findings of this research contribute to a new and emerging area of interest to hate crime scholars who are finding the need to take more seriously the impacts of targeted hostility on wider community members.

Conversely, it is important to acknowledge that within the context of this research, not everyone experienced indirect harms of targeted hostility to the same extent. Whilst some new arrivals would partially identify with what they still described as their 'community' and felt a strong sense of empathy towards those who had been targeted, they also talked about some clear markers of 'difference' that they felt separated them from the majority of their 'community'. It was these differences that some participants felt made them less vulnerable to becoming a target themselves. Consequently, they tended to express less personal fear and anxiety when discussing the topic of targeted hostility and hate crime:

People get a lot more attention when they wear those things...the Niqab. Of course people stare and call names sometimes. I have never worn one and I think that's why I don't get attention like that. I don't really worry about it.

Halima, Somali female.

When I first came here I did everything I could to make sure I could speak English almost perfectly. I did two courses at the university, I got a good job and made an effort to speak to the English people as much as I could. I would just start a conversation with anyone around and I wasn't afraid. I don't think the people coming right now do that so much. Like, they don't make the effort as much.

Nikola, Polish female.

Dress and appearance, education and language skills were the most commonly discussed 'markers' by which participants would evaluate an individual's likelihood of being targeted. More specifically, wearing conservative Islamic dress such as the Niqab or a Burqa rather than just a Haijab and/or Abaya was perceived as something that would most likely provoke victimisation. Gaining educational qualifications in the UK and being able to speak English fluently and confidently also contributed to the participants perception that they would be less of a target, arguably less of an 'outsider' and more 'integrated'. By having fewer 'markers' that depicted them as an 'outsider', participants felt that they would provoke less hostility from potential perpetrators of targeted hostility and this tempered their concerns about becoming a direct victim. By expressing these views through the interviews and informal conversations, it appeared that participants had clearly acknowledged that there were specific strategies that, if they could actualise, would not only mitigate aspects of their 'outsider' status, therefore

reducing their risk of being personally targeted, but that it could subsequently reduce some of the harms that indirect hate crime victimisation can evidently cause. Referring to Perry's (2001) influential work around the concept of 'doing difference', participants who were able to perform their 'difference' appropriately and conform to depictions of the 'good' immigrant appeared initially to experience less victimisation and fewer harms. However, this was not true in all cases and what this research goes on to highlight in Chapter Six, is the highly nuanced nature of 'doing difference' for the participants who came from considerably varied backgrounds and what the implications of this were on their attempts to 'integrate' into wider society.

5.3 Minority-on-minority hostility

Despite the fact that a large number of the incidents of targeted hostility experienced by participants were perpetrated by White British people, an unexpected number of participants raised the point that the individuals or groups who had targeted them were also members of ethnic minorities. The prevalence of minority-on-minority hostility in Leicester was something that many of the new arrivals I engaged with as part of this research project highlighted multiple times, and they were very keen that this be represented within the findings of this thesis. In several cases, the perpetrators of targeted hostility did not fit the 'typical' perpetrator profile of White British. However, especially when taking into account the localised nature of everyday incidents of racially motivated hostility, minority-on-minority expressions of hostility, which are rarely discussed at length within hate crime research, may begin to be understood. As previously mentioned, there are areas of Leicester that remain predominantly White British, but central wards and wards to the East of the city centre are significantly more diverse. One participant made the point that:

We live in a city that is mostly immigrants and refugees so you might not be with the Whites, you might not see many White people in your daily life depending where you go.

Layla, Somali female.

Perhaps due to the lack of interaction with White British people, it was typically participants who lived in these diverse neighbourhoods who had experienced victimisation from other minority group members. Fawzia's story highlighted in my field diary entry is an example of a new arrival who had moved into the area of Highfields, now a predominantly Muslim area in Leicester that has experienced continuous waves of new settlers since the late 1940s. Her experiences of

harassment were also exacerbated by the fact that she was also a single mother living alone with her children:

Fawzia works as a carer and lives in Highfields. She described a group of up to 15 'Jamaican boys' that would regularly congregate outside her house. She said 'they knew we are Somali and they didn't like that'. When they saw Fawzia they would attempt to block her path as she walked down the street. If she was inside her house, she would be too scared to leave whilst they were outside. She told me she often thought about phoning the police but did not want to be known as the one who called them. She feared for her safety and the safety of her children and for the consequences she expected to encounter if she got the police involved (29.06.16).

Other experiences of racially motivated hostility where the perpetrators were not White British were also reported to me in the course of this research:

There was an incident with my neighbour, she called us names. She wasn't White, she was like second generation Pakistani or Indian, something like that. Our kids were playing in the garden and one day she was like 'go back to your country!'

Sophia, Eritrean female.

All the bad things people say to me have been Polish people, called me names, been angry and aggressive.

Anthony, Zimbabwean male.

As incidents like the ones above were disclosed to me more frequently by participants, I decided to take the opportunity to explore some of the more 'established' group members views and attitudes towards new arrivals in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of minority-on-minority hostility. Through the lengthy fieldwork stage of this project, I engaged with many 'new' arrivals but amongst them were also individuals and groups who had been living in the UK for much longer and some were open about their attitudes towards more recent arrivals than themselves:

It's different now than it used to be because of the war on terror...we have to be watching the Muslim people...we have to be careful.

Pawel, Polish male (lived in the UK for 14 years).

Krystyna: Too many Polish people come here now, they're coming and coming, not only Polish, they're coming from everywhere! It's all very mixed and I don't like that...it's upsetting us, the old generation.

Maria: You know, I think what she means is that there are a lot of other cultures here now too. When we came here we accept British culture and we live together with the British people but I don't think the other people want to do that...You know, they wear the Burqa and things like that.

Polish females (lived in the UK for over 40 years).

It was much safer in Norway, yes. You can leave your money in your car for days and no one takes it, leave your houses, not lock them and everything is fine. It's not like that here...but you know Norway deported a lot of Eastern Europeans and the crime rate went down. If they did that here, you know, would probably help.

Jamilah, Somali female (lived in the UK for 8 years).

In drawing on UK citizenship surveys, Braakmann, Waqas and Wildman (2017) found that the longer an immigrant lives in their host country, the stronger their anti-immigration attitudes tend to be and they consider this to be the result of integration into the host country's society. They point out that between 2007 and 2010, nearly 50 per cent of non-British born respondents were opposed to further immigration. This rose to 53 per cent for immigrants who had lived in the UK for longer than five years and fell to 33 per cent for more recent arrivals. However, this was only examined in the context of labour market concerns and not in relation to perceptions of security, crime and culture as was most often discussed by the participants. The current research can therefore offer new insight into how and why some members of typically 'othered' immigrant groups also display hostility and prejudice and even perpetrate hate crimes against newer arrivals. Using Stephen and Renfro's (2002) theory as a framework, there is scope to develop the concept of perceived 'threat' to contribute to our existing knowledge.

Within the current research, when discussing new arrivals, feelings of suspicion and concerns over integrating new cultures and crime rates were most commonly discussed by 'established' minority group members. More specifically, Eastern European and non-Muslim participants most frequently discussed their concerns relating to the religious and cultural traditions of Muslim new arrivals as well as their perceived threats about extremism. Whereas Muslim participants referred to the excessive drinking behaviours and 'aggressive' nature of Polish people, which some perceived to relate to criminality. The negative stereotypes and concerns expressed about Muslim and Polish immigrants by the participants mirror some of the findings of recent research that highlight 'majority' White British views and opinions of new arrivals (Allen, 2016; Blinder and Richards, 2018; Rutter and Carter, 2018). With participants who had experienced incidents of targeted hostility from other minority group members, I asked why they thought people who also appeared to come from an ethnic minority and/or a non-British background would exhibit hostile and prejudice views of new arrivals:

I think when it comes to hate crime, it comes more from the people who came here before us like the Indians and Pakistanis rather than the Whites...They see us as the new ones so I think that causes more hatred. They are acting in place of the Whites because they are British now as well.

Layla, Somali female.

Hanna told me today that other Polish people have said hurtful things to her in the past and she felt this was because she was a new arrival. She said 'Polish people who have lived in the UK for longer, ten years or so, they think they're English now and they will be mean to new Poles'.

Field notes (13.08.17).

They could be as new as you but they say those things and be violent and racist because they want the attention on you and not them. They want the opportunities for themselves so they exclude you.

Anthony, Zimbabwean male.

Participants like Leyla, Hanna and Anthony who had experienced minority-on-minority hostility appeared to offer two main rationales for why they thought this specific dynamic occurs. The first being that the perpetrators in these situations held the belief that they had, over time, become part of the 'established' group and so therefore felt empowered to act as they perceived the majority White British group to do. The second, that to stigmatise and target new arrivals was a strategic behaviour that attempted to displace the hostility and prejudice they were receiving/had received onto the new arrivals. This finding is supported by the work of Shapiro and Neuberg (2008, p. 877) who argue that, 'The desire to avoid being targeted for discrimination, in conjunction with the perception that the majority endorses discrimination, appears to increase the likelihood that the often-stigmatised will stigmatise others'. As highlighted in the literature review chapters, research suggests that as part of the process of integration, to a greater or lesser extent minority groups will adopt dominant social norms to 'fit in' with the majority (Crandall, Eshleman and O'Brien, 2002). Consequently, when 'common-sense' racist, anti-foreigner attitudes become a part of everyday discourse and are therefore normalised, it is more likely that individuals and groups from the minority will also assume these attitudes.

Reflected in Anthony's quote, is also the point that there is competition for 'opportunities' amongst minority groups. Integrated Threat Theory (Stephen and Renfro, 2002) talks exclusively about the perceived threat that incoming minority groups pose to the existing *majority* group's resources largely in terms of jobs, housing, healthcare and welfare. However, if we consider more comprehensively the fluidity that exists around insider/outsider groups as well as the nuances that exist within them, then the binary concept of a majority/minority conflict appears too simplistic to adequately explain minority-on-minority hostility. As indicated in the findings of this research and supported by Perry's (2001) work, resources and the power to obtain opportunities are particularly limited for minority groups which may encourage a sense of competition and hostility *between* them. Furthermore, in a hierarchical system where the White British majority maintain dominance, minority groups compete for 'subordinate' positions to attain as much power, influence and security as possible and may imitate oppression strategies created by the majority to do this (Perry, 2001). The findings of this research highlight that the length of stay and a sense of 'establishment' appear to be contributing factors in minority-on-minority expressions of hostility.

5.4 Victim perceptions of their experiences and reasons for not reporting

Meaningful attempts to explain the prolific under-reporting of hate crime, and efforts to inform policy and practice about how to better support victims in recent years, has resulted in a wealth of robust research findings that highlight the various barriers in place that often prevent hate crime and hate incident victims from reporting their experiences to the authorities (Chakraborti et al, 2014; Chakraborti and Hardy 2015; Sharrock et al, 2018; Hardy, 2019). Similar findings also emerged in this project. Of those participants who had experienced some form of targeted hostility, the vast majority had never reported their victimisation to the police. Many cited that occurrences were so regular that it would be impractical and undesirable to spend so much time in police stations reporting. It was also common for participants to perceive their experiences as 'minor' and not significant enough to warrant police attention. Somewhat more unique to the newest arrivals, especially refugees, was that their fear of authority and distrust in the police prevented them from wanting to report:

You know, police back home are not people that help you, we are scared of them. They would come for you, they might hurt you, arrest you for no reason...it takes time for some people to realise that police here are not the same.

Leena, Afghan female.

The resistance of new arrivals to report hate crimes and hate incidents was also reflected in an interview with a refugee support worker. He mentioned a six-month period following the 2016 referendum that the police had attended their charity's weekly drop-in session to encourage individuals to report incidents of hate and hostility them:

Support worker: I don't think they picked up on much even though they were going round and asking people...

Researcher: Is that because people genuinely hadn't experienced a change post-Brexit or because they just didn't want to talk to the police about it? What do you think?

Support worker: Initially, a lot of it was because they don't like people in uniforms, it brings back bad memories for a lot of them. So, they stopped coming in uniforms...fair enough. They tried harder to just merge into conversations rather than go about the

job quite so formally. They picked up one or two things but nothing like what they were expecting.

Entwined within these often-cited barriers to reporting, it became evident that most participants I spoke with would engage in a process of normalising and/or minimising their experiences and this was a key overarching factor in their non-reporting of hate incidents and hate crimes.

In her work analysing the accounts of sexual violence survivors, Weiss (2011) applied the concept of 'neutralising techniques' often examined in the context of offending behaviour, to victims' perceptions of their experiences. One category in her typology of non-reporting accounts argues that some victims rationalise their experiences by 'denying serious injury'. By engaging in this particular narrative victims perceive their victimisation as 'harmless', 'unimportant' or 'trivial' (Weiss, 2011, p. 452). This was reflected within the current study, particularly when discussing participant's experiences of 'everyday' hostility, when new arrivals would 'down play' or 'trivialise' their victimisation and this was usually because of one of two main reasons. Firstly, participants who had experienced targeted hostility often minimised their victimisation in comparison to previous life experiences. Depending on where each new arrival had lived prior to coming to the UK, some had experienced more overt racism, had been denied the freedom of religion, had been attacked on the basis of their identity and forced to live in ghettoised areas. Refugee participants would occasionally refer to the truly horrendous and traumatising events that led them to seek refuge in the first place. Consequently, they often perceived their experiences of hostility in the UK to be 'tolerable' by comparison, although this is not to suggest that these experiences were therefore 'low-level' in nature:

I get names shout at me of course, I have been spat at, my neighbour, he told me I am vermin once, in front of my kids! But we see this like a minor thing, not like what we had in Germany. It was so racist there, everyone unhappy there. We live in a refugee camp there, so bad! I feel much safer here so it's better.

Daryan, Kurdish male.

I know so many people dead, my family, my friends. Just to get to the UK, I thought I was going to die. That's why we accept the kinds of racism we get here I think. The opportunities are less than at home but we want to survive so we say 'okay, do what you want'. Racism, it's not good but it's nothing when you've seen the things I have.

For several new arrivals, particularly the refugee participants, the factors that led to their non-reporting were influenced significantly by their own personal 'resilience'. As also reflected in the research findings reported by Hardy (2019), within my interviews participants often talked about 'learning to cope', 'learning to ignore' and becoming 'hardened' to repeat experiences of racial abuse. High levels of resilience were an indicator of non-reporting for the new arrivals in this research. They talked about using their friends, family, religious leaders and the wider community as a supportive structure to 'get over' the experience and move on. According to Weiss (2011) this strategy had 'cognitive benefits' for the sexual abuse victims she encountered as it did for the participants. For some, not reporting to the police meant that the situation was less disruptive to their daily lives because they were not spending time reporting every incident they encountered. Especially in the context of other distressing life experiences they had encountered, minimising their most recent victimisation allowed them to not dwell on what they perceived as 'minor' incidents and to move on from them quicker. Conversely, Weiss (2011) also argues that the non-reporting rationale often given by victims is that where no 'serious' injury was inflicted, there is no 'real' crime to report. The majority of the participants had heard of hate crime previously and understood that being targeted because of your identity was something that could be reported to the authorities. Nevertheless, incidents were most often described by new arrivals as 'minor' or 'not serious' especially when referring to microaggressions, verbal abuse and harassment where no physical injury occurred. A handful of incidents that involved neighbours or landlords were reported to the local council but even fewer were reported to the police.

One further reason participants often minimised and normalised their experiences of targeted hostility served a somewhat more deliberate purpose. A number of participants stated that 'denying serious injury' in this case was employed to maintain a 'low profile' for fear of being labelled a 'troublemaker'. They believed that reporting to the authorities, especially the police, would not only give them an undesirable reputation on an individual level but that it would also reflect badly on their wider community if they complained or 'made a fuss':

He referred to himself multiple times as a 'guest' in a 'host' country and suggested it's better to 'keep your head down' in fear of making it appear that they are ungrateful for the host country's hospitality.

Field notes following a conversation with Aziz, Eritrean male.

With all this Brexit I just think anything that makes us look bad, they will make a big thing out of it. If we all start saying 'oh they were racist to me' and getting the police involved I think that just makes us targets.

