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'Unity Out of Diversity – first results'

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THE PROJECT IN A NUTSHELL

The project

Basic info

- **Unity out of diversity?
Perspectives on the
adaptations of immigrants
in Britain**
- 3-year project
 - Started in 2013
- Funded by the ESRC
 - Future Research Leaders
 - Grant number ES/K009206/1

The team

- PI: Laurence Lessard-Phillips
- RA: Silvia Galandini
- Mentors: Prof Yaojun Li, CMIST and Sociology; Dr Omar Khan, Runnymede Trust
- Advisory board: Zamila Bunglawala, Bridget Byrne, Ken Clark, Ed Fieldhouse, Anthony Heath, Rahsaan Maxwell, James Nazroo, and Shamit Sagar

Aim & research questions

- Explore and compare perspectives on the long-term settlement experiences of immigrants and their descendants (i.e. their adaptation)
- Questions
 1. Is immigrant adaptation a complex process consisting of various dimensions (socio-economic, cultural, social, spatial, etc.) and, if so, how do these dimensions influence one another (if at all)?
 2. To what extent do academic researchers, policy makers and the general public perceived and define immigrant adaptation as a multidimensional process or do they focus on specific dimensions and outcomes?

How we attempt to do this?

- Investigating the perceptions of immigrant adaptation and its dimensionality in various spheres, using a mixed methods approach
 1. Academic sphere
 - Analysis of existing data
 - Content analysis of academic papers
 2. Policy sphere
 - Content analysis of policy documents
 - Elite interviews
 3. Public sphere
 - Focus groups with members of the public in Manchester and Glasgow
 - Content analysis of newspaper articles
- Attempt to compare and contrast these

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Academic sphere

ADAPTATION IN DATA/OUTCOMES

Inspiration for presentation

- Paper entitled ‘Exploring the Dimensionality of Ethnic Minority Adaptation in Britain: An Analysis across Ethnic and Generational Lines’
 - Soon to be published in *Sociology*
- Aims of the paper
 - Explore dimensionality of adaptation outcomes
 - Focus:
 - How many dimensions do the indicators of adaptation measure?
 - If many, how to they fit together?
 - Differences between ethnic groups?

Data & variables

Data

- Ethnic Minority British Election Study (EMBES, Heath et al 2012)
 - Nationally-representative survey of main ethnic minority groups in Britain; focus on political behaviour, with items measuring other aspects
 - Conducted in 2010
 - Face-to-face and self-completion questionnaires
 - Total sample size: 2,787
 - Analytical sample size: 1,628