Sophia, Eritrean female.

Events surrounding the EU membership referendum, and the subsequent vote for the UK to leave the European Union that took place on the 23 June 2016, all unfolded during my fieldwork and was unsurprisingly discussed regularly by the new arrivals I engaged with. Whether I spoke with new arrivals who had been in the country five years or five weeks, most expressed at least some sense of precariousness about not only their employment and residency rights but also their personal safety. As discussed in the literature chapters, patterns in formal and informal hate crime reporting in recent years have demonstrated the influence that 'trigger' events can have on the 'prevalence and severity' of incidents of targeted hostility (Chakraborti and Hardy, 2017, p. 148). It is argued that for some, the 2016 EU referendum legitimised and affirmed underlying prejudice attitudes towards the 'other'. It appears that the inflamed racial tensions and relentless anti-immigrant rhetoric that surrounded the referendum led to statistically significant actual increases in the perpetration of hate incidents across the country, with three-quarters of police forces reporting record levels of hate crime in the three months following the referendum (BBC, 2017; Devine, 2018). Every new arrival who discussed Brexit with me acknowledged the anti-immigrant / anti-foreigner rhetoric that surrounded the pro-leave arguments and for some, this directly impacted their fear of being targeted more regularly. However, as certain immigrant populations and refugees have been increasingly problematised and scapegoated for wider social, economic and political issues, these communities have also been increasingly marginalised, disempowered and left vulnerable to victimisation (Hardy, 2019). The findings here suggest that for fear of aggravating the hostility they already felt was being directed towards them as a homogenous group by the wider society, some participants like Sophia above, became even less likely to report incidents of targeted hostility. It is therefore argued within these findings that although hate crime reporting increased post-Brexit, this was predominantly more likely to be amongst British-born ethnic minority groups and more 'established' immigrant populations.

Moreover, it was not only fear of being increasingly targeted that prevented new arrivals from reporting. As Hardy (2019) identifies, 'official' agencies like the police and other state-operated institutions are often perceived to embody government policy and represent the values of the 'majority'. This was felt prominently by some of the newest arrivals I spoke with. The findings suggest that refugee participants were likely to minimise and normalise their experiences because of fear of punitive measures or deportation if they reported their victimisation. The inherent insecurity of their position made them *more* vulnerable to experiencing targeted hostility and abuse because they were so hesitant to seek support or be seen to 'complain'. They also expressed concern that they would not be perceived as the 'victim' by the authorities and would instead be labelled as the 'problem' or depicted as culpable for their victimisation which they also feared would 'draw attention' to them or 'go against' them in some way in the future. This appears to also be the case amongst other typically persecuted and 'problematised' groups who, often because of the marginalisation and stigma they experience, are left increasingly vulnerable to targeted victimisation (Campbell, 2014; OSCE, 2014; Sanders and Albenese, 2016). Agathangelou (2004) argues that by engaging with racist and sexist practices, members of society are free to negatively stereotype and dehumanise migrant sex workers. This, paired with the women's lack of legal protection and the women's lack of knowledge about their own rights as immigrants, simultaneously increases their likelihood of becoming victimised and decreases the probability that they will report their experiences (Mai, 2009). Although none of the participants were engaged in sex work as far as I am aware, their similar concerns about being perceived as 'blameworthy' by the authorities and not always having clarity about their rights as migrants, refugees or asylum seekers, especially after the Brexit vote, were significant barriers to building trusting relationships with the police.

Although less common, the research findings also suggest that anti-reporting attitudes from *within* the new arrivals' communities had the potential to influence participants' decisions to report experiences of targeted hostility. Interestingly, some participants expressed disapproval towards other new arrivals who *would* consider reporting incidents of targeted hostility to the authorities, as was first captured in my field notes:

Jon is an Egyptian man who came to the UK three years ago as a refugee. He was an English teacher in Egypt and now volunteers at the refugee charity. For Jon, new arrivals who experienced what he described as 'minor' hate incidents should not 'make these issues bigger than they are'. He felt that new arrivals who report these incidents to the police 'complain too much' and this could bring unwanted negative attention to

these communities as a whole. He also held the belief that if refugees wanted to be granted leave to remain then they should consider whether reporting hate incidents would 'damage' their case. This is something I overheard him tell a number of newly arrived refugees who came into the charity for support.

Field notes (23.11.2016).

I think in every country people think, 'oh this is our land we don't want any foreigners', that's normal right!? It doesn't make me a victim, that's stupid. I think people who want to go to the police about all that stuff are stupid.

Wiktor, Polish male.

In cases like these, participants felt strongly that they would not report non-violent incidents of racially motivated hostility to the police, but they also exhibited feelings of resentment for those who would. This is arguably problematic from a reporting perspective, especially as this was construed as 'advice' that Jon gave to other new arrivals in his position of trust and responsibility within the charity. It is not clear from the data to what extent anti-reporting attitudes like these actually discouraged other new arrivals from reporting. However, previous research suggests that living within close-knit communities like the ones many of the participants came from, can lead to certain messages and beliefs being adopted quicker because of the influence of shared practices and a stronger sense of cohesion and unity (Clark, 2007; Hardy, 2019). If victims who do report to the police experience negativity from their own community, then this is likely to discourage any further reporting. The findings of this research suggest that for new arrivals, their 'community' provides them with significant practical and emotional support. Furthermore, it provides a link to their shared national, ethnic, religious or cultural identity which they are often keen to incorporate into their new lives. Therefore, it is arguably unlikely that new arrivals are going to want to do anything that may risk ostracising themselves from their community.

Referring again to Weiss' (2011) neutralisation strategies of sexual abuse victims, there may also be another rationale for the attitudes expressed by participants like Jon and Wiktor. By minimising and normalising experiences of targeted hostility in this way, individuals are 'rejecting' the victim identity. Especially for refugee participants who talked to me about their very traumatising past experiences, rejecting the victim identity enabled them to counteract the feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability they had previously felt. A sense of 'taking back

control’ was something that a few participants discussed with me and it appeared to be a display of resilience:

I was at risk in my own country. It was not safe for me or my family there, it’s not really safe for anyone but especially Christians. I hid for so long, I will not do it again, not here.

Qasim, Syrian male.

I decided a long time ago to take some action to remove that feeling of fear, to be more assertive and when things happen to me, I don’t bother reporting to the police, I take action. I try to challenge the person, in a friendly way, you never know, you might change their mind!

Halima, Somali female.

As discussed in Chapter Three, some feminist theorists and activists have argued that conventional victim discourses tend to frame women and minority groups as ‘weak’ and ‘powerless’. Previous research has found that victims may reject the ‘victim’ label in favour of a more positive and empowering descriptor such as ‘survivor’ (Convery, 2006; Leisenring, 2006). However, this remains a contested perspective as Papendick and Bohner (2017) argue that the ‘victim’ label is an important legal status that helps gain official recognition and protection for harmed groups. Participants of the current study were often not passive recipients of the hostility they encountered, and several framed their experiences in a way that would align more with the ‘survivor’ discourses that are most commonly associated with victims of sexual assault and domestic abuse. In rejecting the victim label, new arrivals felt this granted them a greater sense of agency to negate the power of the perpetrator who was trying to insult, intimidate, humiliate and/or harm them.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the pervasiveness of targeted hostility in the daily lives of new arrivals with non-verbal microaggressions, verbal abuse and harassment reportedly being the most common form of victimisation experienced directly by participants. This chapter contributes to existing knowledge of the nature, prevalence and severity of hate incidents and hate crime. The findings also advance our understanding of the impacts of indirect victimisation

on wider group members who identify as 'similar' to those directly targeted. Emotionally and behaviourally, knowing of others in the community who have been targeted because of who they are had significant consequences for the participants of this research. This may be particularly pertinent to new arrivals who rely on the experiences of other community members to inform them about what they themselves may experience if and when they also engage with wider society. The data presented in this chapter also contributes to our relatively under-developed understandings of minority-on-minority hostility. The established theory of 'integrated threat' is expanded upon in an attempt to explain how those who are typically stigmatised may go on to stigmatise others. Participants' experiences are contextualised within an environment of increasing hostility towards new arrivals that unfolded during the course of this research, with pre and post Brexit experiences being referred to by a number of participants. Participants' increased awareness of this societal hostility, as well as fear of state authorities, and occasionally anti-reporting attitudes from *within* their own communities all appear to contribute to a process of minimising and normalising experiences of targeted hostility, which often means new arrivals do not report the incidents they encounter.

Chapter Six: Implications for Social Cohesion and Integration

‘There is more give on one side and more take on the other and that’s where we have successively made a mistake’

Louise Casey (2017) on new arrivals lack of effort to integrate.

‘[People who are] unable to speak English as those living here or not really wanting or even willing to integrate...have created a kind of discomfort and disjointedness in some neighbourhoods’

David Cameron (2011).

‘When young white people enter university having never seen a black person or a Muslim before, no one considers it a lack of integration on their part’

Samayya (cited by Haidrani, 2016).

As noted previously, this research has sought to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the impact that prejudice and hostility has on new arrivals. This chapter contributes to existing knowledge about how victims of targeted hostility, as well as those who live in fear of experiencing hate crime adapt their everyday lives to reduce the likelihood of first time or repeat victimisation. However, the findings of this research also highlight the significant wider implications for new arrivals in establishing a sense of belonging and community and their ability to ‘integrate’ into wider society; themes that are especially pertinent in the current social and political anti-immigrant climate. This chapter challenges current UK government policy and the popular discourse surrounding social cohesion and integration as almost exclusively placing the onus on new arrivals to move into ‘majority’ mainstream space whilst ignoring the exclusion and victimisation they face when they try to do so. It is important to note that in order to convey the findings that relate to the themes of this chapter, I draw more heavily on participant observation data. Interview data is used where appropriate but for the most part, participants were not talking to me in terms of ‘social cohesion’ and ‘integration’; this is politically constructed

language that the participants, as a rule, did not engage with. During the course of interviews, they used their own everyday language in ways that had meaning to them, so it became the job of the researcher to use this data as a foundation on which to build the arguments raised within this chapter.

6.1 Living in super-diversity: The city of Leicester

In previous chapters it has been highlighted that the city of Leicester became the UK's first plural city, with no one ethnic group constituting a majority. However, other areas such as Birmingham, Slough, Luton, Bradford and the majority of London boroughs are home to migrants and refugees from nearly 200 countries overall (Phillimore et al, 2010; Jones and Baker, 2013; Simpson, 2013). These areas in particular have witnessed rapid and transformative changes in the diversity of immigrants and refugees settling there in recent years, especially following the so-called refugee crisis in Europe. This has prompted a call to re-evaluate established conceptual, methodological and policy understandings of diversity to move *beyond* 'multiculturalism' to recognise the current demographic complexity of new arrivals (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018). The concept of 'super-diversity' allows for a more multidimensional and intersected approach to understanding the experiences of new arrivals in Leicester. Using Grillo's (2015) definition, the super-diversity of Leicester, and also the sample of participants involved in this research, can be better understood through taking into account the ethnicity, socio-legal and political status, religious and cultural diversity and diversity of economic status and inequality of new arrivals. Moving beyond traditional multicultural perspectives which focus almost exclusively on the ethno-national demographics of communities, analysing the experiences of participants through the lens of super-diversity also allows for a greater understanding of how and why levels of integration and a sense of 'belonging' may differ greatly between new arrivals.

It is important to note that a key finding of this research relates to the sense of positivity and fondness with which participants often spoke about the city of Leicester. Even participants who had experiences of targeted hostility, and had incurred 'harm' as a result of those experiences, wanted to make the point that overall, Leicester was their preferred place to live in the UK. As discussed in previous chapters, the outward message that Leicester is a unique harmonious utopia for people of all backgrounds to live is challenged throughout this thesis. Rather fittingly, when discussing this 'model city' reputation with a refugee support worker, he said 'that really depends on how deep you dig'. The previous chapter demonstrates the widespread 'everyday'

hostility experienced by the participants and as this chapter will go on to explain, much of that information was only disclosed to me because of my extensive process of engagement and use of less conventional methods of data collection. However, this thesis is also in a position to analyse the reasons most often given by participants to explain their levels of happiness and sense of community cohesion:

The people in Leicester seem to be very friendly, even people from other communities accept Somalis. Compared to London, I think Leicester looks like a multicultural place where everyone is welcome, any religion, any colour because they know that Leicester is already multicultural and has been for a long time.

Abdi, Somali male.

I like the way people here live, the multiculturalism, the way that I see many people of my colour and my religion, it makes me really happy.

Leza, Kurdish female.

We do have some English friends that live in Braunstone and we have Indian friends that live in Evington so I feel like we all get on, they are good people. That wouldn't happen in Poland where I came from.

Natalia, Polish female.

Reflected in Abdi and Leza's comments above, the most common reason cited by new arrivals in relation to why they were happy living in Leicester was due to the significant diversity of the city's residents, primarily in terms of ethnicity and religion. Participants felt that because Leicester's multiculturalism was so established, it fostered a sense of belonging from the outset and consequently they did not feel that their 'difference' was quite so visible. Many new arrivals whom I spoke with did not know anyone in Leicester before they arrived; they simply came because of its reputation for long-standing multiculturalism, and more recently super-diversity. These findings are supported by recent research focusing on the 'belonging' of migrants, which suggests that new arrivals find affinity with places where they 'fit in' and where their 'otherness' is more readily accepted (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018; Wessendorf, 2019). Arguably, the fact that so many of the new arrivals had deliberately sought out the city of Leicester as a place

to settle elevated their feelings of belonging and cohesion with others who had also made that decision. Importantly, these feelings were not necessarily associated with long-term settlement in Leicester and did not solely depend on the new arrivals' ability to live with others exactly like them.

In the UK, and indeed across Europe, increasing levels of ethno-cultural and religious diversity has created a 'moral panic' about not only the ability of so many minority groups to integrate but also their willingness to participate in the host's wider society (Vasta, 2007; Finney and Simpson, 2009). However, the new arrivals involved with this research were not only happy because they were able to live alongside people similar to them but they also reported that being a part of a diverse wider community with people who were not demographically similar to them was also a benefit of living in Leicester. As Natalia's quote illustrates, the opportunity to develop relationships with people from various backgrounds also fostered a sense of community that was enriched by super-diversity rather than problematised by it.

Additionally, participants, particularly those who identified as Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, discussed how Leicester gave them a true sense of freedom of religion when other places they had lived had not. This was especially evident where new arrivals had previously settled in other European countries that did not facilitate or encourage the same level of religious freedom, participants held Leicester in particularly high esteem:

Awa is originally from Djibouti but moved to Italy when she got married. Nine months ago she moved to Leicester with her family. She mentioned that the biggest difference was being able to practice her religion freely and easily. She said there were no mosques where she lived in Venice, no one acknowledged Islamic holidays and she did not wear a hijab there for fear of victimisation.

Researcher field notes (04.05.16).

For me, the highlight is always the prayer rooms. It's such an important factor and I know when I lived in Holland how I really struggled to practice my religion. In Leicester, wherever I go I never am worried about where I am going to pray because almost everywhere has prayer room facilities.

Khadra, Somali female.

Eva was talking about her experiences of being in Leicester, saying that she feels a sense of community in the city, she particularly likes that she is free to practice her religion and feels like she can generally be who she wants to be. She talked a lot about the Diwali celebrations held in the city each year because 'they really do bring all people together'.

Researcher field notes (05.07.17).

For some participants the ability to wear religious dress, openly celebrate religious holidays and to have religious practices, such as prayers, fully catered for, created the sense that they were welcome and accepted. Wessendorf (2016, 2019) also found that new migrants who settled in other super-diverse areas such as Birmingham and East London placed huge value on being able to express their religiosity and felt they were able to do so with relative ease because of the significant diversity of these areas. As reflected in the data above, the happiness and satisfaction expressed by new arrivals about living in Leicester was often framed in relation to their experiences elsewhere. Participants who had previously lived in other European countries, where tolerance towards diversity is known to be less forthcoming, reported that they had not been afforded the same level of freedom and risked discrimination and significant stigma if they wore religious dress or openly tried to celebrate/observe religious festivities. Several Muslim participants said that although it was never 'easy' to observe Ramadan in a predominantly non-Muslim country, since living in Leicester they felt that they could do so without feeling 'out of place' and without being treated as 'unusual' or 'odd'. For many of the immigrant participants who I engaged with it is important to note that it was not a coincidence that they chose to settle in Leicester:

We heard Leicester was a good place to live, we didn't know anyone already here but we heard about the community for Polish people and all immigrants together, all kinds of different people and we decided it would be a good place for us to come. I'm happy we did.

Jan, Polish male.

Have you been to the Diwali festival in Leicester? It's the biggest in the world I think, apart from India, that's what they say. I actually heard about it from my friends before I came to Leicester. Why wouldn't I want to live in that place!?

Ishya, Nepali female.

Yes, I heard about many people from the Somali diaspora moving to Leicester and I thought that is something I should be part of. To be with my people in a place that welcomes us is something... I never thought it was possible.

Halima, Somali female.

Interestingly, Hendricks and Bartram (2016, p. 90) found that in determining immigrants' happiness 'the social climate is especially important, particularly in terms of a positive attitude in society towards migrants'. Previously, it was assumed by economists that immigrants' happiness centred predominantly on their economic prospects in their host country. In the simplest terms, where immigrants perceived themselves to be economically successful, they were happier (Borjas, 1989; Clark et al, 2008; Hendricks and Bartram, 2016). However, the findings of this research are able to contribute to the emerging belief that national and localised social conditions impact significantly on new arrivals reported levels of happiness. Furthermore, the findings strongly suggest that a positive local reputation has a significant and powerful ability to influence immigrants' decisions about where to settle *within* a country which has only been partially investigated within academic research previously.

Many participants referred to the 'friendly' and 'welcoming' nature of those they encountered in Leicester regardless of their background. This speaks to previous research that has highlighted the significance of 'civility' in fostering feelings of belonging amongst new arrivals. Learning the civic skills to live alongside people in super-diverse environments is often established over time and if sustained effectively, eventually becomes entrenched into the culture of a particular place (Datta, 2009; Wessendorf, 2019). Consequently, when new migrants and refugees arrive and settle in these areas, acquiring 'cosmopolitan' skills becomes a part of their learning just like adapting to any new cultural value or learning a new language. Importantly, and what will be discussed at length later in this chapter, research also supports the findings of this thesis in that good civility, a sense of cohesion and feelings of belonging can exist in parallel to experiences of prejudice, exclusion and hate crime (Wessendorf, 2014; Wise and Noble, 2016). In the context of everyday 'conviviality', the findings of this research would suggest that it is more realistic to understand the efforts of new arrivals and those in the wider society to co-exist, by acknowledging that 'happy togetherness' is only part of what it means to live in Leicester. Correspondingly, there are naturally occurring processes of ongoing 'negotiation, friction and

sometimes conflict' that need to more openly be addressed as part of an increasingly complex attempt to live together (Wise and Noble, 2016, p. 425). The rest of this chapter will discuss some of the 'frictions' and processes of 'negotiation' that new arrivals encounter and manage that became evident throughout the current research.

6.2 New arrivals' use of 'safe' and 'unsafe' space

As has been discussed and explained in Chapter Four, it became necessary and appropriate for me to engage in more imaginative methods of data collection in order to elicit more in-depth and robust data from participants. This first came to light because of the increasing number of new arrivals I met who told me that they had *never* experienced any form of hostility or prejudice whilst living in Leicester. Although this appeared to be a very positive finding, it often seemed at odds with the stories I'd heard from many other new arrivals who were experiencing racially micro-aggressive behaviours and targeted hostility on a regular basis. Trying to explore these nuanced experiences within interviews was not particularly successful as in the early stages of the fieldwork as participants would often attribute the fact that they had not experienced any hostility to sheer 'luck'. Other new arrivals would suggest that Leicester was just not somewhere that people were likely to be victimised because of who they are:

I have had things like that happen to me before, when I lived in Sweden and then before, I lived in Middlesbrough. But not in Leicester, I just don't think that stuff happens here, everyone is so nice.

Shamshi, Somali female.

No, I never had any trouble with anyone, I don't think you will find people here who have.

Daahir, Somali male.

It became clear that in order to begin understanding the social context within which participants' vastly different experiences were occurring, more imaginative and less conventional methods of data collection could be helpfully utilised. I was already co-delivering English language lessons to groups of new arrivals as part of the drop-in sessions I was delivering so I used this opportunity to design an activity called 'My Daily Routine'. I worked with participants to help them draft a paragraph describing a typical day in their life using previously created templates to aid them. Once they had done this, in groups they plotted their routines on a large map of Leicester. The visual data that these maps produced allowed for a much greater understanding of participants' everyday lives, their relationship with the environment around them, to what extent they engaged with public space and how all of this related to their social experiences whilst living in Leicester.



Figure 3: Map depicting everyday routines of new arrivals who had lived in Leicester less than three years originating from countries including: Somalia, Djibouti, Oman, Guinea and Bangladesh.

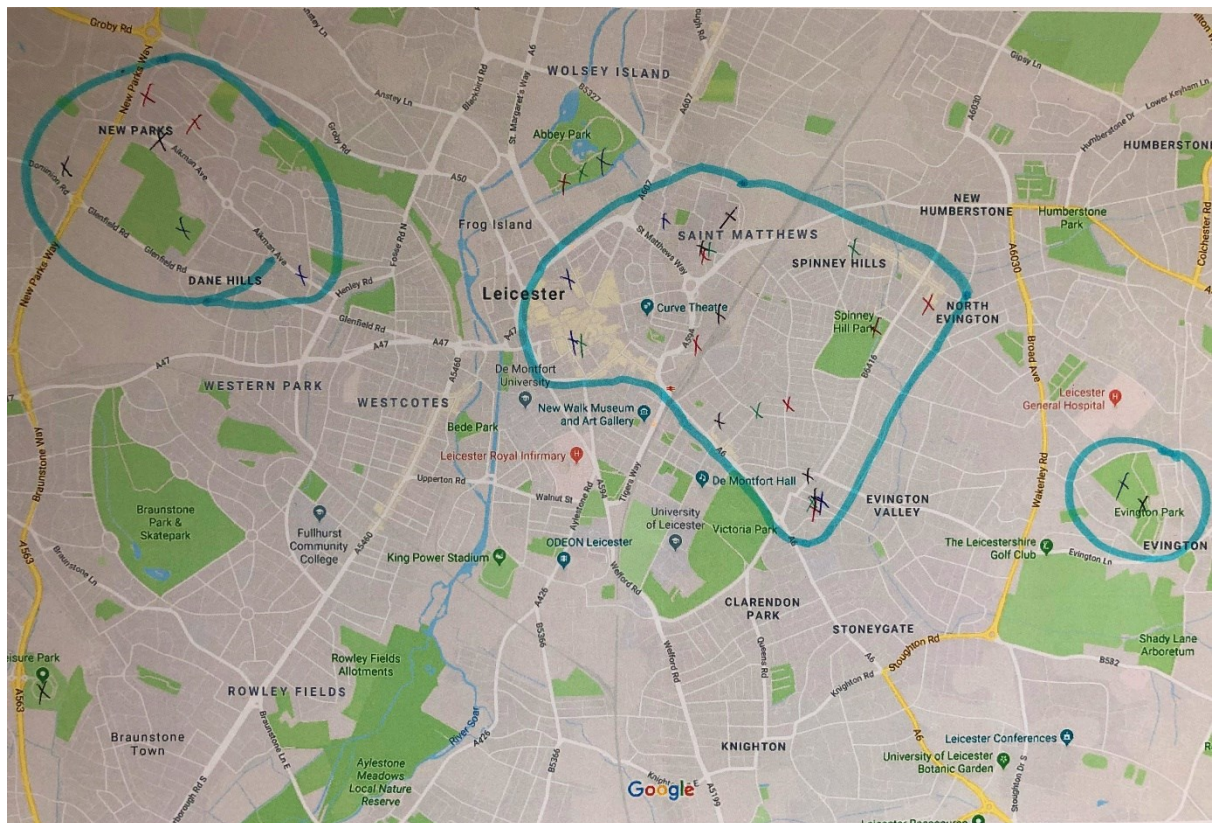


Figure 4: Map depicting everyday routines of new arrivals who had lived in Leicester between three and five years and originated from countries including; Somalia, Nigeria and Pakistan.

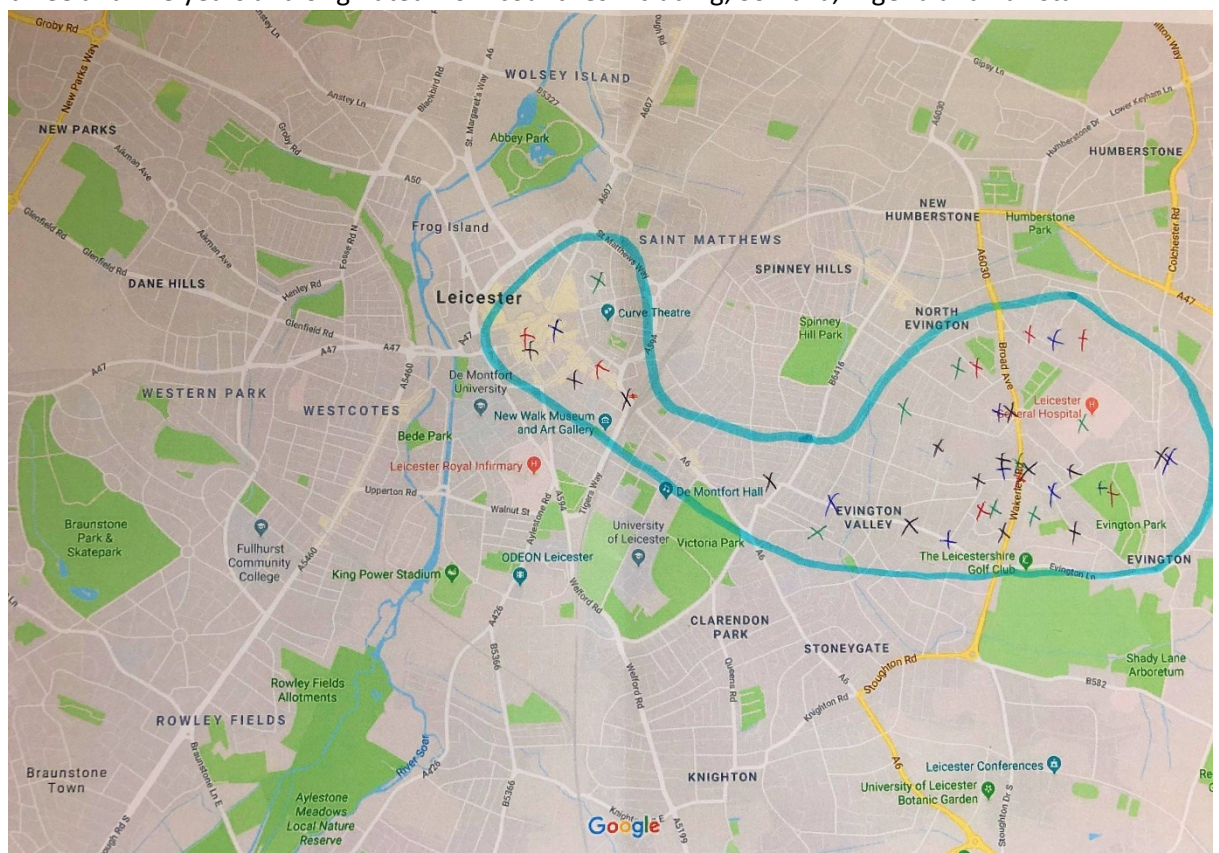


Figure 5: Map depicting everyday routines of new arrivals who had lived in Leicester between six months and four years and originated from Poland.

What is visually apparent from these maps is that on any 'typical' day new arrivals occupy and engage with a very limited amount of public space. Through discussions with participants as they were undertaking this activity, they were able to demonstrate that where they lived, socialised, worshiped, took their children to school, shopped and worked was all limited to specific pockets of space. Primarily, participants were occupying space in the city centre as well as the areas just north west, north east and east of the centre. These are areas that are identified in previous chapters as being the most diverse and the most popular settlement areas for new arrivals in Leicester. Figures 3 and 4 represent areas of 'superdiversity' in Leicester due to the additional diversification of residents in terms of their socio-economic status, religion, nationality, educational attainment, political alignment, English language acquisition, and legal and residential status. Figure 5, represents the area of Evington which although still significantly diverse, has a much higher number of 'White' residents in comparison, although a large proportion of the White residents here are of Eastern European origin.

Previous research demonstrates that new arrivals will undergo a process of 'place-making' when settling in a host society; establishing areas of affinity and safety in which they may develop a sense of community and belonging with less fear of discrimination and victimisation (Gill, 2010; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018). Historically, place-making has been viewed through a lens of 'ethnic grouping', where people who identify as being part of the same ethnic group are most likely to come together and live out their everyday lives alongside one another. However, in super-diverse areas such as Leicester, this appears to happen only to an extent as no one ethnic group constitutes a majority and much more nuance exists and can be seen in the variation of religion, culture, language and socio-economic status of new arrivals. Therefore, the new paradigms of super-diversity must be acknowledged if a more comprehensive understanding of place-making and new arrivals' use of public space is to be reached. It is more accurate to argue that the place-making processes that new arrivals in Leicester undergo can be better understood through the lens of 'difference' rather than ethnicity. This is supported well by the previous finding that Leicester's diversity in all its forms allows new arrivals to feel less 'visible' and that their presence is 'normalised' because of the city's long history of immigration in general. In conversations that reflected on these activities, participants spoke about the reasons why their movements appeared so limited:

Obviously, I work here part-time. In my free time, there is a restaurant just over the road there, I go sit there maybe chat with friends, have some food for a couple of hours

then go back home which is just one street that way. Any shopping I just go to the High Street close by and that's it.

Researcher: So you don't feel you have a reason to leave the area and go elsewhere?

No, everything is here basically. I think lots of people maybe do the same thing.

Abdi, support worker, Somali male.

Within this research, it was particularly the case for participants who had lived in Leicester less than two years that they simply had not been in the area long enough to have established wider social networks or had yet to develop the confidence to situate themselves in unfamiliar environments. Other participants also reported that they simply had no need to venture outside of familiar areas. They spoke about the ease of access to various international foods and cultural or religious clothes, and for those who actively practiced a religion, the fact that mosques, churches, Gurdwaras and Hindu temples (Mandir) are all in close proximity was something they enjoyed. Some of the female participants in particular also talked about living close to services that better catered for and understood the needs of diverse immigrant populations:

When I was pregnant I went to this health centre down the road. I always saw a female doctor, I didn't have to ask, it was never a problem. The way they speak to you, even the White doctors, they know you might do things a bit differently because of your religion or your culture and they seem fine with it. Some of my friends have not been so lucky.

Hawa, Somali female.

The help and support we get here is good, very good. I didn't know anything about getting the right house or getting the right child benefit...I was scared to ring the council. But the support workers here helped me do everything, they help everyone in the community.

Sophia, Eritrean female talking about her local support service for new arrivals.

It is demonstrated within the findings of this thesis, and supported by previous research, that new arrivals will 'negotiate' with existing residents to carve out space within which they can live

and move as freely as possible which, if successful, has the potential to foster feelings of community and belonging (Gill, 2010; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018; Wessendorf, 2019). A part of place-making also appears to be developing space for goods and services that cater for a super-diverse population. However, these 'negotiations' do not happen without tension and this process creates distinctive 'zones' of safe and unsafe space for new arrivals.

Parallel to talking about the spaces in which new arrivals would most frequently use, participants also talked about the spaces they would only go very tentatively as well as places they avoid completely. This segregation of space is also reflected in the maps above:

I don't think I'd want to live where there are no Polish, many people have said Braunstone is very bad.

Researcher: What have people said to you about Braunstone?

That there are many racist people there.

Maja, Polish female.