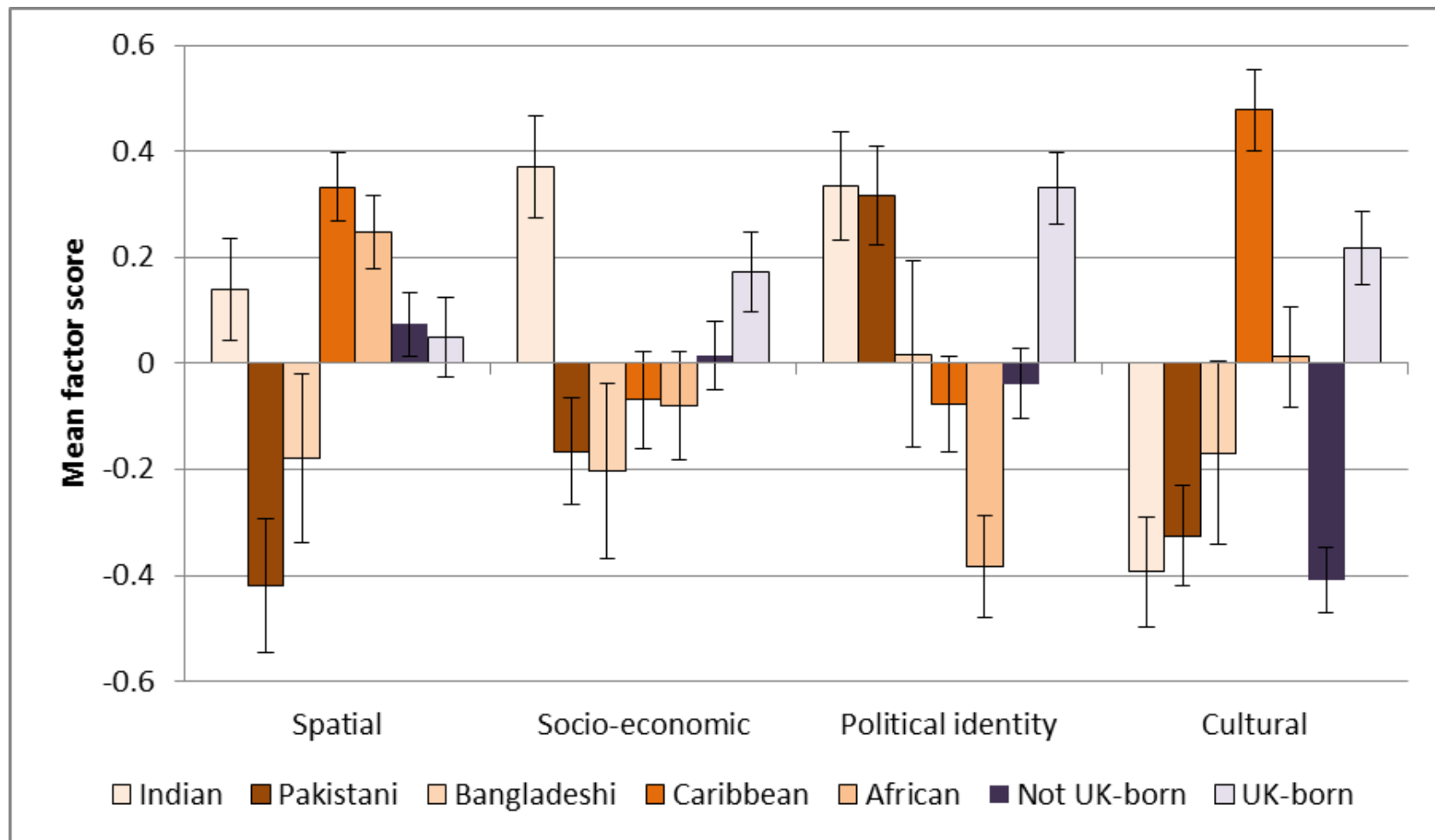
Indicators

- *Economic* (education, occupation)
- *Political* (engagement, feelings of influence, voting)
- *Spatial* (socio-economic composition, ethnic density & diversity, number of co-ethnics)
- *Cultural* (language, ethnicity of friends and spouse, ethnic identity)
- *Controls* (ethnicity, age, country of birth)

Do indicators measures one dimension of adaptation?

- Use of factor analysis to see whether we are dealing with adaptation as a uni- or multi-dimensional concept
- Analyses show that we have not 1, but 4 dimensions of adaptation:
 1. Spatial
 2. Socio-economic
 3. Political identity
 4. Cultural