My neighbour's daughter came with me to look at this house and she said it's a mess but there are worse places than this. She said if I was put in Braunstone it would be worse because of the racism there. You know, many people say Braunstone is full of racism and racist people, I don't know anyone from my community who goes there.

Fathima, Sri Lankan female.

I actually only go to the town centre if I really have to. My son was abused racially there by a group of boys, he won't go there now. But I won't go to places like Braunstone or Enderby either. I don't think they like people like me round there!

Emmanuel, Zimbabwean male.

The fears and concerns about wards to the west and south of the city centre were expressed by participants across ethnic, faith, gender and socio-economic groups. Perceptions of these places as 'unsafe' and 'racist' transcended specific minority group affiliation and had seemingly become 'established knowledge' amongst the new arrivals. The negative emotions and avoidance

behaviours associated with predominantly White British areas of the city were the result of experiencing targeted hostility either directly or indirectly. Some participants had personally been targeted whilst in these spaces, whereas others knew of at least one person who had or had heard stories about community members being targeted. Consequently, these experiences served to maintain what had become established beliefs about these areas and this often undermined new arrivals attempts to develop networks outside of their immediate surroundings. These findings contribute additional knowledge to the existing research that recognises that the 'limited' movement of new arrivals is due to the fear of rejection and victimisation by the wider, 'majority' society (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Phillips et al, 2007; Boschman and van Ham, 2015).

The lengthy and labour-intensive approach that was undertaken as part of the current research allowed me to observe over time how different new arrivals moved between and within spaces that they would describe as 'safe' and 'familiar', 'unwelcoming' and 'dangerous' or sometimes just 'neutral'. What eventually became more noticeable was that the new arrivals who had lived in the area longer, roughly three to four years or more, had begun to develop wider networks that took them beyond the 'safe' and 'familiar' spaces. Those with the social capital to develop these networks quicker, such as those with a higher English language proficiency, a higher socio-economic status and those who worked, were also more frequently entering suburban areas. Compared to the new arrivals who had yet to develop these connections to the wider society, those participants who had were increasingly likely to have experienced targeted hostility. Essentially, the more frequently new arrivals engaged with the wider society, the more likely they were to have been victimised. Furthermore, it was these experiences of targeted hostility that directly reinforced participants perceptions of 'safe' and 'unsafe' space. However, within the context of the current research, it is important to highlight that staying within the identified 'safe' spaces did not mean that the risk of experiencing targeted hostility was eliminated for participants. In super-diverse areas like Leicester there are still power dynamics at play amongst the many minority groups that live alongside one another. The targeted hostility and microaggressions experienced by participants perpetrated by those who were also identified as belonging to a minority ethnic group is explored in detail in the previous chapter. Consequently, to an extent, participants engaged in a kind of 'risk' analysis. The most diverse spaces were certainly not utopian pockets of space where everyone lived harmoniously, but they did offer more 'protection' than 'White' areas and allowed participants to appear less 'visible' as an 'other'.

There is an established body of previous research within the disciplines of urban studies, human geography and anthropology more widely, that has demonstrated the mechanisms through which new arrivals and ethnic minorities are more likely to live in minority-concentration neighbourhoods. A sample of this research goes further to acknowledge that some of this self-segregation may be due to the fear of discrimination and exclusion (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Phillips et al, 2007; Hanhoerster, 2009). The current study, through a criminological lens, supports the work of Boschman and van Ham (2015); the first comprehensive empirical research to focus on the nuanced reasons that lead heterogeneous groups of ethnic minorities to live in minority-concentrated areas that go beyond a simple 'choice' to do so. Their research acknowledges the role of discrimination in the housing market and the typically low income of some migrant groups in *addition* to the fear of victimisation in creating conditions that mean if living in in minority-concentrated area is a 'choice' that new arrivals make, it is often a somewhat limited one.

6.3 Self-segregation as a limited 'choice'

Central to debates around social cohesion and integration is often the argument that new arrivals and minority communities self-segregate, consequently opting to socially isolate themselves therefore failing to appropriately 'integrate' with wider society (Danzer and Yaman, 2013; Casey, 2016). Government and academic research has demonstrated that even in super-diverse areas there are clear divides between the space utilised by various ethnic, national and faith groups (Phillips, 2005; Kearns and Whitley, 2015). The findings of the current research have already demonstrated that experiencing targeted hostility and/or the fear of victimisation has a significant impact on new arrivals perceptions of 'safe' and 'unsafe' space which directly affects their movements around the city and their willingness to engage with wider society. However, if a more authentic and nuanced understanding of the social conditions which lead new arrivals to self-segregate is to be reached, the extent to which new arrivals choose to live this way verses the extent to which discrimination and a lack of social capital actually enforces this segregation must be more comprehensively considered.

Central to the arguments made in this chapter supported by the data is that living in ethnic minority concentrated neighbourhoods is not *always* negative or necessarily 'damaging' to social cohesion. Particularly for new arrivals, living together actually had significant benefits for many of the participants which ultimately increased their satisfaction and sense of belonging within the city. Participants frequently talked about or implied that ethnic concentrated living

aided their adjustment to a new culture, built their confidence and provided them with a supportive and understanding network of others like them:

My wife got a new job three months ago, she had three interviews before that, one of them was far away in Loughborough. We were lucky because she could leave the kids with her friend, they do that for each other, there's always someone from the community you can rely on for that kind of stuff.

Isaias, Eritrean male.

When I moved here I didn't know anything about the English, I was scared I would do something wrong or say something wrong. I started coming here, I made friends and now I think I know a lot more. Like lots of people here have dogs as pets, like they actually want to keep them in the house! My friends help me understand because I want to learn about English culture.

Zaynab, Somali female.

Jamillah had a long conversation with me today about her sister's wedding. She apologised for not really talking to me before but said she was worried that her English wasn't good enough, so I wouldn't understand her. I reassured her that I could understand her just fine and she said that she would try to speak to more English people now to help her develop her vocabulary. I've seen Jamillah at this ESOL group for about five months now and her confidence appears to have improved considerably in that time.

Researcher field notes (08.03.17).

Community-concentrated living and living close to those with a shared values and experiences allowed strong support networks to develop within these groups, this was especially important for female participants who were predominantly the primary caregivers to children. Having the opportunity to live this way provided new arrivals with the space and freedom to adjust to their new environment and develop the social capital they needed to later progress in their integration into wider society. Developing their English language skills, gaining labour opportunities and generally building the confidence to engage with mainstream services and

institutions was all facilitated by the support services I worked with during the fieldwork stages of this thesis. Additionally, participants who had been attending the services for several years also supported and gave advice to those just arriving. Furthermore, similarly to what was discussed previously in this chapter, living together with other new arrivals with similar demographics allowed participants to maintain a sense of identity by having the opportunity and freedom to observe and celebrate some of their national, cultural and/or religious traditions which were still important to them. Some participants discussed how having the freedom to be themselves encouraged them to embrace their host society more so:

I love living here in the UK, Leicester especially. I still feel Somali but I belong here too. I think overall this country values and respects people, you know that not everyone is the same and that's okay. Not everywhere is like that. Because I am allowed to be who I am here, I have worked hard to be a part of society, I want to be a part of it.

A'isha, Somali female.

When you move somewhere very different it's always a compromise to fit in. But I don't mind that here, UK is a good place, good for my family and me. I don't feel like forced to be someone else, so we give and take.

Pawel, Polish male.

The findings of this research suggest that the 'developmental' or 'adjustment' phase that occurs in the first few years of settlement, if supported properly, has the potential to encourage wider integration as highlighted in the quotations above. There does not appear to be any research currently that explicitly acknowledges these initial benefits of minority-concentrated living for new arrivals or how this could provide the foundations for future attempts to engage more widely with the host society. It is important to make clear that this thesis does not take the stance that minority-concentrated living and self-segregation is an overall positive phenomenon. In fact, this chapter will now go on to address the detrimental impacts of living in minority-concentrated neighbourhoods for prolonged periods despite the compelling tangible benefits to living together in the initial stages of settlement.

Living in minority-concentrated neighbourhoods for prolonged periods detrimentally impacts upon new arrivals' educational attainment, their health and wellbeing as well as their access to

good housing, labour opportunities and acts as a barrier to social mobility (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002; Albrecht et al, 2005; Quillian, 2014; Boschman and van Ham, 2015; Kramer, 2018; Sydes, 2019). The findings of this thesis support previous research in this regard and this chapter will go on to highlight how a number of constricting factors, including the fear of targeted hostility, serve to maintain neighbourhood segregation. Through the lens of super-diversity the findings go beyond purely racial explanations for the deprivation and lack of opportunity experienced by new arrivals to also analyse the impact of socio-economic status, language proficiency and legal status.

The issue of housing was something that participants discussed at length amongst themselves and also with me within formal and informal conversations. It was often a huge source of anxiety for the new arrivals and remained a key priority for most participants especially because the vast majority were reliant on social housing. The findings suggest that there are several ways in which participants' housing opportunities were diminished and restricted essentially because of who they were. The first to be addressed here is a theme that has been discussed previously: direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility and/or fear of victimisation result in protective and avoidance behaviours, and this includes housing decisions. This passage of conversation between myself and Salma who works to support new arrivals clearly highlights the decision-making process that she has witnessed in response to targeted hostility:

Like I said, you see some families 8 or 9 people still in St. Matthews area keeping that two- bedroom house even though they could get 4/5 bedroom in another area. Why are they doing that? They are uncomfortable, and the houses are not that nice, but they stay so they feel safe.

Researcher: You're saying that people are deliberately living in worse conditions and not going to places where they could get a better quality of life because they are scared, is that right?

Yes. That's exactly right. You see? Children of all ages sharing bedrooms, people sleeping in the sitting room at night and having to take turns sleeping on the floor. Sometimes the council will force families to move because the children are growing up and it's just not suitable anymore, so they tell them you must go to this better house, they come to us and try to ignore the letters and phone calls from the council. They say 'no, no please we're fine' the only reason they do this is because of that fear.

Salma, Somali female, support worker.

In addition to this, participants often spoke about the lengthy and stressful process of applying for social housing particularly when they were trying to get a house in a specific area on the basis that it was close to others in their 'community' and was therefore not in the 'unsafe' 'White' areas:

It can take a long time, it makes the process a lot longer, but you can just keep to certain places if you want. If you extend it (the areas in which you say you will live in) then you will get more chance of getting a house quicker and it will probably be a better house, close to nice schools, less competition for health services... But normally people want to narrow their options because they want to be part of those certain areas where they feel safe even though it's so deprived round here.

Layla, Somali female, support worker.

Whilst there was arguably *some* element of choice and flexibility for most participants as they could express a preference for where they lived, most participants reported that they perceived this 'choice' to be limited because they felt compelled to prioritise their safety and the safety of their family over a bigger house. Boschman and van Ham (2015) argue that there is a distinct *lack* of choice for certain new arrivals which leads to minority-concentration neighbourhoods. In super-diverse areas and areas of long-standing immigrant populations, segregation does not purely fall along racial lines. Discrimination and exclusion based on ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, language proficiency and legal status intersect to impact significantly on the 'choices' and freedoms available to new arrivals. Previous research establishes that minority-concentration neighbourhoods are often some of the most deprived within a city (Albrecht et al, 2005; Austin Turner and Rawlings, 2009; Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011). The new arrivals who engaged with the current research, especially those with asylum seeker status, all lived in wards known for long-term deprivation primarily because their lower socio-economic status meant that they were more reliant on affordable housing or the limited social housing that would be rejected by White families because of White flight. This is supported by Aalbers (2007) who found that families with a combination of low-income, unemployment and non-White ethnicity were more likely to live in 'undesirable' and deprived neighbourhoods, even when these houses were privately owned. Additionally, the findings of this thesis also suggest that new arrivals also experienced discrimination in the private rented sector. Participants spoke of

the issues they had with 'demanding' and 'unsympathetic' landlords who took advantage of new arrivals who were unaware of their rights as tenants:

I supported a lady who was renting a house from a man and there were repairs that hadn't been done which was causing her trouble and was a safety issue for the family. She reported it many times to the landlord but what he said, he twisted the case round and said if you report me to the council I will phone social services and tell them you are not a good mother. He's making her scared to say anything. He made her think that he had power to do that to her family, just so that he wouldn't have to do the repairs...Imagine, you're new to this country, to this city and this man, your landlord you see him like the president of the country, you don't want to upset him so you have to follow everything he says.

Layla, Somali female, support worker.

I asked participants who referred to past and ongoing challenges associated with private renting whether they would consider moving. They offered several reasons why this did not feel like a 'choice' that they had the freedom to make:

There are lots of fees you have to pay to move and the security deposit is so expensive. Our landlord already said we won't get our deposit back, he says we made marks on the carpet which we didn't. It was like that when we moved in but he says I'm lying. We just can't afford to move.

Oyinda, Nigerian female.

You need a good reference to move, we don't really get on with our landlord. I don't think he'd help us so we just stay.

Aleksy, Polish male.

I worry that we wouldn't be able to find somewhere appropriate in this area. I don't want to move out of this area because of the support from the community and it's safer here.

Natalia, Polish female.

Generally, participants appeared to be in precarious and somewhat vulnerable situations that diminished their opportunities to move out of the minority-concentrated neighbourhoods they lived in, in favour of overall better living conditions. Furthermore, participants highlighted how low-income and financial difficulty meant that they were restricted in where they could live and work because travel costs and childcare were too expensive:

My sister and the kids were supposed to move to somewhere near New Parks but she didn't in the end. It was because it's further away and they don't drive so they won't be near their local services anymore, they won't be around their friends and family for support. That's very important, especially for my community. They wouldn't be able to afford the travel all the time.

Faysal, Bangladeshi male.

I got offered a job in Loughborough, you could get a bus maybe but that's another place where you don't know if you will be safe and if you have lots of kids then it's difficult to take them around with you like that. Around here, you can all help each other with stuff like childcare.

Hawa, Somali female.

Previous research has found that on a national level, ethnic minorities pay an 'ethnic penalty' in terms of income and employment with non-White groups being 40 per cent more likely to live in income poverty (Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011). Furthermore, this is most likely to occur in areas where concentrations of new arrivals are highest such as the Midlands and inner-city London (Palmer and Kenway, 2007). As stated in the methods chapter of this thesis, I engaged with over 150 new arrivals throughout the fieldwork stage of this project. More often than not, those who were in stable employment and living in more affluent parts of the city were Polish, White and Christian. Conversely, it was more common that participants who were unemployed, in unstable and/or unskilled work, and therefore more likely to be reliant on welfare, were non-White and identified as Muslim. This discrepancy can also be seen in previous research in which White, East Asian and Indian immigrants were found to have higher income levels and lower unemployment rates than Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Middle-Eastern immigrants (Garner and Bhattacharyya, 2011). Clark and Drinkwater (2007, p. 49) also argue that the 'ethnic penalty' is so significant for those living in deprived areas, as minority-concentrated neighbourhoods often

are, that 'an ethnic minority individual transported from a deprived area to a less deprived area would increase their chances of getting a job by more than a white person changing location in the same way'. The lack of labour opportunities that exist for those living in minority-concentrated neighbourhoods continues to restrict the social mobility of new arrivals, and the deprivation and poverty that exist in parallel serve to maintain their position at the peripherals of society.

So far, this chapter presented findings that argue that racial and religious hostility and discrimination as well as low socio-economic status intersect to restrict the physical movement and social mobility of new arrivals. In addition to this, the legal status of asylum seekers and refugees also plays a considerable role in limiting the 'choices' in their everyday lives. Although the official Home Office target to process asylum applications is six months, more recent data suggests this has doubled to at least one year for the majority with only 25 per cent of applicants being processed in the first six months (Bulman, 2018b; Walsh, 2019). However, I met a number of individuals and families who had been waiting for a court decision for two or three years, and two couples I spoke with had been waiting an astonishing six years to be granted leave to remain. The impacts of spending considerably lengthy periods of time essentially living in 'limbo' were unambiguous:

Six years...you put your whole life on hold, it's no way to live. You try to settle down but how can you? We have had a child since being here and we still don't know if we will be sent back to Iraq. I am a scientist, I started my PhD back before we had to leave. I would love to finish it, it is my passion, it would help me provide for my family and I think it would be useful, you know, to contribute to society. But we cannot work, we cannot get an education, we are not allowed without leave to remain.

Mustafa, Iraqi male.

Previous research has demonstrated that educational attainment is one of the strongest indicators of social mobility (Brown et al, 2013). It is widely recognised that there are unequal chances of opportunity within education based on gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status and other demographics. However, education overall, especially higher education qualifications, allow for a greater development of human, social and financial capital for new arrivals and their children (Oberdabernig and Schneebaum, 2017). Because the opportunity to study was denied to participants like Mustafa and others like him because of their legal status, they were less likely

to establish the social and professional networks that aid meaningful integration. Similarly, and without the legal right to work, many of the asylum seekers whom I spoke with described the financial difficulty, worry and frustration they faced because of the poverty that they were forced to live in:

I want to work, I really do. We have two children and my husband is disabled. We are claiming political asylum so it's harder to prove, we are still waiting for a decision from the Judge after three years. It's so hard to live this way, I go to Open Hands (food bank) which I don't like but the people are very nice. My friend works for Avon and she says if I help her get orders she can get me some free stuff. With Christmas coming up, that would be nice, I can't afford that stuff otherwise.

Fathima, Sri Lankan female.

It would have been okay for a few months maybe, but I have been waiting 14 months now for a decision. We only get £37 each a week to feed myself and my children, get them clothes, get them to school because my son has to get two buses to get to the school that had space for him. I couldn't let him go to his friend's birthday party because I was so embarrassed I couldn't afford to get a present for the child. If I could get part-time work even, things would be better.

Daria, Persian female.

For most, even when they gained 'refugee' status with leave to remain, participants were restricted to low-skilled, low-paid, temporary work. Furthermore, some asylum seeker and refugee participants were trained teachers, nurses and doctors in their own countries, but their qualifications were not transferrable to the UK labour market and they were unable to afford the necessary courses and DBS checks that were needed to re-qualify. Kearns and Whitley (2015) argue that the legal status of new arrivals significantly impacts upon their ability to integrate in both a public capacity through accessing education, employment and full healthcare, and in a personal capacity through developing social connections both within local communities and wider society. Furthermore, in their Home Office report on refugee integration, Ager and Strang (2004, p. 5) argue that new arrivals become integrated when they establish 'shared notions of nationhood and citizenship'. Given the complexity and heterogeneity of asylum applications it is not surprising that the process of deciding status is not immediate. However, the EU Asylum

Procedures Directive binds member states to commit to having concluded the process within six months. Despite this, it appears that generally European countries are not adhering to this deadline and in most member states the process takes about one year (ECRE, 2016). For those participants I met who had been waiting for particularly prolonged periods for a decision on their legal status, the instability and unpredictability of their lives discouraged them from making meaningful connections to wider society, prevented them from earning an income or accessing education, and ultimately promoted a sense that they were not wanted or welcome. This obvious legal, political, financial and social exclusion does absolutely nothing to promote the 'shared notions of nationhood and citizenship' that Ager and Strang (2004) argue refugees must later develop to become 'integrated' into wider society.

In understanding and analysing new arrivals' direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility in Chapter Five, it became clear that one of the biggest impacts of these experiences was the way in which new arrivals engage with space within the city and the wider society. An awareness of 'safe' and 'unsafe' space and the very real fear of repeat or first-time victimisation was omnipresent for many in making a 'choice' to live out most aspects of their everyday lives in a minority-concentrated neighbourhood. The findings demonstrate that there appears to be very tangible benefits to living together, especially whilst new arrivals adjust to a new environment. However, participants who remained in minority-concentrated neighbourhoods were disadvantaged by their lack of opportunity to develop their social and professional networks beyond their immediate surroundings. Although there are elements of 'preference' when it comes to the decisions new arrivals make about where they want to live, overall, the data contributes to the argument that factors such as a lower socio-economic status, ethnic/religious discrimination and legal status maintain the deprivation suffered by many, particularly non-White and Muslim, new arrivals. This chapter will now go on to discuss the implications all of this has on the ability and likelihood of new arrivals to successfully 'integrate' into wider society, and the problematic nature of current integration and social cohesion policy in maintaining perceptions of the 'good' and 'bad' immigrant.

6.4 Wider implications for the integration of new arrivals

Issues relating to how successfully integrated new arrivals in Leicester are or to extensively consider the measures by which society currently quantifies social cohesion, were beyond the specific scope of this study. However, the findings of this thesis do reflect the everyday lives of participants from a diverse group of new arrivals living in Leicester. Within interviews and

informal conversations, it was common for participants to talk about ‘fitting in’ and feeling a sense of belonging as well as exclusion and isolation, as this was often a reflection of their personal experiences of living in the city, both positive and negative. Consequently, the findings presented here also lend themselves to contributing to the wider debates associated with integration and social cohesion and so it seems appropriate to include them here.

The findings of the current research have already highlighted that one of the most significant contributors to new arrivals feelings of belonging and happiness at living in Leicester stem from their freedom to be who they are. Having the autonomy to wear religious dress or not and having the opportunity to openly celebrate cultural and/or religious traditions developed participants’ affinity with the city and encouraged them to become a more integrated part of the society that welcomed and respected them. Restricting these freedoms and discouraging non-British, non-Christian traditions in the name of integration is more likely to have the opposite effect of creating feelings of exclusion and resentment for the host society. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Casey review very much depicts these kinds of behaviours as potentially problematic. She argues that it not only suggests a *lack* of integration on behalf of the new arrivals but also a reluctance to ‘let go’ of their conservative beliefs in favour of ‘British values’, which she believes harms efforts to build and maintain social cohesion.

An additional recommendation, influenced by the Casey review and set out in detail in the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Social Integration (2017), is to place new arrivals on an ‘automatic’ pathway to citizenship upon arrival. The APPG (2017, p. 11) claim that in order to reduce the ‘othering’ of new arrivals and reframe immigration in a more positive light, immigrants and refugees should be seen as ‘Britons-in-waiting’. Rather than offering any meaningful ways to tackle hostility, prejudice and general xenophobia that currently frames the ongoing immigration debates, the inquiry suggests that government should make citizenship more accessible and encourage new arrivals to become British citizens much quicker. Whilst making the citizenship process more meaningful and accessible (for those who want it) would be a welcome reform, the ‘fear’ that new arrivals do not have or will not adopt values that ‘fit’ with the ‘British’ way of life and therefore need to be pushed into citizenship, is categorically not supported by the current research:

Listen, I know what they think of us, us immigrants. They think you can’t be Muslim and British, they think you can’t wear a hijab and be British. I am here because I want to be, because I believe this is a good country, I want to work hard and be a part of this

society. Is it so bad that I also want to remember where I come from? I am still a proud Nigerian Muslim.

Oyinda, Nigerian female.

I'm very aware that the government are trying to push British values, whatever that means. We have many discussions with the refugees and asylum seekers about what they should expect from life in this country. In all my years of working in and supporting these people, I can't recall anyone who wanted to remain completely isolated and wasn't prepared to compromise. I know there will always be a minority of people who completely reject Western values, you do hear about them occasionally, but I haven't actually encountered anyone directly.

Dave, refugee support worker.

I am Polish, I have been living in the UK for five years now. I still live in Poland for three or four months of the year to help my brother with his business. I don't think I need to become a British citizen to be a good resident here.

Pawel, Polish male.

Again, the overall message that the meaningful integration of new arrivals can only be achieved by becoming full citizens somewhat undermines the agency and autonomy of new arrivals to self-determine, which this chapter argues is what actually promotes social cohesion amongst new arrivals. Furthermore, Bassel, Monforte and Khan (2018) found that the immigrants they interviewed perceived the process of becoming a UK citizen, specifically the citizenship test, as a form of border control rather than a method to encourage integration. They also identified additional barriers, particularly for migrant women, that prevented them from passing the test successfully including: a lack of time to study because of domestic responsibilities, the complexity of the preparation resources and the test itself was daunting and off-putting especially for those with little English, and the whole process was very expensive and this was hugely problematic for those who also paid for childcare. Bassel (2016, n.p) states that, 'including the test, naturalization fee, plus any preparation courses and solicitor fees', her participants reported costs of over £1000 per adult.

In addition to the emphasis on becoming a citizen, with so much of the discourse focusing on the adoption of 'British values', undertones of assimilation rather than integration remain present. However, unlike the Casey Review, the APPG's inquiry on Social Cohesion (2017, p. 15) does at least formally acknowledge that the goal is to create a 'middle way', where the rights of minority groups to 'uphold their own identities and cultural inheritances' should be respected. Although, arguably this does not translate particularly well into their recommendations as again, there is no acknowledgement that intervention is needed to ensure that the 'established' majority *are* actually respecting and accepting those new identities and cultures. Outside of government policy, it is widely accepted that discrimination, prejudice and fear of victimisation, is one of the key inhibitors of social mobility and integration. It is also divisive and harmful to communities which in turn, erodes social cohesion. Consequently, it is a significant criticism of the Casey Review and the APPG on Social Integration, and the individuals and groups who led those reviews, that they do not formally address the social impacts of targeted hostility and hate crime in discouraging integration.

To be clear, in the context of this research the only time I heard participants directly questioning their sense of belonging or community cohesion was in relation to the victimisation they had experienced. This is reflected in one of my field diary entries:

This past week Donald Trump imposed a travel ban on predominantly Muslim countries to the US. The exclusionary and discriminatory actions of one of the most powerful men in the world and what this means for all Muslims in the Western world was something I discussed with participants today... The women spoke about feeling unwelcome and unwanted generally, but also that the incidents of targeted hostility they had personally experienced were like manifestations of the hostile feelings held by the perpetrators. They believed these perpetrators were not in the minority and that in fact, their experiences of exclusion and discrimination were a reflection on how a lot of people in the wider society felt. Upon reflection of the discussion, Zaynab said, 'why would I want to be part of a group who hate me?' Other women in the group nodded in agreement.

Researcher field notes (21.03.17).

At the beginning of this chapter, the concept of super-diversity was discussed. I argue that the findings presented in this chapter are more meaningfully and more accurately understood by

taking into account the highly nuanced and intersectional identities of the participants and indeed, the population of the city of Leicester. Additionally though, our wider understandings of integration can also be better understood through the lens of super-diversity. Using Perry's (2001) theoretical supposition of 'doing difference', not only can the targeting and victimisation of immigrants and refugees be understood; so too can the developed perceptions and representations of the 'good' and 'bad' immigrant. Perry (2001) argues that 'difference' in itself can make an individual or group vulnerable to being targeted. The 'common sense' anti-foreigner rhetoric that has permeated modern Western society means that the immigrant 'other' is so relentlessly stigmatised and problematised that they are inevitably vulnerable to targeted hostility. However, it is important to acknowledge that certain new arrivals are much more vulnerable to hostility and prejudice than others. Perry (2001) argues that through oppressive structural systems such as racism, sexism and homophobia, hierarchies emerge and those with the most power are able to define who sits where in the hierarchy. Essentially, the more an individual or group deviate from what those at the top define as 'normal', the more they will experience marginalisation, stigmatisation and possibly victimisation through the label of 'other'. For example, public opinion research demonstrates that although they are still immigrants, White, Western, English speaking, Christian immigrants are seen as less of a threat when compared to immigrants from non-White, non-English speaking, predominantly Muslim countries (Blinder and Richards, 2018). Furthermore, whilst some immigrants may be able to 'fit in' in some ways through their ethnicity and/or religion, such as my Eastern European participants, previous research in addition to the findings of this thesis demonstrate that they still suffer from negative racial stereotyping that make them vulnerable to victimisation (Blinder and Richards, 2018). Conversely, it appears that the extent to which new arrivals can achieve 'successful' integration, also impacts on where they sit on the 'social hierarchy':

You know it's funny. English is my first language, I went to university in Ghana, I have a job here and pay taxes. But it wasn't until I stopped wearing my hijab that I felt like people took me seriously. They just looked at me differently, because they can't see that I am Muslim now unless I tell them.

Awesi, Ghanaian female.

Who constitutes a 'good' or 'bad' immigrant depends very much on how new arrivals perform their difference and whether or not they are able to conform to the expectations placed on them by the majority society. Consequently, for new arrivals, there emerges an overall belief that

there is a way of doing their difference *correctly*, and a way of doing it *incorrectly*. How new arrivals perform their difference also informs perceptions about how integrated they are within wider society. This was reflected in participant's observations about their own identities and the identities of other new arrivals:

If you are not comfortable with having a conversation with that White person or that Indian person or having different people as friends you will feel isolated. You have to ask yourself, do you want to feel isolated just because you are too scared to speak to people who are different?

Abdi, Somali male.

My White neighbours just see brown people or Muslim people and they think we are the bad ones. I don't think it helps because my friends, the ones who live opposite me, can't really speak to them in English properly, they can't communicate as well. I speak to everyone though, I like to be friendly because if you can say hello, have a little bit of a conversation, people seem to be much nicer. I could speak English a bit before we arrived here but I signed up to classes as soon as I could to get better and better.

Fathima, Sri Lankan female.

Overall, my experience here is very good, I had that basic English knowledge, I went to study and I have level of education back home which also gives you an advantage. I don't want to make myself feel isolated, I don't want to draw attention to myself or cause trouble. If you have that level of education or understanding as a human being I think you can avoid some certain situations. And also, even though I am Muslim I don't wear that big burqa or niqab so I don't get attacked because I'm like normal.

Layla, Somali female.

If you want to be part of the society if you make yourself very, very different then you cause yourself problems. You know, even in terms of opportunity, in terms of work, in terms of socialising with people, you have to make the effort to be a good representative. People will always assume from the first impression. I think that's why you will hear women say that changing the way they dress has made their lives easier.

As highlighted at the very beginning of this chapter, the participants did not really engage with political rhetoric in terms of integration, assimilation or social cohesion, as for most this language was not accessible to them. Irrespective of this, my perspective as the researcher was that it was not participants' responsibility to tell me how their attempts to 'integrate' could be improved, when so many had already told me how their experiences of targeted hostility had caused them harm and left them feeling unwelcome and unwanted. However, they did talk about 'fitting in' and 'joining in' and not wanting to feel 'isolated' or 'apart' from the wider society. As highlighted in the quotes above, participants talked about the steps they personally took to 'fit in' with wider society but they also offered their thoughts on what they and others should/could do to adapt specifically to avoid victimisation. Those who perceived themselves as having 'transitioned' to life in Britain more successfully spoke about being previously educated or undertaking qualifications in the UK, acquiring a high level of English language proficiency, gaining employment, not wearing conservative Islamic dress and socialising with people from different backgrounds to themselves.

These indicators of successful integration are also reflected, in part, in public opinion research. Sobolewska et al (2017) found that Islamic religiosity *per se* was not considered a significant barrier to integrating into British society but having English friends, speaking English at home and holding liberal attitudes towards women's employment were much more important cultural indicators of perceived integration. Despite what public opinion research suggests, within official integration policy, language, education, dress and appearance, conservative religious and cultural practice and meaningful interaction between groups are all issues that feature heavily. However, in recognising more comprehensively, the significant differences between groups of and individual new arrivals in a super-diverse area, it is acknowledged that many if not all of these 'indicators' require financial and social capital and a certain level of freedom and confidence that not all new arrivals have or will ever acquire. For example, Bassel et al (2018) found that social isolation as the result of racist discrimination in the labour market, on the street and from neighbours, paired with being amongst the most likely to suffer from cuts to funding in childcare services, a lack of support and a lack of knowledge about where to access language classes, meant that studying for and completing the citizenship were made much harder.