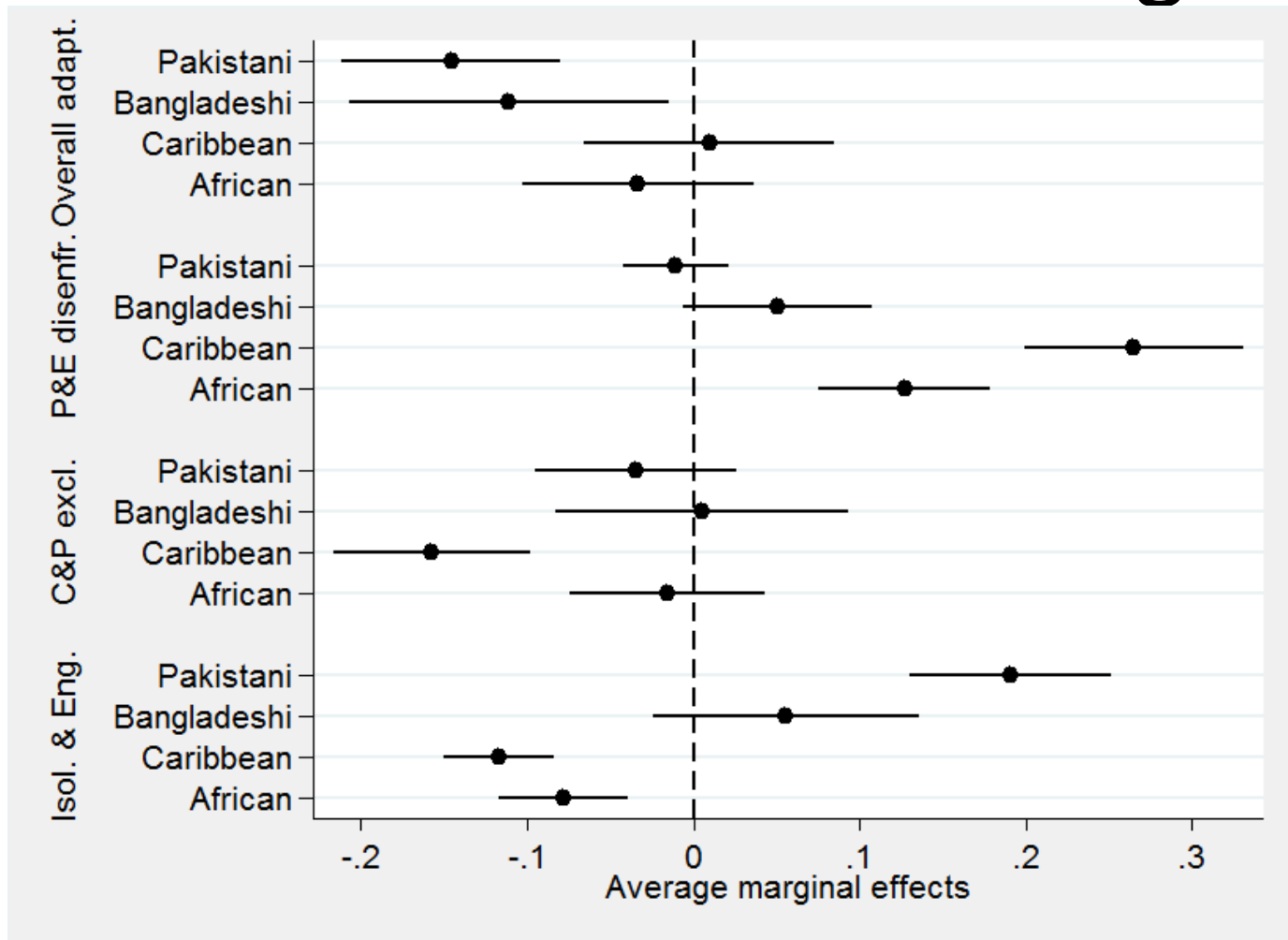
Group differences in factor scores



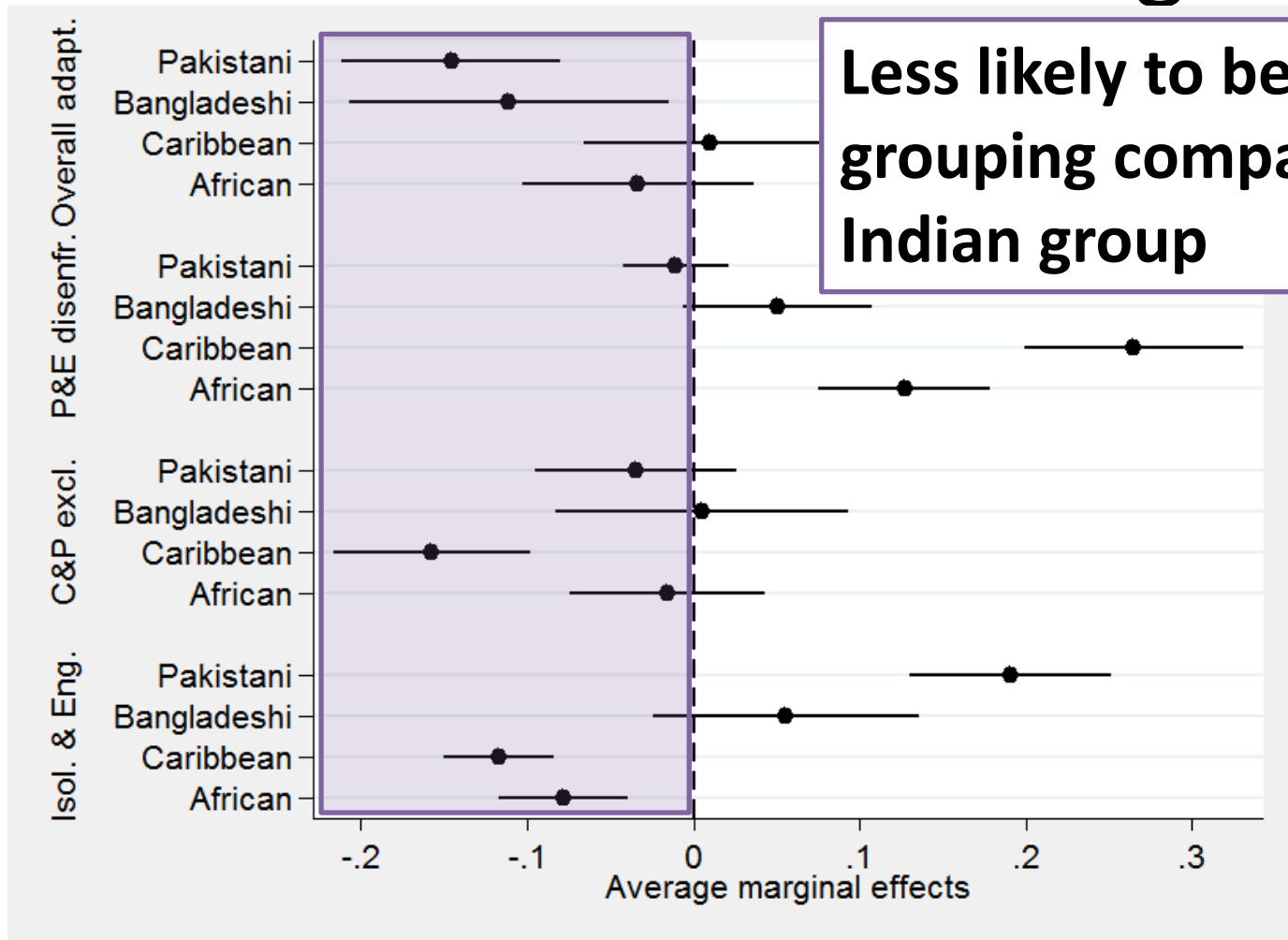
How do the dimensions fit together?