In the current study, participants who perceived themselves as more 'integrated' were more likely to have a higher socio-economic status, be educated to at least bachelor's degree level or

equivalent and could confidently speak at least conversational English before they arrived in the country. Consequently, although they still carried the label of 'other' because of their immigrant or refugee status, they were better equipped to 'do' their difference 'correctly' and that went some way to making them less 'visible' and therefore 'acceptable' to majority society. These participants were also less likely to have experienced targeted hostility on more than one or two occasions, also reinforcing the argument that by performing their immigrant status 'correctly', they were less likely to be perceived as a 'threat' to majority norms and values. The most popular formula within integration policy of setting specific goals that new arrivals are expected reach in relation to citizenship, language proficiency, social mobility and relaxing non-Christian religious belief to be seen as 'successfully' integrated only serves to maintain the hierarchies of 'good/bad' and 'desirable/undesirable' immigrants. Without also making equal and genuine efforts to address the underlying issues that lead to the exclusion and isolation of new arrivals such as targeted hostility, discrimination and a lack of social, financial, political and legal capital, simply forcing new arrivals to enrol on an English language course, become a citizen and volunteer within their community is not alone going to facilitate meaningful and sustained integration.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by setting out why the current research should be viewed in the context of super-diversity, and what that means in terms of acknowledging the layered, nuanced and fluid demographics reflected in the sample of participants and the city's population as a whole. The findings presented in this chapter firstly highlight how the super-diversity of Leicester, developed and established over many decades, plays a significant role in encouraging good civility, a sense of cohesion and feelings of belonging amongst new arrivals. However, importantly to this thesis, whilst the chapter draws attention to the many positive aspects of Leicester life that participants reported, including the systems of support and safety provided within minority-concentrated neighbourhoods, the realities of 'everyday conviviality' are reflected in the findings of this research. The concept of 'everyday conviviality' allows for a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of how new arrivals, settled migrant communities and the established majority undergo continuous adaptations and negotiations in order to find ways to live together. Notably, 'everyday conviviality' recognises that 'happy togetherness' can exist alongside experiences of discrimination, targeted hostility and hate crime. Consequently, the findings of this chapter also demonstrate the impacts of targeted hostility in relation to how it, intersected with participants' socio-economic status, education, language proficiency and

legal status, limits the physical and social movement of new arrivals. The wider implications of these findings are also explored by examining recent official policy on integration and social cohesion. Reflected in policy, public opinion and in the participants themselves, is the belief that certain benchmarks dictate how successfully integrated a new arrival is perceived to be. Interestingly, participants who spoke about 'fitting in' to British society listed many of the same indicators of integration that feature in official policy, with English language proficiency, moderated religious and cultural practice, education and the adoption of 'British' values mentioned most commonly. The findings clearly demonstrate the role that experiencing direct and/or indirect targeted hostility, discrimination, and fear of exclusion plays in restricting the choices new arrivals make in their everyday lives. Ultimately, if prolonged, this can have a significant impact on new arrivals feelings of belonging, their opportunities to achieve social mobility and their ability to integrate into wider society.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion: Implications of Research and Future Directions

‘Our ability to dig deeper or our lack of ability affects the way we think about things and how well we are actually informed about what’s going on with these people. And that brings the question should we be doing more to try and access them? What could we do that would work?’

Dave, Support worker.

‘Muslim women like myself being spoken for is my number one problem with the [Casey] Review. Let women speak for themselves – why are you owning their narrative? They don't need a saviour.’

Aleena, (cited by Haidrani, 2016).

This chapter begins by providing a summary of the findings of this research. In doing so, this section highlights the significant contributions to knowledge offered by this thesis in the fields of hate crime, social integration and theoretical understandings of ‘othering’. The data upon which the findings are drawn was collected and analysed to answer the overarching aims of the research, which are:

1. To explore both the direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility encountered by ‘new’ migrants, asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester.
2. To identify the emotional and behavioural impacts of experiencing targeted hostility as a new arrival and as a wider migrant community.

In order to engage more comprehensively with the everyday lives and experiences of new migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, this thesis has employed the concept of ‘super-diversity’ and develops an original empirical approach to exploring the racism, discrimination and targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals through this lens. This thesis provides a platform for the ‘hidden’ voices of particularly new arrivals from socially, culturally, economically and ethnically

broad backgrounds to be heard and acknowledged in all their complexity. This final chapter explores the implications and potential future directions of these voices, firstly addressing the theoretical contributions of the current research. It is argued that in testing Integrated Threat within the context of super-diversity, a more nuanced and non-binary approach to understanding the concept of 'threat' is required to better explain the development of prejudice and hostility. Revising existing theoretical frameworks has emerged as especially necessary when victimising behaviours are perpetrated by members of the same or another ethnic minority group. Furthermore, implications for future research are also discussed within this chapter. Within this context the chapter highlights the value of engaging with a flexible, reflexive and inclusive methodological approach in order to reduce the void within research that exists because typically 'hard-to-reach' groups are also 'easy-to-ignore'. Finally, this chapter proposes recommendations for policy on the basis of the evidence presented. Most prominent is the need for government to restructure its approach to promoting and facilitating the integration of new arrivals into wider society. The thesis offers a new model for integration that fully acknowledges the primary role of racism, discrimination and targeted hostility in preventing the free, equal and safe movement of new arrivals within mainstream society.

7.1 Summary of key findings

After entering the field to begin data collection, what became most apparent was the need to develop and maintain an agile, continuously reflective approach when working with new arrivals. Building trusting relationships with participants over time, overcoming language barriers, effectively communicating the aims of the research and adapting quickly to the often chaotic and unpredictable everyday lives of new arrivals were integral to the successful data collection process of the current research. A challenge when analysing and writing up the findings was effectively conveying the convergence of observable experiences, that participants were able to articulate and describe, and the unobservable power dynamics, physical and social boundaries, and unspoken community beliefs that contributed to their everyday experiences. By adopting a GT approach and utilising flexible, ethnographic methods that were complimented by engaging with more 'imaginative' methods, this thesis significantly widens our understanding of the hostility, discrimination and victimisation experienced by new and emerging communities who identify as migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Furthermore, this thesis contributes new insights into the impacts of such experiences, both emotional and behavioural, on individual new arrivals and on wider migrant communities, with a particular focus on the implications for social cohesion and integration.

New arrivals to the UK come from significantly diverse backgrounds in terms of their, ethnicity, religious identity, nationality, cultural beliefs, socio-economic status, educational attainment and legal status. This not only contributes to the growing super-diversity of certain areas of the UK but also has consequences for just how visibly 'different' certain new arrivals are. The literature highlights how those originating from non-White, non-Western, non-Christian, non-English speaking countries are most likely to experience hostility, discrimination and exclusion. However, intensified levels of xenophobia in recent years has seen additional 'undesirable' communities, such as Eastern Europeans, be subjected to similar 'othering' processes which overall, leaves many new arrivals increasingly marginalised, disadvantaged and vulnerable. This thesis takes a highly intersectional approach to analysing the often 'hidden' narratives of new arrivals whose experiences transpired during an unprecedented socio-political environment of hostility and uncertainty.

The findings of this thesis demonstrate that new arrivals experience microaggressions, micro-crimes and hate crimes that are pervasive and multifaceted in nature. Especially in the current 'anti-foreigner' climate, in part inflamed by pre and post Brexit rhetoric, 'everyday' experiences of targeted hostility are understood to be inherent and 'normal' in the lives of new arrivals. These experiences, often non-verbal microaggressions and micro-crimes, initially serve to enforce and reinforce feelings of unwelcomeness and uncomfortability, but longer-term these experiences are also seen to erode personal wellbeing and prompt feelings of sadness, fear, anxiety, embarrassment and humiliation. As a result of the ongoing targeted hostility perpetrated by strangers and neighbours, as well as the racism and discrimination that new arrivals experience from landlords, employers and wider socio-political systems, their mental and physical health are affected, and avoidance behaviours become the norm. More so than members of 'established' ethnic minority communities, new arrivals are especially vulnerable to targeted hostility and repeat/ongoing victimisation because of their lack of knowledge about their rights, suspicion of authorities, precarious legal status as residents and a lack of language proficiency. The lack of social capital and lack of confidence often coupled with the tendency to 'downplay' everyday incidents of hostility, lead new arrivals to normalise and minimise their victimisation. Reporting their experiences to authority figures outside of their community is infrequent but engagement with the police is especially rare. The mechanisms through which new arrivals normalise and minimise their experiences are examined using Weiss' (2011) victims 'neutralisation techniques'. Utilising this framework demonstrates the tendency of new arrivals to deny serious harm occurred in their victimisation. Their propensity to trivialise their experiences occurs in comparison to other traumatic experiences they have endured as an

asylum seeker, and to avoid attention from the authorities and avoid increasing existing anti-immigrant hostility amongst the majority society.

Importantly, as well as understanding the direct experiences of victimisation, this thesis draws attention to the prevalence and impact of indirect victimisation on the wider migrant community, which has been significantly under-explored previously. Where groups identify shared identity characteristics with a victim of targeted hostility, their emotional and behavioural responses to these incidents are very similar and equally as harmful as those who have experienced victimisation personally. Often due to the 'tight-knit' nature of some communities and the highly effective informal communication systems in place, shared beliefs and attitudes about the space in which new arrivals occupied are quickly embedded. Consequently, even when new arrivals feel that they have not personally experienced an observable incident of targeted hostility or a hate crime, they often know of multiple people who have and others who face repeat victimisation. New arrivals conveyed good awareness of the hostility and prejudice that they faced within the UK, and this is primarily through personal negative experiences or through the knowledge they are exposed to as part of a community. As a result, they adapt their behaviours and everyday lives in an attempt to limit their exposure to targeted hostility and reduce the harms that are resultant from a frequent fear of victimisation.

The role of space, place and belonging are central to this thesis. Notions of 'safe' and 'unsafe' space overtly shape, and ultimately dictate, the everyday lives of new arrivals and demonstrating this conceptually is fundamental to understanding the short and long term impacts of living in minority-concentrated areas. Unlike any previous research, this thesis highlights the tangible benefits associated with living in minority-concentrated areas and examines the ways in which long-standing diversity and an 'immigrant-friendly' reputation at a local level increases the 'happiness' of new arrivals, promotes inclusion, and later, facilitates more meaningful integration. Existing literature and policy often overtly problematises minority-concentrated areas and pursues the argument that those who remain in these areas demonstrate a preference for self-segregation and a rejection of the host society's culture and way of life. However, granting new arrivals the freedom to adjust to their new environment, build in confidence and develop important social networks, initially amongst people with shared experiences and who are perhaps more familiar, increases their sense of belonging which ultimately motivates them to extend their engagement to wider society. However, for many new arrivals, the negative experiences they suffer when they attempt to move beyond their 'safe' spaces, and the ever-present fear of victimisation restricts their opportunities to gain in social capital, achieve social

mobility and reach the level of integration they desire. Consequently, integration policy continues to follow a futile agenda of setting unrealistic and largely unobtainable arbitrary 'goals' that it expects new arrivals to meet, without first seeking to tackle the underlying causes for their isolation and exclusion.

7.2 Contributions to theory

It is thanks to pioneering race critical theorists and those who came after, that the voices and experiences of marginalised ethnic groups began to feature more frequently in research allowing for academic theory in this area to develop. However, the tendency to utilise sweeping, 'umbrella' terms to describe race and ethnicity such as 'Black' and 'Asian' has led to homogenous understandings of who is experiencing racism, how they experience it, and where best to target resources to tackle it. Typically, in the UK, research has tended to focus much more on the experiences of African-Caribbean and South Asian communities and as a result, theoretical models of racism and hate crime are informed by these very specific narratives. This is, in part, because these particular communities have a much more established history in the UK, are more numerous than other ethnic minority groups, and second and third generations have developed the capital to champion research and activism in this area (Phillimore and Pemberton, 2016; Wessendorf, 2017; Koev, 2019). However, especially as the UK becomes increasingly diverse, reproducing limited theoretical understandings of what racism is, and who experiences it, has implications for how 'hidden' victims of racially motivated discrimination and targeted hostility are perceived and how these victims are likely to perceive their own experiences. Those who do not 'fit' the stereotypical image of a victim of racist hate crime, for example, may be viewed as less legitimate in their victimisation, their experiences are misunderstood, and they themselves are less likely to identify as a victim in the first place. Consequently, while many voices are still overlooked and underresearched, the theory that underpins our understandings of racism, threat, hostility, and hate crime perpetration and victimisation remains incomplete.

Within the research fields of both hate crime and integration the 'gap' in knowledge about the experiences of new migrants, asylum seekers and refugees has remained more like a 'chasm'. By working with a diverse sample of new arrivals, the current research contributes knowledge to both these fields and sheds new light on the experiences of new arrivals in Leicester, positive and negative, as well as the emotional and behavioural impacts of those experiences at an individual, community and societal level. The findings of this research are analysed through the lens of super-diversity as this allows for a more intersected approach to understanding the

experiences of new arrivals. Vertovec (2007, p. 1025) coined the term 'super-diversity' as a methodological, theoretical and political concept to describe the 'diversification of diversity' and as a way to move *beyond* the limiting descriptor of multiculturalism. It was recognised as part of this research that there was a need for a more nuanced exploration of the identities of the new arrivals in Leicester that went beyond race and ethnicity, and extended to characteristics including socio-economic status, religion, legal status, education, language proficiency and length of stay in the UK. Consequently, the multi-dimensional view taken by the current research means that a more comprehensive and authentic theory of racially targeted hostility is ultimately reached.

Existing theoretical frameworks have developed our collective understanding of the 'othering' process and have contributed significantly to the study of prejudice, hostility and hate crime in the UK. However, it is important to acknowledge that this knowledge stems from theories that were developed between twenty and seventy years ago, and the most prominent theories of 'othering' such as Social Identity and Integrated Threat overwhelmingly focus almost exclusively on majority/minority conflict and in-group/out-group status. These theories, along with Perry's (2001) structured action theory of 'doing difference', are often used to explain the development of prejudice attitudes, the process of 'othering', and the perpetration of hate crime and targeted hostility. However, whilst these models provide particularly useful insight into how and why members of the most established and privileged groups (majority White British) attempt to maintain dominance through a perception of superiority and entitlement, they do not adequately explore the process of 'othering' in super-diverse areas where no one ethnic group constitutes a majority and in/out-group labels are significantly more complex. The current research not only analyses ITT through the lens of super-diversity for the first time, it applies the model in a completely new social and political post-Brexit environment, and in one of the most demographically unique cities in the UK.

Through the stories that participants shared, it became clear that especially for those who rarely engaged with the wider White British society, experiences of minority-on-minority hostility were frequent. An unexpected number of new arrivals who engaged with the current research discussed their experiences of targeted hostility perpetrated by someone also belonging to an ethnic minority group. The findings in Chapter Five offered several reasons why participants felt that members of more 'established' minority groups and others who belonged to typically and/or historically stigmatised groups would themselves go on to stigmatise new arrivals as summarised above. However, explanations for minority-on-minority hostility can only be

partially explained using established theoretical frameworks. In their empirical study to test Integrated Threat Theory (ITT), Makashvili et al (2018, p. 464) argue that:

While blatant forms of hostility towards out-groups have weakened, the problem persists and has evolved to a degree that requires increasingly sophisticated measurement tools.

It is important to note that ITT was first developed twenty years ago and although it effectively brings together elements of the most enduring theories of prejudice, and conceptualises 'threat' in ways that are accessible, and demonstrate internal and construct validity over time, it has evolved very little since its first revision by Stephan and Renfro (2002). Reflecting on the quotation above, I argue here that it is not simply the overt nature of targeted hostility that has developed over time but also the situational context in which this form of victimisation can occur, especially when taking into account the racism, discrimination and targeted hostility that occurs within super-diverse areas. Consequently, in order to maintain the relevance of ITT, the framework should extend its scope to reflect hostility and prejudice in areas of super diversity where no majority group has established dominance. The role of 'threat' was often central in participant discussions about minority-on-minority hostility. Despite being immigrants and refugees themselves, some participants perceived new arrivals as a (symbolic) threat to the existing culture and a threat to their general way of life, and/or as a (realistic) threat to their personal safety, a threat to national security, or a threat in terms of being additional competition for limited resources such as housing, jobs and welfare.