- Four groupings in the data:
 1. Cultural and political exclusion
 - High levels of spatial adaptation but low levels of cultural and political adaptation
 2. Overall adaptation
 - High levels of adaptation throughout
 - Most numerous group
 3. Economically and politically disenfranchised with cultural inclusion
 - High levels of cultural adaptation, but low levels of economic and political adaptation
 4. Isolated but politically engaged
 - Low levels of spatial adaptation but high levels of political adaptation

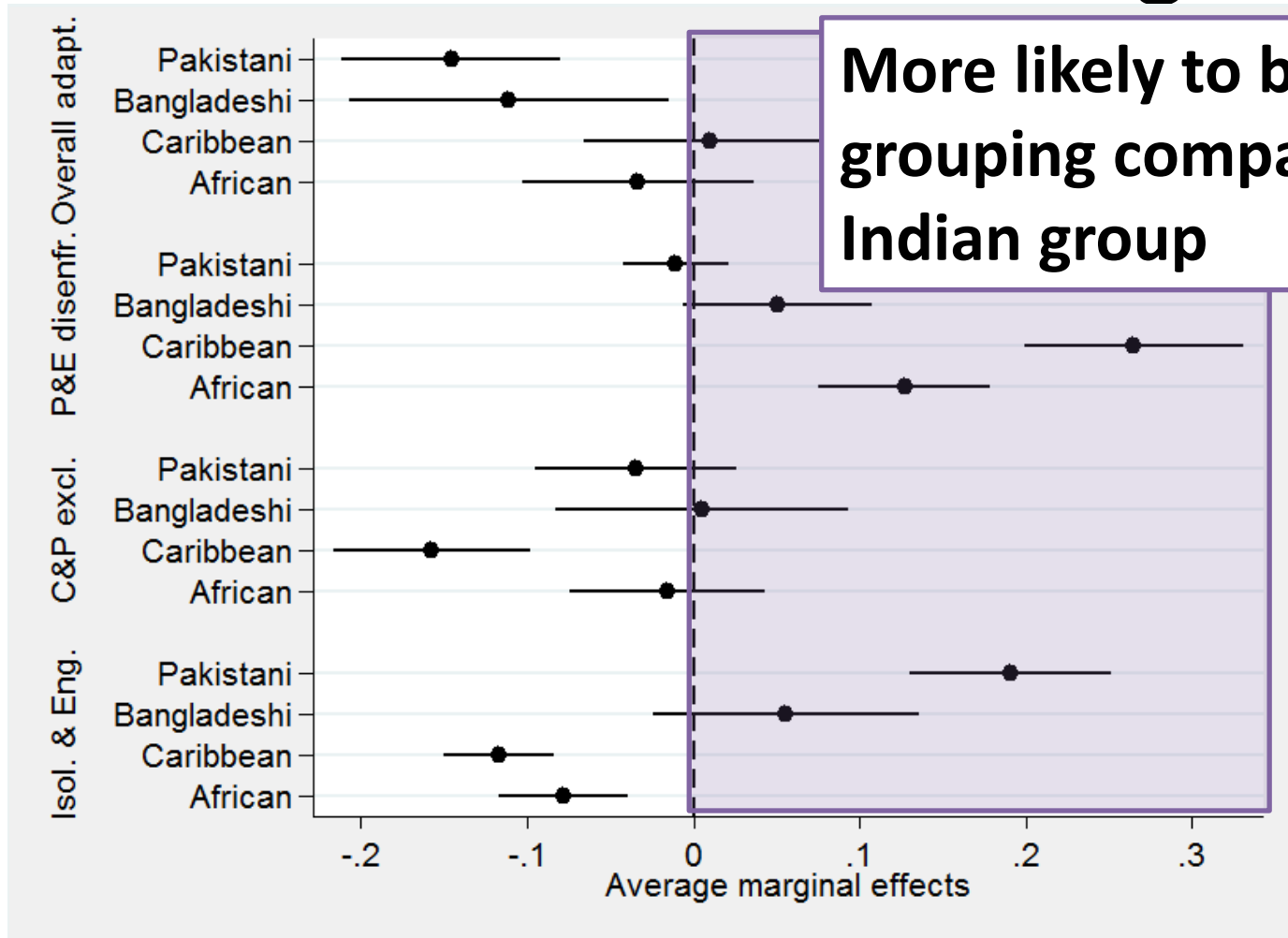
Differences between ethnic groups



Differences between ethnic groups

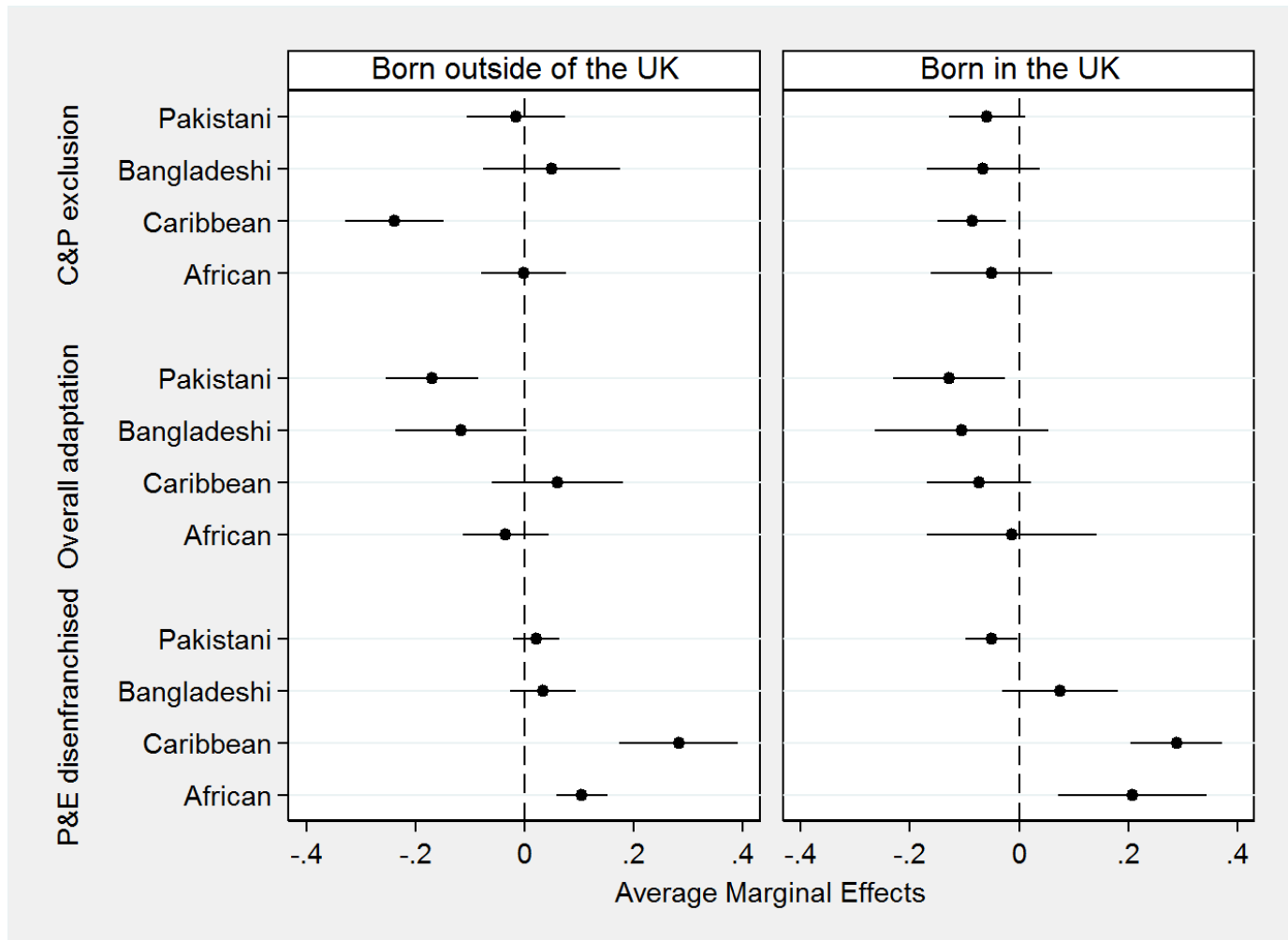


Differences between ethnic groups

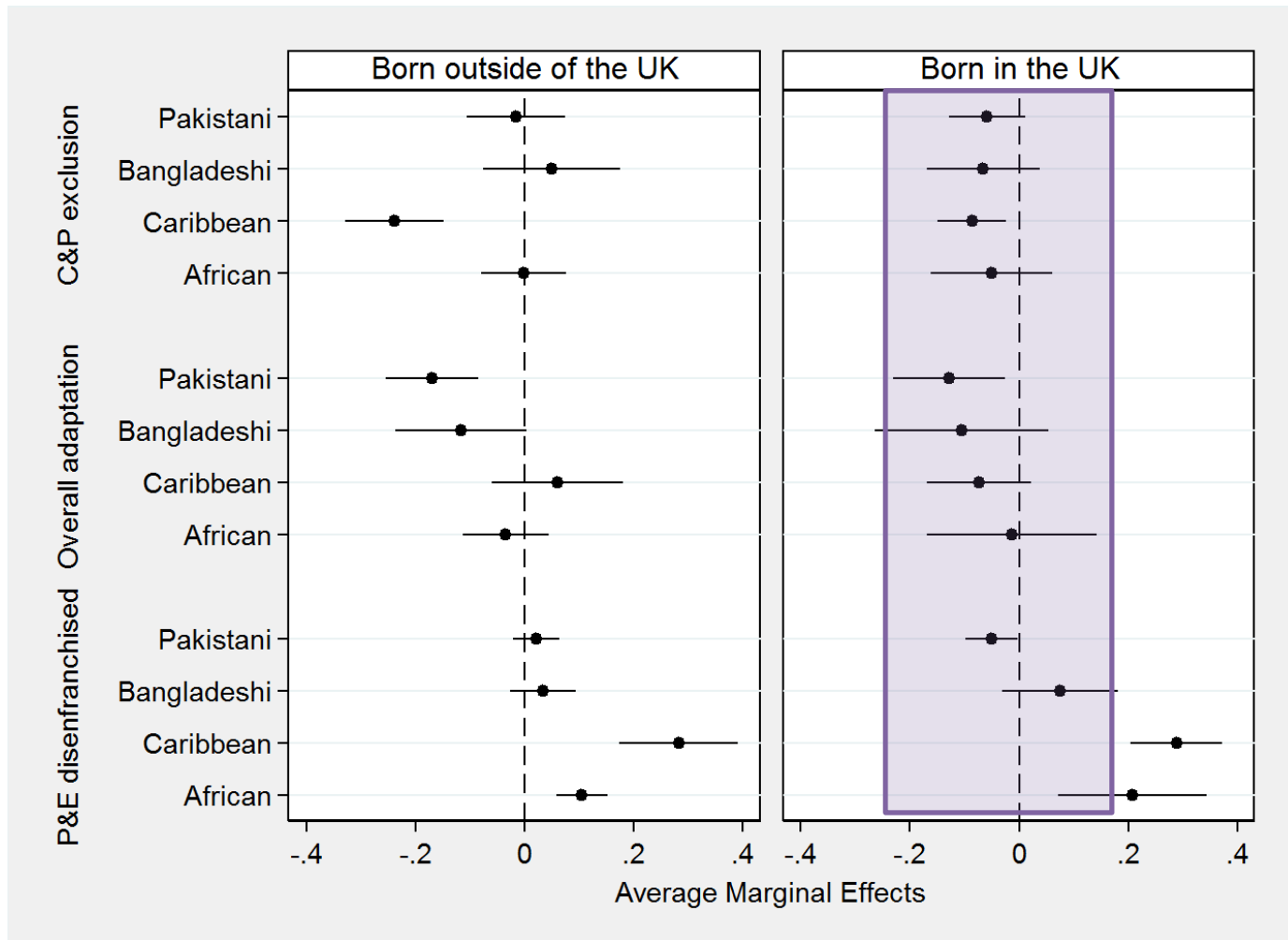


More likely to be in grouping compared to Indian group

Generational effects



Generational effects



Conclusions

- The adaptation of ethnic minorities appears to be of a multi-dimensional nature
- Yet, adaptation in some spheres is linked to (lack of) adaptation in others
 - Suggestive of groupings in adaptation process
 - Culture as trade-off
 - Importance of spatial dimension
- Group differences (ethnicity, country of birth) appear to fit existing (i.e. separate) knowledge
 - Most individuals in the 'overall adaptation grouping'
 - More required to investigate dynamics & processes
 - Especially across generations

Policy sphere

ASPECTS OF AND APPROACHES TO IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Outline of work

- Examine immigrant adaptation/integration in the policy sphere
 1. Analysis of integration outcomes defined in the 2012 Department for Communities and Local Government's "Creating the Conditions for Integration" report for set group of people
 2. Interviews with national and local policy makers and Third Sector representatives to explore dimensions of integration emerging from the data

“Creating the Conditions for Integration”

- Suggests a framework for defining integration, discusses the policy responses to facilitate this process, and presents some evidence about the state of integration in Britain
- Proposes five factors that contribute to ‘integration’, defined as “creating the conditions for everyone to play a full part in national and local life” (p.2)

The five factors

1. Common ground

- Shared aspirations and values focusing on commonalities rather than differences;

2. Responsibility

- A sense of mutual commitments and obligations, personal and social responsibility;

3. Social mobility

- The realisation of people's potential, particularly with regard to occupational and educational attainments;

4. Participation and Empowerment

- Taking part in the civic and political life of the country both at the national and local level;

5. Tackling intolerance and extremism

- Responding to intolerance, discrimination, extremist views and everything that causes social tensions.