In particular, new arrivals were frequently perceived to be a threat to safety both at an individual and societal level by more established immigrants. This type of realistic threat, although included in the original model of ITT, is not discussed at any length but it became central in some discussions had with participants in the current study. The catalyst events of 9/11 and 7/7 that gave rise to increasing levels of Islamophobia in the West and led to widespread stereotyping of Muslims as threats to national security, only occurred after ITT was first developed. However, I argue that the theory needs to place greater emphasis on the role of threat in relation to safety and security to more accurately reflect the current hostile climate towards new arrivals in particular. During the fieldwork, participants discussed a number of high-profile terrorist incidents including the attacks at the Manchester arena, Westminster Bridge, London Bridge and Finsbury Park. For some, these incidents influenced the way they felt about Muslims in general but more often than not, the feelings of threat and hostility that were expressed were directed

specifically towards the newly arrived. Additionally, several participants specifically referred to media stories they had seen or read that depicted asylum seekers as ‘terrorists in disguise’ and felt directly threatened by this. Conversely, other participants held perceptions of newly arrived Polish immigrants as violent, criminal, and predatory which led to openly hostile opinions of them. Interestingly, in some cases, participants expressed hostility towards new arrivals of the same faith and/or ethnicity as themselves. Thus, this thesis also argues that conventional representations of in/out groups and related labels are not always useful when exploring racism, discrimination and targeted hostility in super-diverse areas.

Overall, this thesis by no means disregards ITT as a useful framework within which to begin understanding hostility and threat in this context. In actual fact, it is appropriate to utilise aspects of Stephan and Renfro’s (2002) iteration of Integrated Threat as it clearly helps to conceptualise the feelings expressed by some participants. However, by moving away from simplistic, binary majority/minority conflict frameworks, we can begin to understand how minority groups may ‘adopt’ perceptions of threat that often mirrors the attitudes and beliefs held by the majority society. In addition, unlike the ‘majority’ group, which is overwhelmingly depicted as a static, fixed group of White Westerners, immigrants and refugees adopt perceived threats as part of a process of integration, place-making and in an attempt to displace hostility. In reality, this process is fluid and continuous, and occurs like a ‘conveyor belt’ as waves of new immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers continue to arrive. The findings show that generally, the longer new arrivals live in their host society, the more ‘established’ immigrant populations become, and the more likely they are to adopt what they believe to be society’s dominant values to ‘fit in’. In addition to this, the findings from this research demonstrate that for some members of ethnic minority groups, displaying prejudice and hostile attitudes towards the newest arrivals diverts negative attention away from themselves and their communities.

7.3 Implications for future research

New and emerging communities are often described as ‘hard-to-reach’. Repeatedly, this term is used to imply that engaging these ‘hidden’ groups in research, especially as an ‘outsider’ researcher, is so challenging that access is unlikely in most instances. Often, language proficiency, cultural differences and the sceptical or untrusting nature of these particularly marginalised groups are ‘blamed’ as barriers to research with new arrivals. Ultimately, and regrettably, the use of the term ‘hard-to-reach’ appears to have become synonymous with ‘easy-to-ignore’ and has acted as justification for omitting the voices of new arrivals, especially within

the research fields of racism and hate crime. Almost 15 years ago, Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti (2006) argued that researchers need to do more to understand the social, cultural and political lives of minority ethnic communities, and adapt their methodological approaches to better reflect these nuances. They warned of the pitfalls of over-relying on certain 'established' groups to inform understandings of racism and challenge researchers to question how their own identities impact the research process. Although some progress has been made to access 'hidden' communities within criminological research, as previously mentioned, there are still significant gaps in knowledge in relation to the everyday lives of new arrivals. In line with my reflective approach, it is acknowledged here that the participants who engaged with this project all, even if only briefly, attended support groups, classes and drop-ins set up by community groups and charities or they attended places of worship which is where I met them. This has implications for the type of participants that are represented in this study, as those new arrivals who did not engage with these services, perhaps some of the most marginalised, were not accessed as part of this research. As an 'outsider' researcher with limited resources as a PhD student, I was dependant on the contacts that gatekeepers could provide for me. Gatekeepers themselves also expressed difficulties with engaging greater numbers of new arrivals in their organisations. One gatekeeper made the point that individuals are unlikely to come forward if their immigration visas or 'leave to remain' status have expired and another gatekeeper expressed that some women are discouraged, by their husbands or other relatives, from leaving the house much or joining 'social groups'. Despite this, the data from the current study reflects the stories of new arrivals from 14 different countries who are also diverse in ethnicity, faith, socio-economic status, educational attainment, language proficiency and legal status. Consequently, the methodological approach I undertook in order to access this broad range of communities and individuals produced data that contributes valuable knowledge to a considerably under-researched area.

As discussed in Chapter Four, I committed to a labour intensive and reflexive approach to fieldwork and this was central in enabling me to understand the new arrivals I was trying to recruit and to inform the data collection process. In total I spent just over 18 months in the field working alongside various groups of new arrivals. I did not conduct any full interviews for the first three months and considered this purely a period of engagement. Informed by my research into the work of others in similar fields (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004; Zempi and Chakraborti, 2014; Quraishi and Philburn, 2015), and based on what informal gatekeepers had said to me in our initial meetings, I aimed to become a 'familiar' face within the environments I was researching and quality face-to-face interactions with participants were prioritised. It is also

worth re-iterating here that this approach to research meant that I engaged with a range of different activities including delivering English lessons and employability workshops, as well as helping out at food banks, jumble sales and information days. I also participated in a number of religious celebrations and attended worship several times; these events were often at weekends. Although there were occasions that my participation in these events did not result in any formal data being collected, it certainly went towards building meaningful relationships with the groups which encouraged their participation. Furthermore, my participation in these events developed a 'knowledge-exchange' dynamic between myself and the new arrivals which is a more ethical practice than entering the field to simply 'take' the knowledge that is needed, leaving participants unbenefited or even disadvantaged by the experience. In addition to this, I also found that framing the research as a 'learning process' for me and placing participants as the 'educators' reassured and empowered the new arrivals I met. As a result of my experiences, I advocate for an approach to research with 'hidden' and marginalised groups that values meaningful, in-depth interaction and wherever possible, utilises ethnographic methods, even if only partially.

As a young researcher with limited experience in academic spaces, I learnt a lot about research only once in the field and initially, I found I had to really push myself to approach complete strangers and begin a conversation with a confidence that was often superficial. However, when working with marginalised groups who are too often overlooked and misunderstood it is generally not academic skills and research experience that are most important. Being an approachable, sensitive, genuine, compassionate person simply willing to listen, learn and share on a human level was what earned the trust and respect of those who engaged in this research. This is important for future researchers wanting to work with 'hidden' groups because it has been implied by some that that complex qualitative research is best undertaken by 'experienced' researchers (Atkinson et al, 2007, Treadwell, Briggs, Winlow and Hall, 2013). This assumption may be detrimental to early career researchers and PhD students who are conscious of their lack of time, experience and additional resources to complete a project. My experiences as an 'outsider' researcher strongly supports the argument that this position is certainly not 'fixed', and it does not have to be detrimental to the research process if managed appropriately. Consequently, it is my hope that in being transparent about my experiences and the 'strategies' that I utilised to undertake this research, it will encourage future researchers to go the extra mile that is needed to build and maintain relationships with particularly marginalised and stigmatised groups.

This research also supports the use of more ‘imaginative’ methods in criminological research. As also discussed in previous chapters, it became apparent that in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the new arrivals’ use of space, perceptions of safety, and victimisation, additional insight could be obtained by supplementing the interview data with a more creative method of data collection. The ‘mapping’ activity produced data that reflected, more accurately and precisely, the everyday movements of the new arrivals that they could not or did not articulate previously in a purely verbal interaction. It also encouraged participation from new arrivals who had previously been reluctant to contribute and helped to reduce unequal power dynamics between myself and the group. Upon reflection, the activity was a particularly powerful and effective tool that not only added additional value to the current work but could also be developed for use in other victimological contexts. In addition, with more time and resources I would also incorporate the ‘walking’ method developed by O’Neill (2018; O’Neill and Hubbard, 2010) in her work with asylum seekers and refugees. Walking facilitates a ‘shared viewpoint’ from which to understand a phenomenon and promotes empathy. The idea of physically walking the everyday routes with participants that they previously plotted in the mapping activity would offer additional insights into what Erel et al, (2017, p. 3) describe as the ‘often difficult, time-consuming nature of the daily routes they are forced to navigate as a result of poverty, social exclusion and their status as marginalised citizens’. Incorporating this method in future research would enhance the existing values of the current research, creating collaborative knowledge, making knowledge production more accessible to new arrivals and equalising power dynamics (O’Neill, 2018).

7.4 Recommendations for policy

This thesis has highlighted the ‘chasm’ in knowledge within academic debates, government policy and general societal discourse around racist hate crime and hostility towards ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, I have been transparent about the methodological approach taken to access and engage hard(er)-to-reach groups of new arrivals to demonstrate what worked, and what did not, during the lengthy process of fieldwork. One of the most important aspects of the current research, that is worth highlighting in this final chapter, is the importance of working *with* new communities and helping them access platforms where their voices can be heard. As already explained, it was only through meaningful and in-depth work with participants that this thesis offers new insights that are comprehensive, intersectional and that reflect the lived realities of new arrivals. However, debates around racism and integration rarely feature the voices of new immigrants and refugees despite the fact that they are often at the epicentre

of the issues being discussed (Migration Policy Group, 2013; Alfred, 2017), and the lack of representation in these debates fosters frustration and resentment:

I don't mind Muslim women being spoken about if it helps to empower them and highlight the challenges they face. Nor do I have a problem with outside forces trying to empower Muslim women. However, their experiences always need to be put into context and they need to inform the debate and identify the best solutions.

Shaista (cited in Haidrani, 2016).

My work is all about speaking to new people who come to the UK and building a community of new arrivals who feel motivated to be a part of wider society. I speak to them every day, but I also work in London and have conversations with policy people in government who have never had a direct conversation with an immigrant or refugee. It concerns me.

Salma, Somali female, support worker.

The Casey Review (2016) sought to measure and understand the levels of integration and opportunity in what the government defined as deprived and isolated areas in the UK. However, the review has been heavily criticised for the lack of authentic voices present within the review and because there are some sweeping generalisations made that appear to stigmatise and problematise certain communities, particularly Muslims (Taylor, 2016). The city of Leicester is singled out several times throughout the report for having particularly high levels of ethnic segregation within its schools and for having high numbers of Muslim women who cannot speak English well or at all. Furthermore, the Somali women of Leicester are criticised for ineffective mothering because they struggled to address issues of online radicalisation with their young sons (Casey, 2016). Bassel (2016) is highly critical of the report and found that Muslim immigrants in Leicester felt significantly targeted as a result of Casey's report. A participant of the current study, Layla, is a Somali woman and a mother and she discussed her concerns that Muslim mothers were being unfairly blamed for not 'controlling' their children.

'Within the Somali community there is definitely an expectation that taking care of the children is the mother's job. Many Somali men do not take such an active role. So women are working, taking care of the children, taking care of the house...and now

[the government] say we have to make sure our boys are not radicalised but no one helps us. We need support and knowledge to do that. Many women in the community are scared because they don't want to be called a 'bad mother' or have their children taken away but there is no support... Are they telling White mothers to make sure their sons are not radicalised too!?'

In addition, significant concerns have also been expressed regarding the lack of information provided about the methodological approach taken to conduct the Casey Review and questions have been asked about the integrity of the conclusions it draws because of this (Crossley, 2018). This lack of transparency is concerning, especially because of the influence this particular review has and continues to have on government policy. On the evidence of this thesis, it is clear that people affected by policymakers decisions should be more actively included in policy design and application. Future inquiries and reviews should not only seek to better understand the lived experiences of new arrivals and access broader samples of people, but they should also seek consultation with the groups and communities directly impacted by policy changes to ensure that recommendations are appropriately implemented. Current integration policies claim to be evidence-based but tend to exclude a broad range of voices and ignore nuance in favour of over-simplified generalisations. Ultimately, in order to produce policy that 'fits' and 'works' in the real world the process by which evidence is gathered must reflect more inclusive and participatory practices.

This thesis also seeks to make evidence-based recommendations in relation to the way in which government and policy makers address the integration of new arrivals. As discussed in Chapter Six, integration policy tends to follow a specific formula of setting arbitrary targets which new arrivals are expected to meet in order to be perceived as a 'good' immigrant who is 'worthy' of their place in the UK. This places many new arrivals in a precarious and potentially vulnerable position if they are not able to access the financial and social capital necessary to fulfil society's expectations. Furthermore, even if an immigrant wants to and is able to meet targets such as becoming a citizen, this does nothing to reduce their 'visible' difference which is what victims most frequently perceive as the motivating factor behind their targeted victimisation. Even though immigration and integration has been a key focus of government policy over the 15 years, the model used to frame these debates has remained relatively unchanged and has ultimately failed to facilitate sustained success on a national level. Consequently, it is paramount to consider a new perspective in which the most significant barrier to the integration of new

arrivals, racism, discrimination, and targeted hostility, is fully acknowledged and then made a priority to overcome.

Thus far, the responsibility to tackle hate and extremism at a local and national level has always sat with the Home Office which is likely to be, in part, why there has been little to no formal connection between the impacts of hate crime and hostility on integration previously. However, through the Integrated Communities Strategy (ICS), attempts have now been made to develop this new approach in partnership with the Home Office and this is somewhat reflected in the latest Government Hate Crime Action Plan (2018). The inclusion of a strong anti-hate message is a welcome addition to integration policy as it begins to acknowledge the increasingly nuanced nature of 'everyday conviviality'. It also reflects the genuine and pressing need to address the increased presence of hostility and hate crime within the UK, especially post-Brexit. However, there are some over-arching issues with this strategy that will be acknowledged here in the context of the current research.

In its current form, the ICS is very much a 'bottom-up' approach to encouraging and facilitating integration. The role that hostility, hate crime and discrimination plays in restricting integration has finally been officially identified as a problem by government, however, the job of solving that problem has essentially been out-sourced to third sector charities who must bid for funding to run their 'integration' projects. As also previously highlighted in the APPG on Social Integration (2017), a localised system allows for those with more intimate knowledge of the area to develop an individual approach that is likely to better-reflect the economic needs and immigrant settlement patterns in each part of the UK. However, because of the freedom this allows local areas to set their own priorities in terms of integration, it is more likely to result in discrepancies between areas. For example, of the areas the ICS has been piloted in, Walsall has prioritised improving the cultural, religious and social understanding of minority communities, challenging misinformation that exists about new arrivals, raising awareness of hate crime and increasing hate crime training amongst frontline practitioners, all in an effort to improve integration (Walsall Council, 2018). Conversely, Peterborough, a city that made national headlines in 2016 because of the residents' prominent pro-Brexit, nationalist views and who reportedly did not believe immigrants were 'trying hard enough' to integrate, do not mention hate crime or challenging hostility at all in their strategy (Daily Mail, 2016, n.p; Peterborough City Council, 2019). Similar concerns have also been expressed in the recent UN report on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. The Special Rapporteur found that some of those actors involved in the ICS-funded projects had concerns that the policy still placed

too much emphasis on the responsibility of the new arrival to integrate, and much less on the host community to support and welcome them (UN Human Rights Council, 2019).

A localised approach to encouraging greater integration is also likely to mean that each area achieves different levels of 'success'. New arrivals may benefit significantly from integration projects in one particular area but if this success is not replicated nationally then previous barriers to integration may re-emerge if those same new arrivals then move to another area to study or work, for example. Moreover, because of the area-specific, individualised nature of the locally-led system, good practice may be difficult to share and reproduce. There are also variations in affluence between areas, differing levels in resources available as well as how numerous and diverse minority communities are in each area to take into account when developing a localised integration plan. These variations are likely to mean that areas develop approaches to integration in silo and a lack of consistency will be evident.

It is also problematic that the funding provided by government projects like the ICS, much like the Building a Stronger Britain Together (BSBT) programme, is always limited and the continuous application process is incredibly labour intensive, especially for particularly small charities as many of those applying to the ICS for funding often are. Consequently, there are issues with the lack of legacy and sustainability of these projects and this has implications for the extent to which these small-scale, localised initiatives can meaningfully and reliably inform a national long-term approach to integration. This was especially apparent in the current research as the charity organisations that I worked alongside during this project often mentioned the financial difficulties that they experienced as they struggled to remain operational:

We pass our data to the City Council and they tell us areas we need to improve and the funding is based on how many people we support and what feedback they give us. We are all scared of funding cuts right now. As long as they see that there is still a need for our service then we can keep going.

Researcher: Wow, that's a lot of pressure.

Yes, and sometimes we don't get paid either. Our wages come out of the funding and if the council don't send the money then we have to wait for a while. Sometimes we ask them and they say they are still making the decision whether to fund us or not.

Layla, support worker.

We basically survive hand-to-mouth. We won a large national lottery grant a few years ago which helped a lot but that's almost all gone now. We rely on donations and any little pots of money we can apply for but it's almost a full-time job just trying to source funding because of the administration involved. It's a constant worry because without money, we just close. I've seen it happen to lots of other refugee and asylum seeker services in recent years, they're just gone now.

Dave, support worker.

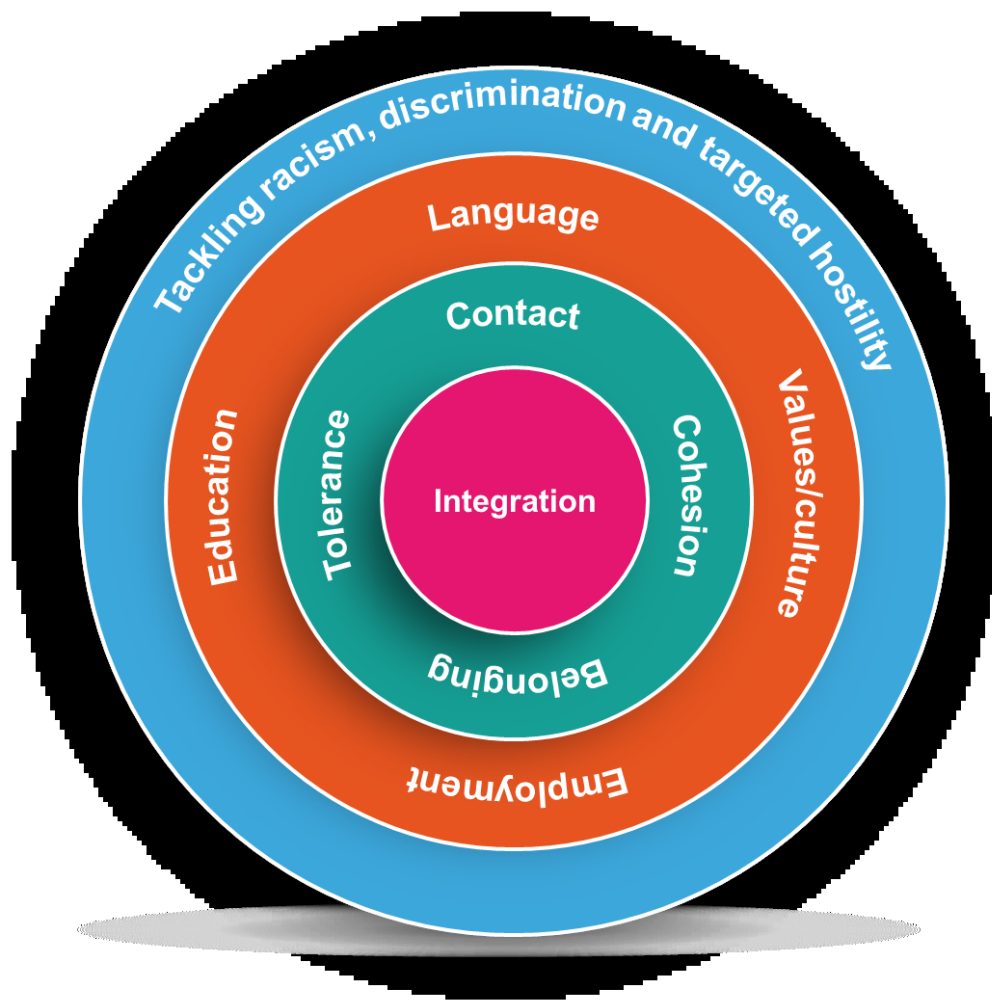
Despite the efforts of small-scale projects to win funding and continue their good work, this work is often easily and frequently undermined by the openly hostile and prejudiced attitudes expressed by those in power at a governmental level. Previous research typically demonstrates the 'linear' ways in which members of minority groups experience everyday targeted hostility and hate crime incidents (Chakraborti, Garland and Hardy, 2014; DeMarco et al, 2018; Paterson et al, 2018). Although it is acknowledged that these incidents all occur as part of a process, there is also a sense, especially when the perpetrator is a stranger to the victim, that these experiences transpire independently of one another. The findings of the current research, however, show that new arrivals encounter a nuanced myriad of victimisation experiences that occur at both a micro and macro level.

New arrivals suffer racism and discrimination structurally through denied educational and labour opportunities, and a lack of legal and economic protection. This, alongside the current uniquely hostile social and political environment, means that new arrivals are forced to manage victimisation in many forms, often all at once. The complexity of their experiences is the main justification for why I often use terms like racism, discrimination, targeted hostility, microaggressions and hate crime sometimes in combination and somewhat interchangeably throughout this thesis. This thesis advances academic understanding of everyday hostility and prejudice for new arrivals in Chapter Five but also highlights the impact of the wider racism and xenophobia experienced by participants and uses this to critique current integration policy. As outlined in the literature review chapters, the increased prevalence of everyday hostility, prejudice and hate crime directed towards new arrivals, has largely been the result of continuous and intensified racist and xenophobic elite discourse. Subsequently, if the anti-foreigner messages that are fuelling and legitimising increased hostility are being driven by top-

down action, then a purely 'bottom-up' approach to challenging these attitudes will regrettably fall short. Ultimately, without a strong national framework to work in *combination* with grassroots intervention projects funded by the ICS, it is likely that these localised projects will only have limited and contained success.

Thus, based on the findings of the current research, it is necessary that the Home Office and the MHCLG continue to build a genuine partnership to tackle hate crime and racial hostility at a local level. Additionally, it is vital that they also acknowledge at a national level that targeted victimisation, discrimination and exclusion, and the debilitating fear of experiencing hate crime, are actually the primary barrier facing new arrivals preventing meaningful integration. Prioritising the issues of racism, discrimination and targeted hostility within integration policy specifically would mean a greater focus on tackling the most significant barrier that new arrivals face. Challenging hostile and racist attitudes with an aim to eliminate, or at least significantly reduce, acts of targeted hostility, hate crime and discriminatory practices would not only facilitate greater access to capital that could aid the social mobility of immigrants and refugees, it would enable greater participation of new arrivals in wider society. Subsequently, more frequent and sustained contact between new arrivals and 'established' groups would occur which would lead to increased feelings of belonging, cohesion between community groups and improved levels of tolerance and understanding within society as a whole. Figure 4 below demonstrates this new perspective of the integration process that this thesis would urge policy makers to adopt in order to take more meaningful and realistic steps towards achieving the sustained integration of new arrivals.

Figure 6: The Integration Process: A Fresh Perspective



As previously mentioned, new arrivals experience multi-dimensional forms of victimisation from individual perpetrators such as strangers on the street or neighbours, from individuals in positions of power such as their employers and landlords, and more structurally from within a societal system designed in such a way that is both hostile and unreceptive towards them. Tackling these multiple layers of hostility and discrimination will take an intersected and multifaceted approach that will require meaningful investment and sustained engagement from both top-level government agents and grassroots movements. This thesis argues that there must be a shift away from the current populist trend of placing the onus almost exclusively on new arrivals to essentially assimilate, and that policy makers need to take more responsibility for the significant barriers currently in place that prevent so many new arrivals from fully succeeding in their host society. Acknowledging that integration is a process that should be as equally facilitated by the existing host society as it is actualised by new arrivals, places a restored accountability of government to combat the most pressing barrier facing new arrivals, racism, discrimination and targeted hostility. In doing so, this would allow new arrivals to enter spaces

in which they have the opportunities to achieve and succeed, thus improving their quality of life and becoming increasingly part of the 'mainstream' society. Ultimately, this model brings forth a more realistic and fairer approach to achieving the meaningful and sustained integration of new arrivals and established populations alike.

7.5 Concluding comments

In concluding this body of work, it is notable that it contributes to the existing literature surrounding racially motivated hate crime, social cohesion, integration and more broadly, the 'othering' processes that serve to marginalise, stigmatise and disadvantage. The current research is conducted and analysed through the lens of super-diversity. The diversification of diversity in many areas of the UK has left a need to develop to a post-multicultural understanding of 'everyday conviviality'; the realities of how people from vastly different backgrounds, not just in terms of ethnicity, actually live *together*. In acknowledging the highly nuanced identities of the new arrivals settled in one of the most uniquely diverse cities in the UK, this thesis is able to help develop existing methodological, theoretical and political frameworks utilised in these fields.

Through exploring both the direct and indirect experiences encountered by new migrants, asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester, a more complete and nuanced understanding of racially motivated targeted hostility has been reached. It is concluded that experiences of microaggressions and micro-crimes permeate the everyday lives of new arrivals which, in turn, leads to accumulative harm at an individual and community level. Simultaneously, new arrivals also face significant structural racism and discrimination that is underpinned by an increasingly toxic and worryingly normalised anti-immigrant sentiment. Perceptions of the 'good' and 'bad' immigrant endure which directly affects the lives of many new arrivals whose visible 'difference' and/or undesirability make them especially vulnerable to victimisation. Furthermore, despite the short-term benefits to living together in minority-concentrated areas, the fear for safety which new arrivals experience inhibits their ability to move freely within certain spaces therefore restricting their long-term opportunities for social mobility. In addition, the findings show that structurally, the lack of socio-economic, political and legal protection afforded to new arrivals also maintains their somewhat disadvantaged position, ultimately preventing their attempts to meaningfully integrate into wider society.

It is acknowledged that the socio-political landscape moving forward, especially in relation to immigration and asylum, looks bleak and fear of the 'other' appears to be critically heightened.

This thesis argues that without genuine and significant intervention as part of a joint top-down / bottom-up approach, new arrivals will continue to endure harmful experiences and sustained isolation making meaningful and sustained integration impossible. However, there is evidence that these barriers are beginning to be formally acknowledged, particularly within the most recent government strategy and this has the potential to be a hugely positive step. In drawing on its original contributions to the field, this thesis puts forward a model of integration that requires racism, discrimination and targeted hostility be tackled as a first priority. It is concluded that whilst significant damage has been done through the promotion and legitimising of visceral and permeating racist and xenophobic perspectives, conceiving of the integration process through a new lens has the potential to reduce systematic unequal opportunity, to improve new arrivals' quality of life, to contribute to the successful development of super-diverse environments and to address the perceptions of 'threat' that manifest as hostile and discriminatory behaviours.

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Appendices:

Interview Discussion themes

Part of this research project is to find participants who would be happy and willing to have a conversation with the researcher in an environment of your choice that you feel most comfortable in. The interview would probably last around 30-40 minutes and would look to explore the following central themes:

- How you feel about living in Leicester and whether you feel that there is a general sense of community in your area. How you feel living in Leicester affects your overall wellbeing, for example, do you feel happy and safe where you live.
- Whether you have encountered hostility or prejudice in any form while living in Leicester and what was the nature of that hostility. For example, have you been called names or experienced harassment or feared for your personal safety at any point.
- How have those experiences made you feel and what, if any, were the broader impacts of these experiences upon your family, friends or other members of your community.
- What steps could be taken to make you feel safer and supported in sharing your experiences.

- If you have not personally experienced any hostility or hate crime do you know anyone who has? Do you feel that your community experiences prejudice from others because of who they are?

- Do you, as an individual or as part of a community, feel affected by anti-immigrant attitudes? If so, do you feel concerned for your own or your community's happiness and safety in the future?

Participation Information Form

Project title: Lost Voices: The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals.

You are invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Who am I and what is the purpose of this study?

My name is Amy Clarke and I am a PhD student at the University of Leicester, supervised by Professor Neil Chakraborti and Dr. Stevie-Jade Hardy. This research is exploring the every-day experiences of immigrants and refugees currently living in Leicester. The main aims of the research are:

1. To explore both the direct and indirect experiences of targeted hostility encountered by 'new' migrants, asylum seekers and refugees living in Leicester.
2. To identify the emotional and behavioural impacts of experiencing targeted hostility as a new arrival and as a wider migrant community.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Your participation in the study would involve taking part in an interview that will probably last around 45 minutes depending on how much time you have available and how much information you would like to share. In the interview will be more like an informal discussion where we would discuss some of the 'themes' laid out in the 'discussion themes' form provided for you.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. You do not have to give your real name or reveal anything about yourself that you do not want to. Interviews will take place at the organisation in which we met or in a pre-arranged public place where both you and the researcher feel safe and comfortable. If you do decide to take part you will also be asked to read and sign a consent form. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time (prior to the publication of the study) and without giving a reason.

Will the information I provide be kept confidential?

All the information that is collected about you during the course of this research will be kept strictly confidential. You may be asked for some contact information if further contact is required but continued participation in the study is again completely up to you. All interview recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research. Your name and any personal contact details will not be recorded on the interview transcripts. In addition, any details which potentially could identify you will also be removed or changed. My academic supervisors (listed below) will have access to the anonymised

transcripts of your interview, but I will be the only person to have access to the original recordings of the interview, your consent form and any of your contact details.

Your participation in this study will not be discussed with other interviewees. Your name will be changed in the study and I will ensure that your involvement remains entirely confidential and anonymous.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results of the study will be used in my PhD thesis. The material will be presented at academic and professional conferences and in academic journals. Anonymity and confidentiality will still be in place in all cases. Findings from this study will contribute to raising awareness about the prejudice and hostility that immigrants and refugees experience while living in the UK and to develop a better understanding of ways to improve support services for people who have experienced this type of targeted victimisation.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The study is based at the University of Leicester. I am the only researcher involved in the study and I am not receiving any additional funding to conduct this research. I am conducting this research in order to gain my doctoral degree.

Contact for further information

Amy Clarke

Tel: [REDACTED] Mobile: [REDACTED]

Email: alc51@le.ac.uk

Academic Supervisors

Professor Neil Chakraborti

Tel: [REDACTED]

Email: nac5@le.ac.uk

Dr. Stevie-Jade Hardy

Tel: [REDACTED]

Email: sjh128@le.ac.uk

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and participating in the study.

Confirmation of Ethical Approval



Criminology and Education Research Ethics Committee

14/12/2016

Ethics Reference: 3386-ac601-criminology

TO:

Name of Researcher Applicant: Amy Clarke

Department: Criminology

Research Project Title: Exploring the experiences of targeted hostility encountered by new migrants and refugees living in Leicester.

Dear Amy Clarke,

RE: Ethics review of Research Study application

The Criminology and Education Research Ethics Committee has reviewed and discussed the above application.

1. Ethical opinion

The Committee grants ethical approval to the above research project on the basis described in the application form and supporting documentation, subject to the conditions specified below.

2. Summary of ethics review discussion

The Committee noted the following issues:

Your application is now approved. The best of luck with your research

Hillary

3. General conditions of the ethical approval

The ethics approval is subject to the following general conditions being met prior to the start of the project:

As the Principal Investigator, you are expected to deliver the research project in accordance with the University's policies and procedures, which includes the University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.

If relevant, management permission or approval (gate keeper role) must be obtained from host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

4. Reporting requirements after ethical approval

You are expected to notify the Committee about:

- Significant amendments to the project
- Serious breaches of the protocol
- Annual progress reports
- Notifying the end of the study

5. Use of application information

Details from your ethics application will be stored on the University Ethics Online System. With your permission, the Committee may wish to use parts of the application in an anonymised format for training or sharing best practice. Please let me know if you do not want the application details to be used in this manner.

Best wishes for the success of this research project.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Laura Brace

Chair