Our analysis

Survey data

- 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey
 - Match indicators to the factors in the framework
- Assess the level of integration achieved based on the framework provided in the DCLG report
 - Explore group differences
 - Simple typology
 - Explore dimensionality

Interview data

- Interviews with local and national policy actors – 18 (government, Third Sector)
- Explore dimensions of integration
- Suggested approach to integration: focus on local/national actors
- Other reflections on integration

Survey data

Analysis of integration outcomes

- Common ground and responsibility
 - Similar levels of integration achieved, with (unsurprisingly) sense of belonging to Britain being lower among the non UK-born.
- Social mobility
 - Ethnic minority disadvantage (lower rates of employment, lower occupational status for the non-UK born and higher rates of unemployment for the UK-born). But overall level of education surpasses that of the White UK-born group.
- Participation and Empowerment
 - White UK-born group have negative expectations about fair treatment in the housing market and their perceived ability to have an impact on local and national affairs.
- Tackling intolerance and extremism
 - Ethnic minority communities are still more likely report being victim of harassment based on race, ethnicity or religion; overall rejection of extremism

Integration as one concept?

- Analyses of the data similar to that of those done in the academic sphere suggest that these indicators measure different concepts that may need assessing separately.
- Main dimensions differing slightly from framework
 - Influence
 - Shared duties
 - Extremism
 - Socio-economic
 - Discrimination

Interviews

Preliminary findings

Aspects of integration I

- Sense of belonging, being able and feeling free to contribute to, participate in communities, particularly at the local level (civic and political empowerment) [DCLG report]
 - Examples (local) of communities overcoming prejudice/barriers to join forces and mobilise about shared issues
 - Language: empowering, enabling people
- Sense of security: fighting prejudice, discrimination, racism, all forms of extremism

Aspects of integration II

- Equality: in accessing rights, mainstream services (education, health) but also opportunities (education, employment)
- Living together, mixing (social aspect)
- Tolerance, mutual respect and acceptance of diversity and newcomers
- Self-confidence (well-being): feeling able to contribute (employment, community)

Aspects of integration III

- Identity (cultural norms):
 - Feeling British/adapting to fundamental, basic shared norms/rules (remain unclear) [DCLG]
 - Being free to preserve own ethnic/religious specific values, norms (value, enable diversity)
- Local level: knowing and adapting to shared norms, understanding the system (e.g. pay council tax, wear seatbelt, rules on fly tipping, bin collection)

National & local

- What is the role of national and local authorities as well as the Third Sector in defining and addressing integration?
 - Overall agreement about national and local actors playing different roles and addressing integration in different ways and
 - Integration being the result of a multi-agency, societal effort involving different levels of governance

Local

Practical approach to tackle issues arising in local communities, e.g.:

- Managing increasing diversity; new & settled communities coming together
- Guaranteeing access to local services

National

More 'conceptual', strategic approach to integration:

- General guidelines
- Monitoring general trends, good practices (localities and across government departments)

National framework, local action

- National guidelines helpful to give guidance, address fears/anxiety of the public
- Locally, different challenges (migration flows, ethnic composition)
- Programmes to tackle specific issues should be developed locally (LAs, service providers and the Third Sector) – ‘natural’ setting for integration
- National government supporting these local actions (funds, strategic support)

Local action: Councils & Third Sector

- Crucial collaboration: community organisations as better equipped to deliver services
 - [LA perspective] easier access to communities, more effective use of scarce resources
- [TS perspective] Some suggest bottom-up approach: initiative from communities, councils providing support, empowering (resources)
 - provision of services (LA) remains essential
- Working in partnership: council, other organisations, universities, service providers

Challenges: aspects

- Defining British values (cultural integration): emphasis on cultural- or right-based integration?
- Migrants/ethnic minorities integration or more general societal inclusion?
 - Take into account attitudes, concerns of wider population (majority)
 - Link to deprivation, poverty
 - Role of racial/religious equality
- Politicised debate overlapping with negative debate on immigration: influence on public opinion

Challenges: approach

- Consequences of national policies on localities (e.g. access to benefits, public funding for ESOL classes, immigration rules, settlement of asylum seekers)
- Localism should not ease responsibilities of national government
 - Lack of financial resources is a challenge
 - Difficult to identify who is accountable/responsible when integration is managed/defined by a wider array of actors
 - Difficult to establish a benchmark, identify weaknesses but also good practices

Public opinion sphere

WHAT IS IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION?

Outline of work

Explore how 'immigrant integration' is perceived and discussed among members of the public

- Focus groups with people from various ethnic backgrounds (including 'the majority')

The focus groups

- 9 focus groups conducted with members of the public in Greater Manchester (Nov 2014 - Sept 2015)
- Discussion led by participants on:
 - First thoughts about 'integration' (brainstorming)
 - Who is a well-integrated migrant/what is a well-integrated community
 - Barriers
 - What helps
 - Who is responsible

The focus groups

- Main criteria for grouping participants (as much as possible) was their experience of migration:
 - Direct experience (1st generation) – 4 groups
 - Indirect experience (2nd and 3rd generation) – 3 groups
 - No experience ('majority') – 2 groups
- Between 3 and 12 participants (69 participants)
- Age range: 16-65+
- 37 women, 32 men

Results

Preliminary findings

What do you think about when you see the word 'integration'?

able acceptance accepting africa along always america applied colour coming
community conform countries country culture
cultures different embracing england english feel
fitting food force getting going habits happen harmony immigrants
immigration information know language learning living meeting
moving people politics race religion religions
rules same sharing should skin sort together

Aspects of integration I

- **English language** as a crucial component of integration and being well-integrated [all groups]
 - Ability to communicate, express yourself
 - Positive generational change [settled minorities, majority]
- **Embracing and Respecting** diversity (mutual respect)
- **Mixing socially** (outgroup friendship and marriage)
- **Taking part** in the community, **not feeling excluded**

Aspects of integration II

- **Identity** (cultural integration), tension between:
 - Conforming, fitting in, adapting (in some instances assimilating – not always in positive terms)
 - Maintaining own culture (part of embracing diversity)
- **Knowledge/acceptance** of local customs (e.g. celebrations, food, clothing) [migrants]
- Following the **rules** [migrants]

What are the main barriers? I

- **Not speaking English** [all groups]
 - [migrants] describe the initial difficulties with learning English (feeling shy, scared, not confident)
- **Prejudice** in local communities, fuelled by negative messages about immigrants [all groups]
- **Racism, discrimination** [more settled minorities, majority, less migrants]
 - Islamophobia often discussed
- **Lack of acceptance and understanding** of diversity

What are the main barriers? II

- Communities **living apart** (isolation) or not mixing and socialising [more settled minorities, majority]
 - religious differences as a barrier to socialisation (e.g. the pub)
- Immigrants **not ‘adapting’** [recent migrants, majority with experience of migrating abroad]
- Divisions along **‘social class’** lines : non-integration as a matter of class rather than race [young settled minorities, majority]
 - link to deprivation, poverty

What helps?

- Awareness, acceptance and experiences of **diversity**
- **Common, neutral spaces** to come together, learn about each other (differences and similarities)
 - schools, sport events, celebrations and public events
- [migrants] **Advice and support** as well as **help with learning the language** received from community organisations, friends, family, the community
- [majority] Generational **change**, length of stay of migrants

Who is responsible?

- Society, the whole community (not only migrants)
- Media (message about migrants)
- Government and local authorities
 - Message on migration, housing policies, support to English language provision, spaces to socialise
- Schools and families (educate children and parents to diversity)
- Migrants (how they 'behave', learning English, mixing, following rules) [migrants and majority]
- Religious institutions and residents' associations (providing support, spaces)

Challenges I

- Some perceive the word integration as a political construct (a ‘catchphrase’)
 - It separates people from the onset, putting them ‘into boxes’, ‘making an issue’ out of something that should be happening naturally
 - It is imposed on people from above (‘force’)
- Unclear what an alternative word could be
- Dilemma between unnecessary word integration and the actual challenges for integration (e.g. not mixing)
[settled minorities, majority]

Challenges II

- Integration (harmonious mixing of diversity) is an ideal opposed to the (less desirable) assimilation approach
 - It does not happen ‘naturally’ (several challenges: fear, prejudice, exclusion, separation)
- However, how do we reach this ideal in reality, practically?
 - Problematic
 - Lack of resources – harsh reality (‘who pays the bill’)

Challenges III

- Not clear what we need to integrate into:
 - Which shared values, norms (particularly cultural)?
 - What is the benchmark?
- Settled minorities: still being asked to integrate (although they feel they are 'integrated')
- Is integration only for migrants?
 - no, everyone should be integrated (social aspect very important: mixing)
 - it is a matter of inclusion, fight discrimination for all [settled minorities, majority]

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Economic and Social Research Council (grant number ES/K009206/1).

Questions? Comments?

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION