Walking, Talking and Sensing Community: Lived Experiences of a Multi-Ethnic Neighbourhood

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Contents

Figures and Tables

Figures

1.1 Maps showing location of Manchester and the neighbourhood of Longsight

Tables

1.1 Introducing the participants

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Abstract

In an ever more ethnically diverse UK, debates about migration, difference, place and community have become more pronounced. Urban areas in the UK have seen significant changes in patterns of immigration, while new areas of diversity have emerged in places with little prior history or experiences. However, despite current research that sheds light on the everyday experiences of increasingly profound levels of diversity, little recent attention has been given to inner-city places with longer and more evolved histories of diversity as shaped by the 'older' postcolonial migrations. This thesis seeks to contribute to this gap. Based on fieldwork in the Manchester area of Longsight, this thesis provides insights into lived experiences of place, diversity and social relations in an urban locality shaped by white British and British Asian populations. Using field notes and walking interview data, rich and spatially-bound accounts of several local residents with differing backgrounds, heritages and perspectives are explored in-depth. In doing so, this research establishes new knowledge on how community, change and diversity are experienced, accommodated and resisted in the social and physical environments of place. This research challenges overarching policy and societal discourses that increasingly problematise ethnic difference while developing and rethinking the key concept of community.

Chapter One – Introduction

In the early years of the twenty first century, the scale and extent of migration and diversity has become a key focus for academic research. The UK in particular is recognised as becoming an increasingly diverse place, with a briefing paper published in 2013 warning, in somewhat alarmist tones, that current rates of 'superdiverse' migration intertwined with the settled and established black and minority populations would reduce the 'indigenous' White British population to an ethnic minority by 2070 (Coleman, 2013).

Disturbingly, these changes have provided fertile grounds for the emergence of nationalism and anti-migrant populism across Europe and in the United States. I began this research in 2016, at a time when forced migrants were attempting in record numbers hazardous journeys across the Mediterranean and into Europe. These events were inseparable from the subsequent election of far-right, reactionary and explicitly Islamophobic parties in Poland, Hungary, and Austria (Henley, 2018). Moreover, the UK's 2016 decision to exit the European Union increasingly became a vote about, and ultimately against immigration, whilst the 2016 US presidential election of Donald Trump signalled further a global reorientation towards ethnic and national closure, following the explicit othering of Latin Americans and followed by the promise to strengthen national borders. Perhaps, in this context, Hall (1993, p. 361) was right when he said, "the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century".

The settlement of migrants and the emergence of diversity has occurred in various contexts in times past and present. However, since the middle of the twentieth century, the changes brought about by ethnic and cultural diversity within national populations has been framed as a significant challenge to the coexistence, stability and harmony of society as whole (Castles & Miller, 2013). What started initially in the UK as racialised uneasiness about immigration following the large post-war settlement of Commonwealth migrants can arguably be linked to the post-2001 anxieties about the supposed cultural withdrawal of migrant and minority ethnic populations. This in turn can be traced to the practices of counterterrorism and counter-radicalisation polices by apparatus of the state, and explicit hostile environment policies that resulted in the Windrush Scandal of 2018. However, underneath these overarching societal narratives of our time, everyday social life in places

has continued. This research in its most basic form is an attempt to cut through the noise and understand how migration and the settlement of ethnic minorities is playing out in an inner-city neighbourhood, and how difference in the neighbourhood has come to be experienced, lived and negotiated in the lives of a diverse range of local residents.

With this as a starting point, I embarked on this research seeking to explore and understand the complex ways in which diversity in neighbourhood was experienced and understand through the medium of 'community'. Throughout the history of the social sciences, community has said to have been 'lost', 'found' and 'made', and through a relentless fathoming over what community 'is', community has been constructed in these debates as a vague or slippery social concept (Frazer, 1999), arguably leading to its marginalisation and active avoidance in contemporary social science research. Community has in many ways become stuck, leading me to begin my understanding of community not with a concern over what it is, or where it might be located, but rather how it works (Ahmed & Fortier, 2003). I think of community not as something we join or affiliate with, but as existing in people's lived experiences of their neighbourhood and their understanding of the social relations of place. Filtered through particular senses of place and space, their proximity and ties with others, and narrative of identity and belonging that shaped understandings of living together, community appeared more of an encompassing term to the residents who participated in this research. This appeared to reflect its potency in everyday lexicon and its enduring appeal in popular imagination, community is inescapable. This was a point powerfully made by Wills (2017, p. 645) when she observed the "inherent sociability of human life" means "community can be understood as an ontological given".

As such, this thesis is the product of research that sought to explore residential experiences of an ethnically diverse inner-city neighbourhood in Manchester, and understand how local residents formed identifications and experienced their neighbourhood and social relations with local people in terms of 'community'. As I show in the following pages, this neighbourhood was based on old and new migrations predominantly from South Asia. It was seen as vibrant, safe, and declined, products of mixture, encounter and desire for greater bridging, shaped by juxtapositions in power and seen in contexts of time, memory and other places, and implicated in numerous networks within and beyond Longsight itself. This research seeks to contribute to community research that moves beyond nostalgia or

the quest for tightly knit and spatially compact urban networks, viewing community as central in constructions of place and everyday practices of local social relations. At the heart of this research is a counter narrative, contrasting the problematisation of ethnic diversity and essentialist depictions of social relations of diverse neighbourhoods, showing the textured, nuanced and complicated ways in which a range of local residents live and understand their places of residence, and how community was drawn upon to structure and articulate these lived experiences.

What follows is an introduction to the neighbourhood that was the focus of the research, including an overview of the rationale for carrying out the research in Longsight. I then present the research aim, contextualise this study of Longsight with a discussion of the settlement of postcolonial migrants in British urban places, before presenting the gaps in knowledge this research set out to address. I conclude this introduction with a chapter outline for this thesis.

Longsight as a research setting

An initial breakthrough in this research was the identification of the Longsight neighbourhood of Manchester as an interesting and viable research setting. Despite living five miles from the area when I began the research, prior to my fieldwork, I had never stepped foot in this area of inner-city Manchester. I then had little reason for doing so, something I attribute to a socio-economic combination of class, ethnicity, socialisation and my own personal networks that meant Longsight had very little bearing on my habitus. This undoubtedly shaped how I perceived Longsight as a research setting and how I experienced local places, spaces and interactions with residents, which, methodologically speaking, presented an idiosyncratic set of challenges and opportunities. I explore these in a reflexive discussion in Chapter Four. For now, I draw on a combination of my field notes, the small but noteworthy qualitative literature on the area, and wider census and population data to introduce Longsight and explain the decision to select it as a setting for the research.

Longsight is a small inner-city neighbourhood situated in the south of the city of Manchester. It is known locally for its supermarkets and transportation services and is located at the intersection of several busy roads that feed commuters from the more affluent, middle class southern suburbs of Greater Manchester, to the metropolitan spaces

and giant glass towers of Manchester City Centre. It has long been an arrival zone for new international migrants to Manchester, meaning the area is rich with a history of immigration. The first noteworthy phase of immigration began with the arrival of Irish migrants during the inter-war period (Cronin & Rhodes, 2010), settling within what older residents suggested was then an affluent and sought-after residential area. However, the most significant migratory phase began in the second half of the twentieth century with the arrival of people and groups from South Asia, mainly from Pakistan/Kashmir and Bangladesh, as part of a later phase of post-war Commonwealth migration to Britain. South Asian immigration has more or less continued to the present day, with the expansion of the European Union, as I explore in Chapter Five, appearing to open up opportunities for EU migrants of South Asian backgrounds to settle within and alongside a now established British Asian population. Thus, Longsight can be characterised as having a blend of 'white' and British Asian groups, with the neighbourhood outcomes of English, Irish and Asian settlement capable of being experienced and sensed in the places and spaces of the locality.

In one residential neighbourhood, I encountered a public house with Irish décor and within which Irish accents could be heard. This was less than a mile away from a popular market said to be renowned nationally by British Asians because of the variety of Asian goods sold on a near daily basis. Several mosques and churches provide local places of worship, with a relatively new mosque, in one case, opening up in a building that was originally the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist built in 1845. In addition, the high street that runs through the centre of Longsight and seemed to be centre of local social activity contained shops, restaurants and butchers, which sold a variety of South Asian clothes and cuisines. Come evening, the atmosphere changes, as these retail sites and restaurants are adorned by multi-coloured neon lights. In addition, there are several community centres dotted about the area, some acting as 'neighbourhood centres' with others set up in the Commonwealth years of migration to afford South Asian settlers collective representation and access to resources in their new country. Local place-making processes amongst the settled South Asian migrants in Longsight was clear – both physically and conceptually, a single and relatively large, bounded and concentrated Asian group had instilled an ethno-national identity on the neighbourhood through distinctive buildings and uses of public spaces. Longsight seemed to represent a transnational space where South Asian culture and identity

had transcended borders. Moreover, as in most inner-city British urban areas, Longsight also has its share of national supermarkets, fast-food bakeries and high-street betting shops.

After being encouraged by the neighbourhood milieu I encountered during my early visits to Longsight, I began to examine available data on the local population to gauge the size and scale of local ethnic and national groups, and to develop a better understanding of the area itself. At the 2011 Census, Longsight had a population of 15,429 residents (MCC, 2011). The area itself ranked highly in the Index of Multiple Deprivation (CDRC, 2020), and in the period just after fieldwork, a charity report highlighted Longsight as amongst the worst localities in Greater Manchester for child poverty, with over half (59.5%) of local children recognised as living in poverty (GMPA, 2020). In addition, population data suggested noteworthy linguistical and ethnic diversity that I had begun to initially experience on the ground. A ward profile conducted in 2010 by Manchester City Council sampled one hundred residents and found that Urdu, Benagali (Sylheti and Chatgaya), Panjabi, and English were the majority local languages, whilst Arabic, Pashto, Chinese, Somali and Kurdish were spoken too but in much smaller numbers (MCC, 2010). A review of the more comprehensive UK Census data revealed that in 2011, English as a main language applied to 50.6% of respondent households in Longsight (lowest in Manchester), and that no people in the household speaking English as a main language applied to 24.5% of households (highest in Manchester) (Bullen, 2015). In slightly crude terms, 27.1% of local residents that responded to the 2011 Census identified with white categories, while 72.9% identified with non-white categories (ibid). Alongside qualitative research that has discussed Longsight's large British Asian group (Kalra, 2009; Ullah, 2010), it became clear that Longsight contained a large and established South Asian presence that lived alongside a smaller white population in what was, collectively, a relatively deprived inner-city area.

However, uncovering this alone did not distinguish Longsight as a study setting in and of itself, since the equally accessible surrounding wards of Levenshulme and Rusholme, as well as Cheetham Hill in the north of the city, could have provided equally viable study settings for understanding lived experiences of neighbourhood and 'community' in an ethnically diverse context. What proved decisive in the decision to select Longsight as a study setting was information about Longsight's housing tenure and the suggestion that Longsight acted as an arrival zone for new migrants. The 2011 Census found that Longsight has significant

proportions of private rented housing (38.1% of total local housing) compared with owner occupation tenures (33.5%) and social rented lets (28.4%). As identified by Bullen (2015), just under a third (30%) of Census respondents in Manchester identified Longsight as their first destination from abroad in the years 2001 to 2011. However, the ward does not have the highest overall population growth in this period. This implied that as people had moved in, others had moved out, or as people had moved in; others had been displaced. The ability of international migrants to arrive and settle in the neighbourhood before quickly moving on, through apparently cheap and affordable private rented lets, implied a transience to the area and a sense that it would be experienced locally as 'changed'. In light of evidence that suggested Longsight was acting as an arrival zone, I came to the view that it would be a particularly interesting setting for conducting research seeking to explore the lived experience of a neighbourhood and 'community' at the intersections of ethnic difference and social change.

Figure 1.1 Maps showing location of Manchester and the Longsight neighbourhood.

Introducing the research aim

In the previous section I provided a description of Longsight. This description was based on my own experiences of the area and available data on the local population. I have drawn attention to a relatively deprived inner-city place, inhabited by White British and British Asian groups alongside smaller and emerging migrant populations. I have also brought to attention an interesting discrepancy in data concerning the ward not having the highest overall population growth in the last Census decade despite being the primary destination for new international migrants to Manchester. This deprived, diverse and transient setting prompted me to wonder what people's lived experiences of Longsight would be, and how people might make sense of the area in terms of community. As such, I devised the following research aim to provide a focus for this research:

- To explore lived experiences of Longsight and how residents understand the neighbourhood in terms of 'community'.

I now turn to contextualising my research on community, place and the social relations of difference within a brief overview of the literature and associated research agenda.

Contextualising the research

On June 21, 1948, 492 Caribbean migrants disembarked the *Empire Windrush* to start new lives in Britain. Ironically, *Empire Windrush* was on a return voyage from Australia where British emigrants had disembarked as new citizens of Australia (Peach, 2006). However, the arrival of Empire Windrush and the disembarking of Caribbean migrants at Tilbury Docks near London provided the most poignant image of Britain's postcolonial migrations. It represents the start of mass migrations of Commonwealth migrants to a then overwhelming white area of the world, thus symbolising the beginning of the diversification of Britain that is now largely 'commonplace' (Wessendorf, 2014).

The British Commonwealth was in theory a supranational migration system (Bakewell, 2014). The migratory movement of peoples from a range of countries was structured and permitted by institutional arrangements that in turn served to shape the networks, practices and identities of the postcolonial migrants themselves. Many of the Caribbean migrants onboard *Empire Windrush* were new to the British Isles and had never previously visited

(Wills, 2017). However, as residents of Caribbean nations under the protectorate of the British Commonwealth, their relationship with Britain was already formed on some emotional level. In *The Pleasures of Exile,* Lamming (1992), a Barbadian novelist, accounted his belief that the 'motherland' would be welcoming. But whereas Australia's 'populate or perish' scheme sought to encourage the flow of British (and by proxy 'white') people (Tavan, 2005), the 1948 British Nationality Act extended British citizenship to all people who lived in the British Empire and Commonwealth, thus granting freedom of settlement in Britain to a staggering quarter of the world's total population (Wills, 2017). From the British government's perspective, this settlement of postcolonial people was a temporary solution to Britain's severe post-war labour shortages. It was seen in economic terms, with the recruitment from the Caribbean by the National Health Service, British Rail and London Transport as permitted by the Colonial Office reflecting this (Spencer, 2002). For the pioneers of the Windrush Generation, the assumption was largely shared that their settlement was temporary and for economic purposes (Grant, 2019). However, unlike seasonal work in Florida and Cuba that had been far more manageable, the relationship between work and travel was complicated when employment meant travelling more than 4,000 miles. As such, many chose to stay.

South Asians have a longer history in Britain. There have been documented movements of monarchs, lawyers, students and servicemen extending back as far as the 1600s (Visram, 1986). However, in the post-war years, flows from the Indian subcontinent assumed a volume not previously seen. Although skilled migration continued, it was statistically surpassed by those from rural, peasant and predominantly poorer backgrounds (Peach, 2006). The movement from India and Pakistan somewhat trailed that of the Caribbean people in the 1940s and 1950s. The Indian movement peaked in the early 1970s following the expulsion of East African Asians in 1972 as an outcome of the Africanization policies. Bangladeshi movement came later still, hitting its highest point in the 1980s (Twaddle, 1990). Thus, by the time of the 1991 Census, the settled South Asian population in Britain was recorded at 1,400,000 (Peach 2006). The black population of Britain was recorded at 890,727 with 499,964 identifying with the Black-Caribbean category (ibid).

Although the overall population of urban areas in Britain fell during these post-war years, the number of households in urban areas rose (Wills, 2017). Many immigrants from the New

Commonwealth flocked to the major cities of London and the conurbations of Yorkshire, the North West and the Midlands since these were the main places to find work in the key industries and service sectors. It is remarkable how many people who migrated to Britain oriented to such few areas. The first arrival zones in Britain, the places where postcolonial mass migrations were materialising and being so concretely felt were mainly confined to large urban areas in which chain migration processes had reconstructed the island/village family structures left behind in the Caribbean or South Asia.

Massey et al. (1998) have used the term 'cumulative causation' to describe the process through which pioneering migrants make the journey, and then amass enough social, cultural and economic capitals to allow for the settlement of others in the sender groups who then subsequently follow, resulting in residential clustering of migrants of the same local and national origins. The most noticeable case of this process of chain migration was that Sylheti Bangladeshis, with nearly a quarter of the British Bangladeshi population recorded as living in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in 2001 (Dench, Gavron & Young, 2006). Sikhs meanwhile settled in the Midlands, with Pakistanis tending to cluster in Birmingham, the Pennine towns and neighbourhoods of Manchester including Longsight. People from the Caribbean tended to be focussed in particular inner-city areas of major British cities. Philpott (1973) identified quite early on patterns in which Montserratians were settling in the Finsbury Park and Hackney areas of North and East London, whereas Jamaicans had moved to the Brixton and Notting Hill areas of London. Chain migration processes played a role in the movement and settlement patterns of postcolonial people in certain residential neighbourhoods, a process that some residents suggested had continued uninterrupted in Longsight since the 1970s as I discuss in Chapter Five.

The post-war migrants were in effect moving into cities, but most new homes were being built in the suburbs and on the outer rings of urban centres in accordance with the 1946 and 1965 New Towns Acts (Millins, Murie & Leather, 2006). These slum clearance initiatives had significantly reduced the available housing stock in low-income inner-city zones, meaning council housing waiting lists around the country had grown exponentially (Harrison and Davies, 2001). For many early migrants, there was little option but to rent from private landlords in houses of multiple occupation located in low demand inner-city areas not yet marked for slum clearance. An overlapping of the restructuring of Britain's post-war housing

market with the years of large-scale immigration of postcolonial people produced a situation in which migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia were overwhelmingly concentrated in deprived inner-city neighbourhoods. The patterns of spatial segregation that were formed remain to this day. As noted at the time, the social consequences were shocking.

Evidence gathered for the Report on London Housing (Holland, 1965) provide the example of one West London neighbourhood, in which 497 migrant households were crammed into 26 dwellings. However, what was significant was that much of these dwellings were under the ownership of migrant landlords themselves – most notoriously Perec Rachman, a Polish migrant resettled after the war. The crisis of supply and demand in urban housing markets had in effect created a crisis of overcrowding and multi-occupation tenancies in the private rented sector for migrants, made worse by the generally low standard of the national housing stock itself. Whilst the experience of Sparkbrook is discussed in Chapter Two, in London, at a city scale, over a million households were sharing dwellings in 1961 with thirty one percent of these households sharing basic amenities (Wills, 2017). Because the post-war housing crisis coincided with the years of mass migration from the New Commonwealth, many newcomers in these early years were, as noted, directed to low-quality privately rented housing in the least demanded area. The cumulative effect of chain migration, British post-war housing markets and a tendency to cluster with people of similar national backgrounds had created a situation in which post-war black and Asian migrant groups became associated with deprived residential neighbourhoods, with these neighbourhoods in turn becoming associated with socially constructed racialised connotations that continue to this day. Drawing on Census data from 2001, Peach (2006) found that 55 percent of Muslim households were concentrated in the highest two wards of multiple deprivation in England and Wales. In present day, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have the worst living conditions of all ethnic minority groups in Britain (HM Government, 2019). Longsight must be seen in this context.

However, housing tenure patterns of the early migrants began to change around the time of the introduction of immigration controls in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. The 'beat the ban' rush encouraged further migrants to settle permanently and pursue the reunification of families in the UK (Layton-Henry, 1984). Whilst this in turn became the focus

of further control with the introduction of the more restrictive Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1965, and then the Immigration Act 1971, this had a dramatic effect on housing tenures through encouraging a shift away from multi-occupation in the private-rented sector to social housing (in the case of black populations) and some forms of low-quality owner occupation tenures (often for Asian groups) (Peach, 2006). However, traditional settlement sites such as Longsight have endured and remained.

But what can be called the Commonwealth era of migration comprised not just of Caribbean and South Asians but also Africans, Cypriots, Italians, Maltese, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, plus the largest migrant group, the Irish, who single-handedly arrived at a frequency of 40,000 every year throughout the 1950s (Wills, 2017). The experience of those 1950s, 1960s and 1970s arrivals – those who were to form the elders of today's ethnic minority populations – were as varied as the places they came from. Some came as Commonwealth citizens, others as economic migrants, and, in the case of the European Voluntary Workers shipped in as a key labour force for struggling industries in the 1940s, some were stateless peoples displaced by the redrawing of Eastern Europe in 1945 (Kay & Miles, 1992). However, despite the 1945 Labour government's wariness of these European refugees, with public opinion recorded as fiercely antagonistic to the European displaced in these early years (Wills, 2017), and regardless of the fact Irish people had been portrayed as pariahs in print media and society for over a century prior to the post-war migrations (Hickman, 1998; Ryan, 2007), the post-war conflation of the term 'ethnic minority' with black and Asian migrants represents the racialisation and subsequent problematisation of particular people and groups that migrated to Britain. This provides a context for a key discourse in British social policy which has blamed, targeted and suspected people and groups with ancestry links to the postwar migrations from South Asia. I turn to exploring this in detail in the following chapter.

The gaps in knowledge this research seeks to addresses

Since the advent of Windrush and the beginning of ethnic diversity in Britain, debates have played and replayed about the apparent threat immigration poses to a range of issues including individual life chances, welfare service provision and national identity itself. Moreover, in recent years opinion has coalesced around the position that immigration-related change has major impacts on settled residents in affected areas, including the

apparent threat that diversity poses to local cohesion through a diminishment of commonality, beliefs and values that can weaken senses of community.

On a basic level, this research could be taken as a study of an area shaped by immigration in and of itself. While Werbner's (1984, 1988) research into Manchester's Pakistanis examined the way of life and integration experiences of early postcolonial migrants in neighbourhoods situated close to Longsight, there appears to be very little research on experiences of Manchester's ethnically and culturally diverse neighbourhoods (for further examples of others studies that are situated in Longsight or nearby Manchester neighbourhoods, see Hudson, Phillips, Ray & Barnes, 2007; Ullah, 2010; Open Society Foundation, 2014; Lanz, Mills, Pavan, Wright & Riley, 2016). Yet for all its claims about being diverse city, detailed research on the lived experiences of migration and diversity in the neighbourhoods of Manchester is remarkably limited.

As I show in Chapter Two, a wide range of diverse areas in Britain have become the focus of recent research. Following Robinson's (2010a) call for greater place-based research to illuminate how immigration is felt and experienced locally, there is a now extensive literature documenting how experiences of migration differ considerably between localities. This is based on factors such as the profile and socioeconomic circumstances of established and newly arrived populations, the availability (or not) of employment opportunities, housing and other material resources, and the local histories and sociocultural norms associated with the accommodation (or exclusion) of diversity and difference (Neal et al., 2015; Wessendorf, 2016; Bynner, 2019). Research on the local experiences and impacts of immigration make claims about the significance of the particularities of place and thus how different places can shape different outcomes and experiences of immigration and diversity. This is not to suggest that the individual actions of settled residents and newcomers are invalid or removed. Instead, it recognises that actions and experiences are mediated by the social and physical environments of the places in which they are situated.

With this as a backdrop, it was envisaged this research would contribute to further understanding the importance of neighbourhood context in providing substance to individual ideas about immigration, diversity and community. In doing so, it was envisaged the analysis in this research would contribute to the ongoing pursuit of a deeper understanding of how immigration and diversity is experienced in neighbourhoods,

primarily by focussing on the complex processes of neighbourhood change and the influences of these processes on experiences of place and constructions of community. However, existing analysis has rarely ventured into a consideration of social and physical environments in their immediacy and within which individual experiences are rooted. Through a research approach that utilises mobile methods, it was envisaged this research would provide specific knowledge and insights into how physical places and social spaces of a diverse neighbourhood inform and underpin experiences of immigration, perceptions of difference and notions of community.

If this research therefore provides case study knowledge of Longsight, a small but diverse urban area that acted as an arrival zones for new immigrants from South Asia, the findings have value when compared with qualitative findings from other research in separate localities. I make no claims about the possibility of generalising the research findings here; however, to a certain extent, the findings on experiences of place and social relations in Longsight could be compared with the interiors and particularities of other places of urban diversity both nationally and internationally. As McFarlane (2012, p. 752) states, "when we make a claim about 'the city' or about a particular form of urbanism, the claim is explicitly – and crucially, inevitably – to some extent a comparative claim, because our claims and arguments are always set against other kinds of urban possibilities". Avoiding the potential quagmire of calling for like-for-like comparisons of places, I envisage this research to be open to further interpretation in the sense that the experiences and social life of Longsight as I perceived it could be put into conversation with research from other contexts, even if experiences contrast significantly. This chimes with calls from researchers at the intersection of migration and urban studies for a 'comparative gesture' (Robinson, 2011) in understanding the different and shared experiences of diverse urban neighbourhoods and the conditions that underpin them.

More specifically, though, this research provides insights into longstanding migrant settlement zone that runs against recent research directions. In light of the diversity of ethnicities and cultures manifesting in the spaces of many contemporary urban areas, the recent approach has been to focus on extraordinary or ordinary places of diversity. This has been motivated by policy developments I outline in Chapter Two, in which I examine the findings of recent public inquires that invoked the crisis-segregation discourse of 'parallel

lives' (CCRT, 2001) when in fact Census data showed the opposite was happening. Implicit here was the idea of cultural standoffs between ethnic groups being an extreme example of wider crisis about diversity and 'difference' although instances of urban problems in 2001, as I show, were clearly non-generalisable. Although facing significant academic criticism, policy discourses that portray ethnically diverse places in simplistic terms have been challenged significantly by the collective counter-narrative of qualitative findings from a range of diverse localities.

However, my research seeks to engage with Britain's policy discourses on ethnic minorities in a more direct way. The focus here is on British Asians and place-based relations in relatively deprived white/Asian inner-city area, on which integration and cohesion discourses are fixated. The residential experiences and biographies I unravel later in this thesis, and the study of these accounts in the particular spatial and material contexts of Longsight, show the textured experiences of living in such an area. A theme I introduce and discuss in detail in the next chapter is how urban ethnic diversity has been imagined in anxious terms and portrayed as segregated and containing 'problematic populations'. This deeply exclusionary discourse makes it necessary to make a detailed qualitative contribution to diverse neighbourhoods and local social relations are actually lived and experienced.

In addition, community has high currency in contemporary social policy and politics, as demonstrated by the relatively recent evoking of community in the context of neighbourhood and locality as solution to social ills. Turning to communities can be interpreted as conservative politics in some respect – a retreat from the national problems in favour of the moral duty that community provides. However, community has been invoked from various ideological perspectives in recent times, especially in solutions that provide local social capital and local institutions in justification for the retraction of the state. This was evident in New Labour community cohesion politics, the integration agenda it inspired, and the focus on contact, bonding and bridging at neighbourhood levels that remains ingrained in public service delivery. It may be true similarly in the neoliberal calls for stronger communities of place in other policy areas (Kerr, Byrne, Foster, 2011; Hodkinson & Robbins 2011). Hence, whilst researchers have long recognised the wide-ranging meanings of community, policy solutions maintain a fixation on idyllic visions of community, including social cohesion through bridge building, without fully understanding how residents

approach, live and understand community. If therefore politicians and policymakers seek to communicate with communities, then they need something to communicate with. Even if local residence and shared proximity are much less of a medium community for some people today, local community remained as a prevalent discourse and aspiration among the residents I met in Longsight. As such, through dissecting the connection between neighbourhood, sociality and community, this research makes a contribution to relatively recent academic efforts aimed at informing progressive community policy interventions in areas of migration and diversity (Flint & Robinson, 2008). As I develop in Chapter Three, this research also makes the case for rethinking community as a frame for approaching the lived experiences and networks of neighbourhood (Wills, 2016; Blokland, 2017).

Structure of the thesis: chapter outline

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One has introduced the topic and research aim, summarised the background to the research and introduced Longsight. In the opening section I also introduced the conceptual take on community developed in this research and have indicated the association of my perspective on community with neighbourhood. I have also accounted the research agenda on place, community, locality and cultural and ethnic difference in the UK since the 1960s, highlighting its symbiotic relationship with the overarching social narratives of race and belonging in Britain, and explaining how these currents and directions have shaped and influenced my own research.

Chapters 2 presents a wide-ranging review of the symbiotic relationship between policy and research concerned with immigration related diversity in Britain. I begin with a review of classic literature related to this research, highlighting the relevant aspects of these literatures to my study of Longsight. Surveying the literature steadily until 2001, I then explain the significance of urban disturbances between white and Asian groups in 2001, showing how notions of segregation that were fashioned to produce a particular policy discourse, and as relevant to this research, how policy approaches focussed with community cohesion formulated instigated a return place, locality and sociality as research terrains. The point here is to dissect the policy discourses and approaches on places such as Longsight that act as residential places for British Asians. I do this to discuss what semblance this has with experiences on the ground in Longsight. In addition, I discuss how the 'crisis-segregation' discourse has been undermined by recent research on the new geographies

and spatial arrangements of both superdiverse and ordinary forms of diversity. However, I make the case for tackling this discourse in more immediate and head-on ways through research in a neighbourhood with a longer and more evolved history of migration and diversity.

Chapter Three makes the argument for rethinking community as a concept and analytical tool for researching experiences of place and relations in diverse neighbourhoods. The basic premise is that community, despite significant academic criticism, remains a salient concept to the residents, as both an aspiration and a discursive frame for narrating and making sense of place, identity and local relations. As such, I explore the debates on the community, addressing key concerns, including a consideration of the alternative of conviviality (Gilroy, 2004, 2006). In this chapter I arrive at a clear of definition of community as based on 'neighbourhood as a space' (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001) and 'imagined' dimensions (Anderson, 1991) that inspired the development of a walking interview method and frames in the analysis that makes up the latter half of the thesis.

Chapter Four presents the methodology and methods. I identify my epistemological position on truth and 'knowing' and outline the methodological tradition my approach to the study of Longsight is inspired by. I critically reflect on the set of qualitative methods I have used. I move through this discussing how my choice of methods and the actualities of carrying out the research impacted on the type of people I interviewed, and the shape and nature of the findings. Additionally, I provide an overview of the walking interview I have developed, discussing similarly the type of qualitative data it encouraged and produced. I also reflect on my relationship with Longsight and the participants, and the challenge of writing about 'groups' in my findings chapters.

Chapter Five is the first of three findings chapters. As a way of introducing the voices, outlooks and attitudes of the local residents that participated in this research, I examine identifications and articulations of belonging to place and community, interpreting these notions in a context of Longsight as a place characterised as an enduring 'arrival zone' for migrants of South Asian origins. I explore the experience of place from the perspective of participants with different lengths of residences, highlighting the nuances and complexities to their unsettled notions of belonging, and how neighbourhood, nation and other places shaped notions of personal and group identity.

Chapter Six focuses on place and the notion of making and losing place. First, I take a walk through Longsight spaces and places, examining the participants' views and experiences of local retail and cultural facilities from the perspectives of the participants who identified strongly with the South Asia region and associated cultures. I contextualise experiences of Asian retail and cultural facilities with a discussion of migrant place-making, noting that whilst some had 'made' places and spaces associated with the experience of community, others appeared to have 'lost' them. Although falling short of open hostilities, negotiations and conflicts over place and meanings of community were particularly marked around local community centres, which were a focus of ethnic and community-based concerns for longer standing residents about whether they were only accessible to particular religion and ethnic groups that lived locally. Importantly, however, losing place and the subsequent feeing of that community was 'lost' was not tied exclusively to Asian place-making. I situate the discussion of losing place within a wider context of local regeneration and the perceived failure of local regeneration schemes and indifference of 'culpable' public authorities.

Chapter Seven focuses on understandings of networks and local social relations, exploring and examining individual and group social capitals. I attempt to situate notions of strong bonds between the Asian community within a context of residential clustering and awareness of the hardships brought about by the material deprivation of place. Similarly, I look at the challenges of ageing in place as experienced by older white participants. I examine the loss of social contacts through the processes of time and moving through stages of the life course, whilst exploring the challenge involved with making new social contacts and maintaining social capital in older age in a diverse and changed neighbourhood, interpreting this experience as underpinning the particularly bleak outlooks of particular participants. Importantly, despite the participants' perceptions that mixing across ethnic and cultural lines of difference was ultimately challenging in Longsight, I identify, and examine, a desire for greater local forms of bridge-building across ground divides focussed on tackling shared neighbourhood issues and concerns.

Finally, in Chapter Eight I draw this thesis to a conclusion. I reflect on the chapters and summarise the main contributions to knowledge this research has made. I make clear how my findings answer the research questions and make the argument about time being an

important and perhaps overlooked dynamic through neighbourhoods of immigration are
experienced.

Chapter Two – Policy Discourses and Research Approaches

Immigration-related diversity has been a key focus of policy and research in Britain since the advent of Windrush. It is often presented around a discourse of ethnic, cultural and racial difference, with research focussed on relations and experiences in the spatial settings of neighbourhoods and place. Thus, building on the discussion in Chapter One, this chapter contextualises this study further with key policy and research. The aim here is to provide a wide-ranging narrative of the symbiotic relationship between policy and research on migration, ethnicity and place, pointing out the relevance of particular studies and debates to my own research, and arriving at clear explanation of how my study of Longsight sought to challenge the 'crisis-segregation' (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane & Mohan, 2017) framing of the cohesion and integration policy agendas, whilst departing from recent research approaches and directions.

The chapter begins with a review of the early studies on the relations between members of the national population and postcolonial migrants, discussing in detail the impact and legacy of standpoint scholarships of Rex and Moore (1967) and Henderson and Karn (1987). With its emphasis on housing markets, this research did not directly shape the research questions in this study. However, I find it useful, especially in the case of Rex and Moore (1967), to draw on these works, since they offer explanation for the residential clustering of Asian groups in Longsight, a perceived 'issue' and experience of that dominated the views of residents as I discuss later in thesis. This chapter therefore reviews these works chronologically. It builds steadily to 2001, when the urban disturbances in neighbourhoods of Pennine towns and cities that shifted the focus to cohesion and integration are addressed in detail. I consider these events important in the context of this research because it represented a return in policy and research to place, neighbourhood, sociality and 'community' as conceptual terrains on which ethnicity and social relations were to be researched, whilst presenting a particularly anxious policy discourse on the lived experiences of neighbourhoods with White British and British Asian groups that my research ultimately challenges.

The relevance of Rex and Moore

Rex and Moore's classic study *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (1967) may partly explain some of the factors shaping and structuring the emergence of an Asian group in Longsight. Rex and Moore were in effect the first to explore the settlement of migrant flows in contexts of neighbourhood in a deprived British inner-city area. The research documented how immigration had intensified competition for good quality housing at the neighbourhood level, the subsequent social inequalities that arose, the racialised impact this had on residential sentiments of a place-based community, and how this stimulated changes to the neighbourhood population and shaped broader patterns of spatial segregation at the city scale. The influence of Rex and Moore's empirical contribution to housing studies was evident in the years that followed, with subsequent research, as I discuss in the next section, doing much to shed light on how racial inequalities in housing markets and social housing allocation had created entrenched forms of exclusion for ethnic minorities that persist to this day (Hall, McIntosh, Neitzer, Pottinger, Kalwinder, Stephenson, Reed & Taylor, 2017). However, the influence of Rex and Moore's in-depth study of Sparkbrook on this research stems from the conceptual contribution it made, most noticeably its findings on how a changing neighbourhood was experienced as a set of community tensions and alliances, how residents negotiated identities in contexts of diversity and difference, and how the overarching political narratives of immigration and race shaped the lived experiences of residents in one of Britain's first inner-city, multi-racial arrival zones.

The research adopted a mixed methods approach to explore and understand the neighbourhood of Sparkbrook, Birmingham, identified as a 'zone of transition', during a period when the backlash against the postcolonial immigrations had reached a fever pitch following the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962). The Act sought to control, for the first time, black and Asian migratory flows from former colonies through introducing a limited pool of labour vouchers that were necessary for immigration. The racist sentiments at the heart of this Act were laid bare by the decision to control immigration from South Asia, Africa and Caribbean using labour vouchers, whilst, at the same time, leaving unrestricted white immigration from Ireland and Commonwealth nations of Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. The Act effectively marked a clear

break from an initial post-war migration regime that had sought to encourage migration from the former colonies regardless of race through notions of a shared Commonwealth citizenship brought into effect with the British Nationality Act (1948). Despite being published in 1967, Rex and Moore's (ibid) research itself took place throughout 1965, effectively in the middle of a turbulent time of highly racialised sentiments that had seen disturbances in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958, the passing of a Race Relations Act of 1968 that outlawed racial discrimination in British public life, and the activism and rhetoric of white supremacists, most infamously the Rivers of Blood speech by Wolverhampton MP Enoch Powell in 1968. The research in this context can be interpreted as documenting the everyday life in an urban neighbourhood at the centre of these forces that shaped 1960s Britain.

The research was built on an initial survey of the population of Sparkbrook, with the book taking a thematic approach to examining the various facets to local neighbourhood life. This included looking at the origins of the main ethnic groups, the role of religion, local politics and community associations, and the lived experiences of Sparkbrook's children. The authors structured their ideas in relation to the local housing market, dividing Sparkbrook into three zones based on housing tenure to present an argument that local social and ethnic groups were at tension in the area because of limited access to the resource of good quality housing. The research therefore contained a considerable amount of social theory, noticeably the adoption of Park's (1950) 'race relations cycle'. This theory was one of the ways in which neighbourhoods were theorised as changing, in this case when new social groups settle in urban environments where there are limited resources and histories of newcomers. It is through conflict that place was theorised as changing, as people move out of localities, in the form of 'white flight', succumbing to the changes to place driven by those who had moved in. Rex and Moore applied this theory to the situation of Sparkbrook as they interpreted it, arguing that because migrants were effectively at the 'back of the queue' for social housing and housing benefit, this placed them in the least desirable neighbourhoods and accommodations of the city: Sparkbrook's lodging houses that were in the 'twilight zones' of Birmingham, that were neither the affluent suburbs in the peripheries of the city, nor inner-city areas that were then priority for demolition as part of the slum clearance policies. Many of the lodging houses had previously been grand Victorian villas

about which several of the study's older participants recounted in narratives as once occupied by Birmingham's once mighty industrialists. By 1965, however, these villas had been bought by unregulated landlords and converted into multiple occupation lets. The cheapness and no-questions-asked nature made them easily accessible to newcomers to the city but reflected equally the sub-standard quality of the dwellings. Rex and Moore (ibid) recorded how for many of the postcolonial migrants, under pressure to send wages home, this standard of private rented housing was something that had to be endured. Rex and Moore (ibid) argued that the run-down and slum like appearance of the Sparkbrook neighbourhood came to be perceived by outsiders as symbolic of the perceived degenerative changes of immigration on 1960s British society.

Despite my research not focussing on housing and tenure structures, it is necessary when discussing Rex and Moore (ibid) to highlight their now famous concept of 'housing classes'. This was developed to provide an original explanation for conflict in the Sparkbrook community that manifested as racial tensions between settled and new migrant groups. Adopting the Marxian doctrine that all tension in society are the result of a class struggle over the means of economic production, the authors argued that fraught racial relations between residents in Sparkbrook was the outcome of the local 'housing classes' struggling over access and management of scarce housing resources, the experience of which fractured the residents' sense of community itself. This finding foreshadowed the now broadly accepted consensus that migrants settling in areas with scant social and material resources often leads to divisions and tension that manifest as ethnic and cultural difference (Dench et al., 2006; Hudson et al., 2007; Mai, Hickman & Crawley, 2012). With limited means to afford decent housing, Rex and Moore (1967) posited that black and Asian migrants were destined to be segregated into different housing tenures, a process that continues to shape differential life outcomes for Britain's ethnic groups. Newcomers at the bottom would invariably live in the lodging houses and inner-city twilight zones of Sparkbrook, whilst through incremental political and social advances, the English working-class had moved into secure social housing tenancies in new build estates, or better still, leafy middle-class suburbs on the outer rings of Birmingham itself. It is important to note the role discrimination played in shaping the different housing consumption practices of migrants and white working classes in Sparkbrook. Despite occupying similar socio-

economic positions, Rex and Moore asserted that because immigrants failed to obtain mortgages and lacked the necessary eligibility for council housing applications, they had no choice but to rent in the least-desirable lodging housing as tenants. This was not the case for the white working classes who met the necessary qualifications for council housing application. Unlike arriving migrants, the white working classes had evidence of five years residency in the locality and benefited from a points-based application system that recognised their services during the war (Banton, 2015). Whilst Moore (2015) later acknowledged that suburban housing aspirations amongst migrant groups in Sparkbrook were patchy, structural factors ultimately restrained any ambitions amongst migrants and minorities in Sparkbrook for a suburban home on the outer rings of Birmingham. Although this finding could not have predicted the decades of chain migration that would follow and more recent research that sheds light on the perceived benefits and positive attributes of inner-city residential clustering for ethnic minority groups (Phillips, Davies & Ratcliffe, 2007), the structures of British housing markets in the 1960s offer some explanation for the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation across the city, and why it is that suburban areas on the peripheries of British cities remain overwhelmingly white whilst large parts of inner-city areas endure as predominant places of residence for ethnic minority populations.

Despite some weaknesses, primarily the simplistic functionalist premise to the housing classes theory, as well as an assumption not derived from the data, that all of Sparkbrook's households desired to move away from the area (Saunders, 1984), Rex and Moore's study has equipped researchers with an understanding of how varied housing market positions occupied by different ethnic groups shape the exclusion and deprivation of ethnic minorities that persist to this day. Situated historically, the research is something of an exemplar in a contemporaneous body of work that documented the desperate housing plight of Britain's post-war migrants (see for example, Holland, 1965; Burney, 1967; Daniels, 1968). It was not until Rex and Moore (1967) that concepts of control, power, exclusion and 'community' were included in thinking about the social relations of racialised migrants and host populations in places around Britain. The prior approach in research appears to have been less informed, with Patterson's (1963) *The Dark Strangers,* for example, appearing to feed into the political narrative of 1960s Britain that immigration was a 'problem', in their case,

attributed to the unsettling presence of Caribbean migrants in white neighbourhood spaces of South London.

Taking a broader view, the studies that explored the settlement of migrants in Britain in the early years did so with place and neighbourhood as the terrain on which the social relations between newcomers and settled groups were examined (for examples, see Little, 1947; Richmond, 1954; Banton, 1955). However, the emphasis Rex and Moore placed on housing markets and the systematic racist exclusion institutional structures inspired a structure-agency focus that characterised the immediate years following Rex and Moore. However, Rex and Moore's (1967, p. 20) passing comment that discrimination of migrants in social and private housing markets "compelled coloured people [sic] to live in certain typical conditions, and of which itself exacerbated racial ill-feeling" reads in hindsight as warning of the urban disturbances of summer 2001 in northern Pennine town and inner-city neighbourhoods. Before examining the furore of the events and how it shifted policy and research back to a focus on neighbourhood and place, I turn briefly to examining the direction in research in the period following Rex and Moore.

Constraint versus choice: awareness of race and exclusion in British society

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, research aiming to understand the impact of immigration on British society was situated at much higher spatial scale. Focussed on questions of national identity and seeking to highlight racial exclusion in the form of systematic discrimination, research during this period uncovered the constraint faced by ethnic minorities in housing, constraints which shaped the patterns and concentrations of ethnic minority groups in deprived residential areas that remain so concretely noticeable. Constraint, in this sense, relates to the notion that migrants as ethnic minorities were stripped of agency through a systematic denial of opportunities and rights, thus preventing their ability to act as rational agents in a market situation when seeking access to decent housing in sought-after neighbourhoods. The origins of the structural constraint thesis can be traced to widespread and open hostility to post-war migration in British society in which explicit othering was apparent. However, thinking about constraint arguably has its origins in Rex and Moore's (1967) work addressed in the last section.

However, empirical support for this notion that migrants were constrained by institutional structures that dictated housing outcomes and ultimately shaped the emergence of ethnic minority places found much support initially outside of academia, in a series of housing discrimination enquiries instigated by the Commission for Racial Equality during the 1970s and 1980s. Phillips (2014) has drawn attention to the 1984 investigation into the London Borough of Hackney (CRE, 1984), which found the discretion granted to then mainly white housing staff in the allocation of social housing properties had the detrimental effect of directing black households to the poorest quality properties in the least desired areas. Hewitt (1996) argued the work of the CRE commissions were instrumental to monitoring being subsequently introduced in the allocation of social housing in Hackney, and it seems significant that at around the same time as the publication of the CRE report (1984), many local authorities dropped their 'sons and daughters' policies which had enabled families of original tenants to inherit the tenancies of their deceased parents, thus disproportionately impacting the availability of lets for newer ethnic minority applicants of migrant backgrounds.

The CRE housing enquiries subsequently inspired academic research that provided a wealth of evidence on the myriad ways in which institutional processes were leading to discrimination in Britain's social and private housing markets (for examples, see Sarre, Phillips & Skellington 1989; Bowes, McCluskey & Sim 1990; Phillips, 1998). Henderson and Karn's *Race, Class and Social Housing: Inequality in the Allocation of Public Housing* (1987) was perhaps the most significant of these standpoint scholarships. Taking a mixed methods approach, the study combined data from surveys of social housing applicants and existing tenants with ethnographic insights on the workings of Birmingham's housing authority's offices. The research found that judgements of 'respectability' were central to Birmingham's social housing allocation processes, despite claims that housing allocation was made officially on 'housing need'. Through being absorbed in the city's housing offices, the authors argued that racialised perceptions of postcolonial migrant groups that had been rife in the 1950s and 1960s had become endowed with official and semi-official statuses. Henderson and Karn (ibid) argued that broad racial disadvantages had thus become entrenched in social housing allocation rules throughout the 1980s, producing differential outcomes for different ethnic groups. For example, notions of 'respectability' in judgements

about housing need were found to be excluding cohabiting couples (disproportionately effecting Caribbean migrants), whilst rules that made it harder for owner-occupiers to apply for social housing were found to disproportionately impact South Asian applicants, typically in low-quality owner occupation properties. Moreover, like the 1984 CRE report, Henderson and Karn (ibid) noted that because of the considerable discretion afforded to council housing officers in the allocation of properties, black and ethnic minority households were being allocated the worst quality social housing lets often in the run down and least demanded areas, contributing to ethnic clustering in specific residential areas.

In concluding with recommendations for equal opportunities measures, staff equality training, national ethnic monitoring of social housing allocation, and for a government housing policy focussed on the supply of more socially rented lets, Henderson and Karn (1987) in the final years of the twentieth century contributed to the awareness nationally that racism and exclusion were more than ever a part of British society. The official acknowledgement of 'institutional racism' in Britain in Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson, 1999, p. 5) reflected acknowledgement that ethnic minority groups can still be indirectly disadvantaged by rules and regulations, even if formal policy in the era of Race Relations Acts was aimed otherwise. Housing constraint and the structural processes of exclusion now consequently occupy much less priority in the current research agenda since enhanced legal and statutory duties now ensure securer housing pathways for ethnic minorities. Whilst a modern-day decline in social housing stock coupled with issues of affordability bring caution to any statement that minority ethnic households have greater choice in deciding where to live, there are comparatively more available housing options for minority households in the legal sense, compared with the situation experienced by the early postcolonial migrants some decades earlier. Consequently, institutional structures and racialised processes at the heart of market and state housing provision are now afforded much less attention in research, although it has continued to resonate with some studies concerning the housing pathways of new migrants and asylum seekers (Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007; Netto, 2011), and it seemed to be central the migrant participants' feelings of discrimination as I explore in Chapter Five.

In actuality, research attention has returned to the spatial contexts of neighbourhoods and localities, following a series of high-profile events in a number of northern English towns

and cities that saws clashes between Asian and white groups living in deprived ethnic clusters. The return of place can be attributed to the emergence and solidification of a dominant political, policy and media discourse fixated on residential segregation, community tensions and apparent failures of migrant and minority ethnic groups, particularly British Asians, of integrating and instead implied as choosing to live 'parallel lives'. It is here, then, I return to Rex and Moore's warning that discrimination against ethnic minorities would "exacerbate[ed] racial ill-feelings" in ethnically diverse and materially deprived areas (Rex and Moore 1967, p. 20). I turn now to outlining events that contextualise the return of place-based research, breaking down the policy narratives and research responses, and locating my own research within this development.

The furore of summer 2001: 'parallel lives', segregation and the return of place

In 2001, Britain saw a summer of rioting in the neighbourhoods of northern towns and cities that involved white and Asian groups: in Oldham, Leeds and Burnley in May and June, and most seriously in Bradford, where up 500 people were involved in a 'race riot' throughout a weekend in early July. As Kalra (2002, p. 25) noted at the time, "all the young people in those towns who were engaged in violence were certainly educated if not born in Britain". The events ultimately signified the beginning of a shift in discourse away from state-sponsored multiculturalism and more enlightened thinking of the final years of the twentieth century, towards anxiety and fear about ethnic segregation and the apparent crisis of cohesion.

The injured in Bradford included 326 heavily armoured police officers and 14 members of the public, with some estimations of damage to business and residential properties ranging up to ten million pounds (Farrar, 2002; Webster, 2003; Hussain & Bagguley, 2005). Academic explanations emphasised a nuanced combination of structural and local factors. Amin's (2002) early intervention led the trend in academic discussion of placing most attention on neighbourhood deprivation, structural poverty and the demands of a new generation of British Asians racially and socially excluded from mainstream British society. Others, including Kalra (2002, 2003), argued that rioting was an outcome of tensions stemming from racist political activism and police activity in the areas (see also, Ray & Smith, 2002). A central feature to the months prior to the disturbances had been claims in local and national media about a series of racially motivated attacks on white residents in

the area by British Asian youth. This had led to increased activity by the far-right British National Party in Oldham and Burnley prior to the disturbances as part of the run up to 2001 local and general elections (Hussain & Bagguley, 2005).

In the aftermath of the riots, arguably the most serious in Britain since the 'race riots' of 1985 in areas of London, Manchester and Liverpool, and Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1955, Phillips (2006) observed that the initial reaction of authorities and the media was largely muted. The media portrayal of the events as involving 'other' groups in small northern town and cities tied neatly with attempts by politicians and the police to downplay the events as a way to contain and marginalise them. The government commissioned an independent inquiry into the disturbances in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley to run alongside the local inquires. The official national inquiry chaired by Ted Cantle (Cantle, 2001) was comprehensive in its approach, encompassed discussion of localities beyond those directly affected by rioting with the discussion stressing the cultural and ethnic diversity to the British Asian group. The main recommendations of the report centred on themes of citizenship and the need to reassert national belonging above and over ethnic identity within a policy framework of 'community cohesion'. In contrast to academic debates, however, the report lacked any significant structural critiques or wider explanations for the disturbances, perhaps seeking to inform the 'what works' approach then at the centre of policy making, through providing an evidence based policy narrative that largely obfuscated complex societal factors and presented simplified conceptualisations of 'community cohesion' and multiculturalism. Although, as I discuss below, the concept of community cohesion was the flagship recommendation of the Cantle Report (2001), a smaller and more vivid term seems to have captured attention and stimulated debate. In the early pages of lengthy report (Cantle, 2001), the authors made clear their assertion that the causes of rioting in these locales had developed from the 'parallel lives' which White British and British Asian groups were portrayed as living:

> *"Many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges'' (Cantle, 2001, p. 9)*

The 'parallel lives' diagnosis of the urban disturbances of 2001 was clearly intended to sound alarm. Despite partial criticism of the attitudes and outlooks of white groups in the

neighbourhoods that witnessed rioting in the Cantle Report (2001), the parallel lives term seemed to be overwhelmingly directed at the distinctions, difference and apparent withdrawal of British Asian residential groups. Despite forty years of scholarship in the vein of Rex and Moore (1967) and Henderson and Karn (1978), the nuances and complexities of housing markets, institutional racism, migrant settlement and ethnic minority urban deprivation known to shape the residential experiences of Britain's established minority groups had been recast as simple narrative of segregation and division. Phillips (2006) notes how the political toxicity of the parallel lives term helped to legitimise a raft of racial and culture concerns abound in multi-ethnic Britain in the media and public discourses of the day: asylum and refugee applications (Bloch, 2000), schooling and multicultural curriculums (Modood & May, 2001), specific police targeting of racialised groups (Hallsworth, 2006) and moral panic about black and Asian residential spaces (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). Moreover, the parallel lives term can be closely linked to the reported desire for self-segregation by British Muslim groups that continues to resonate in media discussions today. As such, the blame for ethnic and cultural division that was narrated as underpinning the rioting was left at the doorsteps of the British Asian groups clustered in the Pennine towns and inner-city neighbourhoods which had been sites of the public disturbance. This narrative clearly has bearings on my research in Longsight given the established British Asian population associated with the area. As such, the 'parallel lives' moment represents a key context to this research, with its loaded depiction of 'self-segregation' appearing to resonate at times with some participants' quite pessimistic views on neighbourhood relations and 'community' in Longsight.

Conflicting understandings of segregation

Rex and Moore (1967) and Henderson and Karn (1987) equipped scholars with an understanding of ethnic segregation in post-Windrush British cities. As exemplars of early standpoint research, they shed light on the processes behind emergence of deprived ethnic minority residential places such as Longsight, and why outer rings and suburbs of British cities remain generally white whilst inner-city spaces are more diverse. 'Segregation' in this sense is a geographical term used to explain spatial differences in populations in city contexts.

However, as Neal et al. (2017) highlight, the parallel lives moment represents the inception of the 'crisis-segregation' discourse in policy that became fixated with the perceived problem of residential places with large ethnic minority populations. This discourse involves a more anxious and panicked tone about migrant and ethnic minority integration, representing a shift from a more reflective period of discussion and analysis in Britain on institutional racism and the social exclusion of ethnic minorities as addressed above. The hegemonic nature of the crisis-segregation discourse frames British Asian residential group as pursuing cultural separatism and self-segregation. As such, it can be interpreted as a combination of much longer standing racialised politics of British immigration combined with newer concerns about the cultural and religious 'differences' of British Muslims of South Asian origin. As Kalra and Kapoor (2009, p. 1400) note when reflecting on policy documents that responded to the 2001 urban disturbances, "segregation [had] again become so significant in the UK context when it was almost absent from major policy statements on immigration and diversity before 2001". The point of contestation here was the way in which segregation had been fashioned in political/policy narratives that contrasted its use in academics domains.

On the one hand, in publications such as the Cantle Report (2001) and the more recent Casey Review (2016), interpretations and understandings of the term 'segregation' seem to conjure images of the stark racial divisions of American cities (Gibbons, 2018) or Apartheid South Africa prior to 1994. However, geographers and social scientists apply the term more technically as a way of capturing complex sets of spatial differentiations between populations. As Peach (2009, p. 1382) explains, "there is a gulf between the understanding of segregation as an academic, technical term (meaning a scale of high to low segregation) and its everyday meaning (high segregation)". The ways in which segregation gas been misread have arguably contributed to the hostility facing British Asians living in deprived urban areas, turning distinct and vibrant Asian neighbourhood spaces into 'other' areas, whilst excluding from debate issues of poverty and urban deprivation as reasons for Asian bonding networks, as I explore in Chapter Seven.

Neal et al. (2017) highlight the high-profile case which involved Trevor Phillips – at the time the Chair of The Human Rights Commissions and later head of the Equality and Human Rights Commission. In a speech based on a misreading of Poulsen and Johnston's (2006)

collected data, Phillips (2005) claimed the UK was "sleeping walking to segregation" with "marooned communities [who] will steadily drift away from the rest of us". Writing five years on in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Johnston, Poulsen and Forrest (2010) describe the experience of engaging with media following misrepresentation of their research by Phillips (2005), who had suggested based on a misreading of the data that ethnic ghettos were emerging in Britain despite four years of cohesion work since the 2001 disturbances. In actuality, the opposite was known to be happening. Following comparative examination of 1992 and 2001 Census data (Phillips, 2006; Finney & Simpson, 2009; Peach, 2009), no area in UK was found to contain a fifty percent or more concentration of ethnic minorities, and, moreover, ethnic minority households had demonstrated a tendency to move from traditional areas of high deprivation associated with the settlement of Commonwealth migrants in the 1960s and 1970s, to suburban, rural and semi-rural localities typically associated with the white middle class.

However, despite a shift in the debate, the central assertion to 'parallel lives', that ethnic minorities, primarily British Muslims of South Asian origin, live or wish to live as segregated communities sometimes returns in contemporary policy and media discourse. Despite being empirically flawed, fears about ghettoization have persisted through the mendacious use of 'segregation', as shown by the more recent title of Cantle and Kaufmann's (2016) paper, 'Is segregation increasing in the UK?'. Again, contrary to the implication of this title, the authors (ibid) point out that their findings are nuanced which appear ultimately inconsistent with their assertion. In contradiction with the main findings of the 2001 report, Cantle and Kaufmann (ibid) explain that segregation is in fact decreasing following White British settlement in gentrified areas such as Hackney in East London, as well as longstanding ethnic minority areas becoming increasingly 'superdiverse' following new migrant settlement from a range of new international countries.

However, alongside Phillips (2005) speech, talk of segregation in the vein of parallel lives show how alarmist race politics underpin the crisis-segregation discourse, which in turn afford greater attention for particular types of research findings on diverse urban settings. Kaufman and his colleagues recent focus on residential attitudes in white areas close to (but socially and culturally distant from) ethnic minority neighbourhoods has led to recommendations to build garden cities "to help insulate communities from rapid ethnic

change" (Kauffman and Harris, 2015, p. 104) and thus limit the rise of right wing populism. Without denying the significance of division or the reality of increasingly bleak attitudes of some white groups on ethnic minority residential spaces, the presence this research is afforded reinforces the ambition here to bring to the fore alternative arguments concerning how the particularities of place shape lived experience of diversity. This is an argument made by Karner and Parker (2011) in their study of Alum Rock in Birmingham, a place similarly depicted as having low levels of integration and of which the crisis-segregation discourse seems to speak about. The authors (ibid, p. 357) argued their "bespoke, place and context-focussed analysis" affords insights on residential desires for improvement that disrupt the hegemony of the current policy discourse. It is in this context where my research is situated, in which accounts of place, community, sociability, division and aspiration ultimately disrupt the absolutism of parallel lives and notions of segregation.

At the crossroads of multiculturalism and cohesion

Taking a retrospective view, it is also clear the post-2001 situation marked a shift away from the previous era of state-sponsored multiculturalism that peaked a year before the 2001 disturbances with the publication of *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* (2000) (otherwise known as the Parekh Report). In contrast to cohesion and the recent focus on integration, multiculturalism was premised on ideas about private and public cultural spheres, in which culture in the family and household was tolerated on the basis of its positive social and psychological effect, as long as it did not impede on what was assumed to be a culturally neutral public sphere.

There is some debate, however, about whether multiculturalism can be viewed as a comparatively more progressive approach to the governance of diversity. Drawing on the ambiguities of schools and the Anglican church, Harris (2001) has argued that some institutions did not easily fit with the neat divisions of the two-spheres approach in practice. This touches on concerns about the extent to which the assumed neutrality of the public domain was actually comprised by hegemonic ideas about Britishness which were inherently excluding of migrant and minority culture. 'Britishness' appeared to function as an accepted neutral in multiculturalism, a permanent and stable set of codes, traditions and values (Winder, 2004; Robinson, 2004). This might explain why, in a context of the Cantle Report's (2001) scathing attack on multiculturalism, White British populations were afforded

relatively little attention in the pages of a lengthy report. Instead, the vast majority of the report seemed to focus on the apparent retreat of South Asian households into inner-city diaspora spaces as alleged attempts to preserve traditions and Muslim values (Amin, 2002). Multiculturalism, it was argued, had facilitated this outcome.

However, others have argued that multiculturalism promoted a sense of inclusion and supported British ethnic minority groups in ways that were fundamentally lost post-2001 (Nye, 2001; Mason, 2003; Kymlicka, 2005; Ahmed, 2019). Meer and Modood (2009) claim that despite difficulties with the two spheres approach in practice, in its most basic form, multiculturalism advocated and supported ethnic, cultural and religious minorities with diversity accepted at least on some official discursive level. Multiculturalism was also viewed as official acceptance and protection against institutional discriminations that came to mark the experiences of Commonwealth migrants, and shape the entrenched urban deprivation established ethnic minority groups continue to face (Kymlicka, 1995). Taken as symbolising multiculturalism, the Parekh Report (2000) came as close as Britain has come to a discussion about the possibilities of a national identity based not exclusively on ethnocultural terms. However, with the introduction of community cohesion that sought to establish a common vision and shared sense of belonging, a tension was instilled between diversity and unity, which, according to Rietveld (2014), was resolved by diversity being compromised and ethnic minority cultures, particularly Asian and Muslim cultures, identified as 'other' to 'mainstream' British values.

In addition, viewing parallel lives in a historical context reveals the return to place, locality and community as conceptual terrains in social policy concerned with immigration-related diversity. The Cantle Report's (2001) overarching policy of 'community cohesion' was presented as a solution to the tensions and divisions that sowed the seeds of rioting. Although a great deal had been written in North America about community cohesion prior to 2001 (see Appendix C in the *Cantle Report)*, the idea was then novel to UK institutions and to public and policy debates. As such, some scholars have traced community cohesion to the stream of New Labour thinking about the communitarianism of Etzioni (1995) that was popular at the time (Robinson, 2005). The community cohesion agenda seems to perpetuate the anxiety of policymakers in an era of *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 2000) about the

'loss of community' in the face of immigration and diversity, a narrative I examine in detail in the next chapter.

However, as Robinson (2004) points out, community cohesion as first proposed in the Cantle Report (2001) seems to draw heavily on Forrest and Kearns' (2001) attempts to identify the various elements to social cohesion and how it applies to neighbourhoods conceptualised as the basis of society. Drawing on notions about characteristics of neighbourhoods in their apparent 'golden age' of the Chicago School era (von Hoffman, 1994), Forrest and Kearns (2001) emphasised the importance of common values through civic participation in politics and political institutions, social order through tolerance and a respect for difference, social solidarity through the reduction of income disparities and inequalities, strong local social networks through associational involvement and an intertwining of place with personal identity.

The Cantle Report (2001) appears to directly take from Forrest and Kearns (2001) dissection of social cohesion in conceptualising community cohesion, with the point about wealth reduction modified as the provision of equality of opportunities. Furthermore, whereas Forrest and Kearns (ibid) warn that social cohesion could in theory create tensions between cohesive communities at a city scale as part of the strong ties that bonds ethnic and religious groups, the Cantle Report (2001) makes the distinction that community cohesion is focused on place and locality as opposed to society as a whole. Community cohesion was in effect social cohesion at the very local level, with place treated as a realm of governance through which ethnic 'communities' could work towards common goals that would foster a shared sense of national belonging in a functionalist sense. Community cohesion therefore marked the return of place, since it was in neighbourhoods where civic pride and responsibility, positive inter-ethnic relations and public participation were to be fostered. As such, community cohesion envisages that populations or micro-communities at the very local level can be interlocked and gelled with one another to form a higher-level spirit of national belonging. The fundamental discourse of community cohesion therefore centred on assumptions about the moral character of community as a means of repairing fractured social relations (Ahmed and Fortier, 2008), whilst placing the onus on migrants and ethnic minorities to begin integrating with 'mainstream' British values (Neal et al., 2013).

There are certainly difficulties here with the functionalist premise to this model and the notion that belonging to community can be developed at a neighbourhood level. However, the influential logic of community cohesion has remained deeply ingrained in policy delivery at the local level (Phillips, Anthwal, Robinson & Harrison, 2014), with the logic of cohesion drawing on contact theory (Allport, 1954) and ideas about the importance of bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000). Contact theory (Allport, 1954) posits that under the right conditions, contact with different racial groups can reduce prejudices and enable positive attitudes towards difference. Based on Putnam's (2000) work, bonding and bridging social capital was operationalised as encouraging the formation of multi-ethnic social bonds around the common interest in neighbourhood, which would in turn serve to ease tensions and divisions, whilst paving the way for norms of cooperation and reciprocity that would theoretically bridge diverse social groups across line of ethnic and religious difference. Both approaches are besieged with difficulties in theory and in practice.

As Dixon and Durrheim (2003) point out, for contact theory to work, various arrangements must be in place: intimate, collaborative engagement that oriented towards shared and common goals in an environment where diversity is institutionally accepted, and where groups are working as equal partners. These conditions are far removed from everyday life, particularly in the experience of the "throwntogetherness of place" (Massey, 2005, p. 181) in diverse neighbourhoods where contact with difference is reduced to fleeting and temporary moments of encounter in public spaces. In reflection on their case study that sought to examine the power of contact theory, Mayblin, Valentine and Andersson (2016) turned up only partial support for the claim that contact with differences leads to reduction in intolerance. Moreover, the authors (ibid) suggested that any reductions in intolerance their work might have facilitated might have been lost once the project had ended.

In this context, Phillips et al. (2014) argue that realistically, structured and mediated forums are required in diverse neighbourhoods in order to encourage contact and potentially bridge ethnic groups. However, both Hudson et al's (2007) and Hickman et al's (2012) research found that feelings of competition amongst groups can arise in neighbourhoods where material resources are scarce, which in turn can produce hostility from existing populations towards new groups perceived as culturally different. In addition, Phillips (2007) found that because British Pakistani and Bangladeshis' residential areas still largely coincide the places

of greatest deprivation, 'strong' networks of Asian residents are often relied upon because of the financial and money lending nature that are part of these relationships. This suggests that the contexts to diverse neighbourhoods are important when it comes to shaping networks and ties and potentially bridging people across lines of difference. As I show in Chapter Seven, place-based factors provided key contexts to the participants' constructions of their social networks which in turn informed the communities they felt they belonged to (or otherwise lacked). However, despite significant contextual factors that appeared to shape or undermine ties with others, there were clear desires across the board for greater contact and bridge building initiatives.

From cohesion to integration: the securitisation of British Muslims of South Asian backgrounds

On 5 February 2011, at a security conference in Munich then Prime Minister David Cameron declared the "failure of state multiculturalism" in Britain, for it "had encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream". As a result, he proclaimed to the audience, "Britain has failed to provide a vision of society to which many young men (sic) feel able to belong, and in so doing the seed beds for home-grown terrorism have been laid" (Cameron, 2011). This discourse, that British Muslims separate themselves and live their own lives, resulting in extremism, radicalisation and ultimately homegrown terrorism, appears to have been officially endorsed in Cameron's (2011) speech. The problematisation of British Asians that had dominated the previous decade was thus reconfigured as the perceived 'problem' of British Muslims. Such a construction ultimately dismissed institutional racism and the social exclusion of British Asian groups. This further excluded from debate the entrenched urban deprivation of British Muslims of South Asian origins, and made distant the prospects of a social policy intervention focussed on alleviating poverty and financial disadvantage of established migrant and minority groups.

If the urban disturbances of 2001 had been the death knell of multiculturalism, according to Castles (2011), in a post-9/11 and post-7/7 context, the war on terror had augmented many of the concepts embedded in community cohesion. This however took on a new security dimension, with Slatcher (2017) explaining how 'integration' is effectively an attempt to hold together two policy strands of cohesion and security within one coherent frame. This

discursive shift form cohesion to integration occurred with realisation the perpetrators of the 7/7 bombing of the London Underground were British born Asian citizens. As such the realisation came that radicalisation occurred not 'out there' but from 'within' (Fortier, 2008). Thus, as Sivandan (2009, p. 41) states, the "Asian immigrant is no longer the classic outsider but also the terrorist within". This notion was felt keenly by second and third generation Asian residents in Longsight.

In an early 2007 report, the Commission on Integration Cohesion (CIC, 2007) directly linked the 7/7 bombings to the failure of community cohesion. As such, much of the post-7/7 cohesion documents when discussing British Muslims now frame the challenge not as integration but as challenging 'radicalisation', with radicalisation a process that in turn leads to 'extremism' (Home Office, 2009). The CIC (2007) report ultimately modified but remained committed to the crisis-segregation discourse, positing segregation as fuelling misunderstanding and suspicion which ultimately breeds radicalisation. However, in *Preventing Violent Extremism* (DCLG, 2007) that was published at around the same time, the government was more explicit in preventing radicalization through a separate and new 'community-based' strategy termed 'Prevent'.

Briggs (2010) notes how in the early days of Prevent, government policy relied on public institutions and community-based approaches that, in the government's own words, "targeted sizable Muslim communities" (DCLG, 2007, p. 6). Thus, there is substantial concern about the Prevent agenda using community projects in Muslim neighbourhoods to spy on individuals and organisations (Kundnani, 2009). Even if in 2011, the UK government decoupled Prevent funding from the community cohesion agenda, recent research brings to the fore examples of charities and third sector organisations that frame their activities as deradicalization events as a means of attracting funding (Heath-Kelly, 2013). Within this context, British Muslim groups have been stigmatised and constructed as 'suspect' as an outcome of community-based approaches. The feeling of being 'spied on' in neighbourhood spaces and suspected by apparatus of the state is a now widely reported experience of British Muslims (Kundnani, 2009; Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011; Ragazzi, 2016). As I will discuss in Chapter Six, this appears to have shaped understandings of group identity of British born South Asians whilst possibly reducing perceptions of commonality and unity with non-Muslims.

However, what is important to note is that whilst the language of community cohesion may have faded from recent policy documents, explicit bridge-building programmes that promote cohesion continue to be endorsed (Phillips et al., 2014; Slatcher, 2018). This suggests New Labour's influential cohesion agenda, with its emphasis on building place-based community through enhancing 'meaningful contact' and promoting bonding and bridging within and between neighbourhood groups is now firmly entrenched at policy, political and practice levels. However, relatively little is known about how policy discourse of ethnic segregation bear resemblance with lived realties of minorities on the ground, nor whether promoting and engaging particular sorts of encounter and contact are wanted or valued by people living in diverse areas. As such, it seems appropriate, in research that seeks to push forward understanding of how community is lived in a neighbourhood with a British Asian population, to simultaneously engage with and critique the policy narratives and discourses of cohesion and integration. Before summarising how this research is policy informed, I summarise the importance, in light of new direction, of researching a place like Longsight.

What about longstanding arrival zones? Reaffirming research in Longsight

Longsight is one of the places where the settlement of postcolonial migrants is concretely noticeable and where this settlement has shaped residential experiences of diversity and difference. Longsight is also a place on which the crisis-segregation discourse is fixated, and which both cohesion and integration agendas seems to concurrently problematise: a relatively deprived inner-city neighbourhood space lived in by British Muslim of South Asian origins alongside White British populations. Until recently, place-based research on diversity in the UK was focused on these types of areas with attention directed at the relationship between Commonwealth migrants and majority 'indigenous' populations.

This research showed the interplay and tensions of positive and negative relations within and between neighbourhood groups, most often attesting that when ethnic and cultural tensions arise, they arise in contexts of deprivation and fears about scarce social resources (Back, 1996; Baumann, 1996; Dench et al., 2006; Tyler & Jensen, 2009). However, a significant amount of recent studies have focussed on the new and previously unexplored areas of diversity and super-diversity. This can be viewed as part of the post-2001 return of place with the cohesion and integration agendas, as well as to growing recognition within

academic discipline of the demographic complexities of many contemporary cities following the "diversification of diversity" (Hollinger, 1995, p. 12) within and between the settled minority populations (Vertovec, 2007).

The central depiction of parallel lives, that social relations in ethnically diverse areas are fractured, has been degraded by research insights from new areas of diversity. Research in these areas has shown the 'unpanicked' (Noble, 2009) ways in which people negotiate differences in the course of the everyday and that groups in diverse places can cooperate and live together in ways markedly different from the segregation narrative of parallel lives (Phillimore, 2013). Wessendorf's (2014) research in Hackney developed the notion of 'commonplace diversity' to portray the normalisation of diversity in the lives of Hackney's residents. This was by virtue of the super-diversity of the borough that had occurred from its location as an enduring 'arrival zone' for new and old migratory flows. The resulting ethnic and cultural settlement of places like Hackney are intensely complex – middle class white groups and large populations of established British minority groups with origins in the Commonwealth migrations, living alongside smaller numbers of Turkish, Vietnamese, Jewish Charedi and Eastern European residential populations.

Wessendorf's (ibid) approach was very much in the vein of Amin's (2002, p. 959) call after the 2001 disturbances for greater research attention to be directed the "prosaic sites of multiculture" since "much of the negotiation of difference occurs at the very local level through everyday experiences and encounter". Often in super-diverse contexts, this has involved 'intercultural' approaches that emphasise the fluidity of cultural boundaries and questioned ideas of unified group identities (Bloomfield & Bianchini, 2004; Sandercock, 2004; Wood & Laundry, 2007). Interculturalism in turn has paved the way for newer conceptualisations of the social life of superdiverse areas that are 'everyday' (Wise & Velayutham, 2009).These studies attest to the effectively ordinary and routine ways in which everyday multi-ethnic interactions are experienced and relationships are formed in places; in other words, how diversity is lived positively, and difference is largely unproblematic. In light of such work, Neal (2013) describes how a counter-narrative to parallel lives has emerged, one that stands in contrast to the portrayals of segregation in which ethnic groups in diverse areas are imagined as divided along racial and cultural lines, with the situation precarious and likely to ignite into rioting. If Phillips' (2006), Finney and

Simpson's (2009) and Peach's (2009) comparative analyses of Census data highlighted the flawed empiricism of ethnic segregation and ghettoization central to the depictions of parallel lives, Neal (2013) might be referring to how qualitative insights have provided richer insights and understandings at an everyday level which disrupt the hegemony of the policy discourses critiqued in this chapter.

Moreover, talk of a counter-narrative has been further challenged by recognition of emerging and largely positive social relations in 'ordinary' suburban places, where emerging ethnic minority groups are 'accepted' despite the area having little history of ethnic diversity. Building on Hall's (1999, p. 181) notion of a 'multicultural drift' in which postcolonial minority groups had steadily drifted into White British culture and society to become an "inevitable part of the scene", research in 'ordinary' places has effectively uncovered blank policy spaces to which cohesion and integration does not speak. In Milton Keynes, Mohan (2006) found an interesting dynamic in which British Ghanaians, who had amassed sufficient social, cultural and financial capital, came to be accepted in a middle class (and overwhelmingly white) residential space. Similar to places with extraordinary levels of diversity, these ordinary spaces provide similarly a challenge to the conventional image of diversity and difference as portrayed by recent policy narratives and the hegemonic crisis-segregation discourse.

These studies have revealed the importance of context in shaping or undermining the dynamics of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Embodied in the concept of place, the social and economic histories of localities are known to influence community relations. There is thus now greater recognition of the fluidity of identifications and the complexities of place-based social relations in contexts of diversities old and new. The geographies of contemporary British diversity are now intensely complicated following the gradual movement of longstanding minority groups away from traditional inner-city arrival zones, at the same time in which such places have become 'super-diverse' following the settlement of new migrants and the emergence of new forms of diversity. This development and recent trend in research that focusses on both superdiverse and ordinary spaces has produced new understandings and must be praised for providing an alternative vision to the politically insensitive and theoretically flawed notion of parallel lives. However, between the polemics of super-diverse urban areas and emerging 'ordinary' suburban spaces of diversity, what

about the experiences of older inner-city arrival zones, with longer and more evolved histories of postcolonial migration, place and diversity?

It is in this gap where I locate my study of Longsight and the lived experiences of the residents who participated in this study. Although alternatives to the deeply exclusionary and empirically flawed policy agenda are necessary, talk about a counter-narrative to parallel lives based on ordinary and extraordinary places seems quite far removed from the original contexts of parallel lives. The point here is not to dismiss recent directions or suggest a need to return the research agenda to neighbourhoods with 'old' relations of diversity between groups with origins in the postcolonial migrations and white residents. As I show in Chapter Five, Longsight has also seen the arrival of newer forms of Asian migration, with the experiences and backgrounds of newer migrants markedly different from longer standing Asian groups that have first-hand experiences and ancestry links with the postcolonial migrations. Thus, this research can be contextualised as looking again at longer standing places of migration and diversity with new and recent approaches, one that contributes to the critique of Britain's policy discourses and narrative in more direct and immediate ways.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a comprehensive and wide-ranging narrative of the symbiotic relationship between policy and research focussed on immigration-related diversity in a British context. In doing so, this chapter has covered significant ground. I began by discussing the classic standpoint scholarship of Rex and Moore (1967), noting it usefulness for explaining the process that led to the emergence of deprived inner-city places in Britain that acted as arrival zones and neighbourhoods for postcolonial migrants. The process of racial exclusion and class may offer some explanations for the origins of Longsight as a neighbourhood and community space for first, second and third generations of British Asians with links to the post-war migrations from South Asia.

During the 1970s and 1980s, however, the focus shifted to understanding the discrimination that operated within the state and wider society (for examples, see Rex & Tomlinson 1979, Henderson & Karn, 1987; Smith 1989). As I showed, the debates were anchored in addressing racial discrimination in policy and practice, locating and conceptualising the

social relations of migrants and white populations on a plane much different from neighbourhood and place. However, in light of recent events and social policy responses, place has returned as the context in which experiences and social relations of diversity are researched. The ebb and flow in research approaches were often in response to overarching policy and political narratives of the day. The post-2001 return to place was motivated by the need for evidence to substantiate the claims of 'parallel lives', that segregation of ethnic minorities in Britain was creating ghettos, and that it was driven, in the case of British Asians, by people choosing to live separately as facilitated by the previous policy approach of multiculturalism. The empirical basis to this 'crisis-segregation' discourse was found to be objectively incorrect. However, the narrative at heart of the policy agendas of cohesion and integration continue to operate on this premise, with the promotion of contact and bridging continuing to be endorsed in contexts of ongoing government fears about social relations in diverse areas, as well as new concerns about racialisation and extremism.

This development again contextualises and influences my research approach. It seemed appropriate in research that seeks to push forward understanding how community is lived in a neighbourhood with a British Asian population, to simultaneously engage with and critique casual policy narrative of community cohesion and placed based integration – what semblance, if any, does it have with the constructions of community and the realities of the local network of residents on the ground? As such, this research has taken a clear policy direction. However, as indicated, this research also has a theoretical orientation aimed at 'rethinking' community as a conceptual and analytical tool in contexts of diversity, ethnicity and place. I now turn to exploring this in more detail.

Chapter Three – Rethinking Community

As indicated in Chapter One, community has been fashioned as a key conceptual frame for this research. This chimes with the debates explored in the last chapter, in which government agendas on place-based community, ethnic equality and social cohesion suggest a sense of belonging is best developed at the neighbourhood level, and indeed that 'neighbourhood' and 'community' are synonymous. However, this approach to community might seem misguided. Over a century of critiques have challenged the usefulness of community as an analytical tool for the social sciences, stemming from questions about the significance of local ties and place attachments in an era of globalisation (Castells, 1997), and work that has highlighted the broad range of ethnic, national and religious 'imagined communities' individuals may feel they belong to (Anderson, 1991). This has led researchers working in a context of ethnic diversity and place to question the appropriateness of community which has led to the emergence of alternatives. I find these critiques valuable but not entirely convincing. My argument here is that these critiques and alternatives fail to address the continued endurance and potency of community in everyday life, as reflected by the meaning and significance of the concept for the residents of Longsight who participated in this research.

Building on the policy focus that was established in the last chapter, I seek here to make the case for 'rethinking community' and thus signify a theoretical direction my research is orientated towards. In this chapter I explore the discourses on community and address perceived concerns about using community in research on place and ethnic diversity. I navigate the various issues and concerns with the concept of community, before arriving at a clear definition of community that informed the methodology and the analysis in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

The polis and the cosmos: explaining the discourses on community

The various perspectives on community I review in this section reveal clear divisions in thought that contribute to the general sense of ambiguity that surrounds the concept. To some, community has been used to refer to the local, with the argument that the local is the primary social domain that comprises of people's immediate, familiar and proximate social relations (Miller, 1993; Allen & Hamnett, 1995; Gandy, 2002; Blokland, 2003). This

conceptualisation of community posits that community is both a spatial and social phenomenon that exists in face-to-face relations. However, to others, community represents an overarching and universal entity in which all humanity can identify regardless of place. This perspective on community without propinquity can be seen in ideas about virtual communities (Rheingold, 2000) that have manifested with the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies (Castells, 2002; Jenkins, 2006). One way of explaining this difference between the spatial and social relations to what might be thought of as 'community' can be through tying it to classical thought on the polis and the cosmos.

According to Delanty (2005), expressions of community as face-to-face local relations are traceable to the Greek idea of the polis. The polis denoted community as embodying a human dimension of city states as opposed to the non-existent larger national entity that, in Ancient Greece, connected individual city states. As such, the polis invoked a purer form of immediacy, with participation in local social life considered a virtue by the Greeks, as reflected in the way the social and the political were intertwined. In contrast, the cosmos denotes a much higher and more divine order centred on the cosmic directive of universality. Whereas the polis invoked communitarian notions of the local as 'community', the cosmos came to represent a universal form of human community. Delanty (ibid) suggests this would later become more refined by the citizenship models of the Roman Empire and the emergence and spread of Abrahamic religions that functioned to connect previously disparate societies and groups.

At this conjecture, two key notions of community emerge that appear particularly contradictory: community as the local with a focus on social relationships, and community as universal in a more abstract sense of belonging. It is in this contradiction where the modern discourses on community arguably originated. The great discourse on community as lost can be located in the Aristotelian understanding of community as participation in the local (Arendt, 1958; Williams, 1976). However, the Ancient Greeks did not experience the alienation of society as Marx claimed modern capitalist societies had (Mészáros, 1970). The belief that community is the heart of the social, yet the social has become eroded by the forces of secularisation, urbanisation, market capitalism and individualism, is at the root of the widely shared belief that community has now been lost. This is a discourse that has provided a key context for three further subsidiary discourses on community that have been

at the heart of policy and research ever since: *community as irretrievable*, as articulated in romanticised and nostalgic articulations of community (for examples, Wirth 1938; McKenzie, Park & Burgess 1967) *community as recoverable*, as though recovery of the idea of and practice of community is essential to the recovery of society (for example, Smith, 1999) and *community as yet to be achieved*, being the utopian expression of community that is often latent in political and policy ideology (Goodman, 1960; Mosse, 1982). I turn first to looking at the community lost discourse, a notion tied up increasingly in contexts of migration and diversity.

The loss of community in a context of diversity

Famously, Putnam (2000) used tenpin bowling as a metaphor for his argument that community had declined and was therefore needed in order to resuscitate American society. However, despite *Bowling Alone*'s (ibid) provocative subtitle, 'the collapse and revival of American community', Putnam largely focussed on social capital rather than community. Putnam (ibid, p. 21) referred to community as the "conceptual cousin" of social capital, and although he engaged with the community concept throughout chapters that are titled community engagement, community commitment, community life and of course, community decline, the concept was largely undefined in *Bowling Alone* (2000), and appeared more a container for a range of activities seen as generative of bonding social capital seen as necessary for communities to thrive. Although in *Bowling Alone* (ibid), the narrative of decline was rooted in a context of changing networks and social relations in what Putnam viewed as the new and uncertain 21st century society, in later work, Putnam (2007, p. 138) controversially claimed that immigration and diversity can have degenerative effects on community, and thus can be seen as contributing to its general decline. Despite noting the long-term economic benefits of immigration, and making careful attempts to argue that ethnic diversity harms social capital (and by proxy 'community') only in "the short to medium run" (ibid, p. 138), his argument emerged during (and was later used as evidence for) debates involving post-2001 media commentators (Phillips, 2006; Goodhart, 2013). However, Putnam (2007) again fell short of explicitly defining community, implying once more that community was synonymous with 'good' bonding and bridging social capital. Putnam (2007) therefore argued that bonding and bridging social capital could be the solution to the loss of community in contexts of diversity despite other theorists arguing

social capital represented social and ethnic inequalities, since deprived social and ethnic groups were conceptualised as using social capital to compensate for their lack of financial capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Portes, 1998).

For Putnam (2000), community was effectively a geographic and social frame within which social capital could be found and located. Putnam's arguments (ibid) have been picked up and widely debated in policy and social science circles. However, Putnam's (2007) claim that community can be lost in contexts of diversity was not necessarily the bellwether of this thesis. Whilst it appeared to have underpinned the notions and narratives of community cohesion as examined in the previous chapter, it can be interpreted as central to a number of place-based studies that formed part of the classic British tradition of community studies. Much earlier than Putnam, Cornwell (1984) argued the idea of cohesive communities embedded in societies was largely a product of post-war propaganda. For residents of the London neighbourhood of Bethnal Green, Cornwell (ibid) argued this had become accepted and ingrained, meaning residents' views on local community were expressed through a nostalgic discourse of loss, contextualised by the diversity of the present neighbourhood which had become a major arrival zone for Bangladeshi migrants throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, Dench et. al's (2006) follow up of Young and Willmott's (2013) famous study of the Bethnal Green area of London also perpetuated the notion that community was lost in contexts of diversity. Much of this narrative appeared rooted in white resentment of liberals and students, and perceptions that newcomer groups had preferential access to public services. The state itself treated as complicit in breaking up senses of local community, through labelling local residents as racists and thus failing to understand the white working-class group, particularly their complex social, economic and historical discourses that shaped their perceptions of place.

However, the narrative that community loss is driven by ethnic diversity can be criticised as a simplistic claim, particularly in light of wider research. Back's (1996) work on 'neighbourhood nationalism' found that white youths had become attracted to aspects of black culture, and that youths on the council estates that were the focus of this ethnographic study had developed a shared identity and belonging to place based on mixed ethnicity. Moreover, in Elias and Scotson's (1965) classic study on relationships between established and newcomer residents in an English village, fears amongst established

residents about the impeding loss of community were based on class and not ethnic differences with the settling newcomers. The newcomer residents were of the same ethnic and national origins as the established and were moving into the newer social housing estate in a leafy middle-class village of Winston Parva in Leicester following the demolition of inner-city slum housing.

In addition, Wallman's (1981) research in diverse Battersea presented a picture where cohesion was highly valued by residents, and where insider/outsider status was ascribed not on race or ethnic difference, but instead on factors that included length of residency, the extent of participation in local associations, and general involvement in local social life of place. Wallman (ibid, p. 187) illustrated this vividly with an account of a Jamaican resident referring to a newcomer from the northeast of England as a 'foreigner'. As such, increased diversity in this case was not the sole factor for some residents defending community in face of change and fears about its loss. In a review of the classic British community studies, Wessendorf (2014, p. 36) emphasises the complexities of place-based contexts often at work in people's articulations of community, suggesting tensions between different ethnic groups can exist in contexts of deprivation and competition over resources, with narratives of "who gets to belong and who does not". As I show later in this thesis, certain views amongst some residents that community had been lost in Longsight was not derived solely from the emerging ethnic diversity of place. These were set alongside a number of other experiences that collectively framed and underpinned articulations of this narrative, with the situation hence much more complicated than might be suggested at first glance.

Taking a broader view, it is clear that narratives and counter-narratives of community differ in their approaches and arguments. However, I suggest the commonalities to this literature are the extent to which community is overwhelmingly understood as a social and spatial arrangement. Drawing on what Delanty (2003) termed the 'Euro American' idea of community, the bulk of these accounts generally posit that community is something that can be explored with interpretivist research methods. As such, community is treated as a noun, with community discussed in terms of 'the community of Y', with Y standing in for place name and location of particular populations. Similarly, others seem to approach community as 'the X community of Y', as though to try and denote the various social and ethnic 'communities' associated with a broader community of place.

Both of these discursive approaches appear to have resonance with residents in Longsight, since these were often the formula through which local residents articulated notions and experiences of community, sometimes within the same, passing utterance. This was not treated as problematic or confounding. Instead it reiterated the omnipresence of community in both research and the everyday, as something that encompasses a wide range of meanings associated with relations, activities and lived experiences. I am seeking to argue that a diverse variety of phenomena are often framed by the notion of community. What I find useful here is the idea that community frames other concepts (Ahmed and Fortier, 2003). It works to discursively encompass the various facets and experiences of social life both past and present, which become united under a common banner and within a clear conceptual framework. I address this in detail later on in this chapter. For now, I turn to exploring the subsidiary notions to the discourse that 'community is lost', seeking to address how these discourses have placed or located community itself.

Morality and recovery: an exchange between Tönnies and Durkheim

As I hinted in the previous section, the notion that local community was diminished or declined in a context of diversity was a key discourse with some longer standing residents who articulated their outlooks on Longsight. Traceable similarly were notions of recovery and community as not yet achieved, particularly in the accounts of migrant residents that reflected on experiences of hostility and discrimination. However, these discourses of loss, recovery and community as not yet achieved were often much more nuanced than seeing Longsight 'as a community', as has been the focus elsewhere. This approach to conceptualising community has come to be the dominant understanding of community in the twentieth century, brought about by processes of social modernity that came to see community as more in opposition to a society that had become crestfallen by social and economic change. It is worth then reviewing these developments with a view to explaining how these approaches came to locate and 'place' community.

In the late nineteenth century, community came to be seen as the natural environment of the individual's world, with modern society an alien and meaningless terrain that revolved around the rationality of modern institutions. In this way, community became somewhere to retreat from society and state institutions in a spirit of 'belonging'. This equation of community with belonging implied that community as a traditional form of social relations

was at odds with the workings of a modern society. The most obvious work that theorised community as distinct and separate from society is Ferdinand Tönnies's *Community and Society* (1887 [1963]). The argument is well known but the main points merit repeating, in that Tönnies polarised 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' as terms for community and society respectively. In what in hindsight is prosaic language, Tönnies argued that different types of social relationships that had consequently emerged: "the relationship itself, and also the resulting association, is conceived of either as real and organic life – this is the essential characteristic of the Gemeinschaft (community); or as imaginary and mechanical structure – this is the concept of Gesellschaft (society)" (Tönnies, 1963, p. 33).

Tönnies' (ibid) argument was that with modernity, community had been superseded by society as the primary focus and domain of the social, with community being the lived experiences of concrete social relations whereas society was abstract and mechanical. There is some resonance here with classical conceptions of community as the polis and society the cosmos that I discussed above. However, Tönnies' main argument was that modern processes of industrialisation and urbanisation had resulted in a shift in *all* social relations from Gemeinschaft (community) to Gesellschaft (society), resulting in a loss of community and longing for it in the context of a new, uncertain and therefore fearful world. For Tönnies (1963), belonging to community denotes a (be)longing for a traditional and moral way of life. In this sense, Tönnies' work on community can be viewed as the key instigator in the origins of the 'loss of community' thesis and subsequently some research focus on the survival of community in the face of modern forces and unknown terrain.

Although the sociology of Young and Willmott's *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957) could largely be read in this vein, anthropology in the midpoint of the twentieth century came to be at the centre of this search. Community research orientated largely around a narrative of tradition, nostalgia and morals, with Redfield's (1955) *The Little Community* and Evans-Pritchard's (1940) study of Nuer providing the most recognised examples. The society/community dichotomy theorised by Tönnies can be read in these studies as being reworked as a rural/urban divide, with rural communities depicted as embodying honest and traditional ways of living, in the face of urban and social anomie. Moreover, community was treated as 'real' in the positivist sense and taken as existing in rural villages. Arensberg and Kimball's (1948) classic study of a village in rural Ireland never defined this explicitly.

However, the assumption that can be interpreted throughout the book was that the rural community had a certain moral character because of the customary and long-term relations of its members that ultimately superseded the phenomena of the outbound migrations of some village residents to urban cities across the world.

However, the Tönniesian view that modernity had shifted all forms of social relations and thus had led to the loss of community was not entirely agreed or accepted claim, both in the nineteenth century and the present day. Distinct from the pessimistic and sweeping claim conception of community 'as lost', Émile Durkheim's (1889 [1957]) review of *Community and Society* held a different understanding of community. Durkheim in contrast to Tönnies did not see society as being organised around two paradoxical social relations but instead that collective and communal life in large groups was as natural and possible as 'community' in small ones. Durkheim in *The Division of Labour and Society* (1893 [1963]) reversed Tönnies central thesis that community was organic in small groups and incapable of surviving in the abstract rationality of society.

Similar to Tönnies (1963), Durkheim viewed the breakdown of society and organic forms of communal social relations with considerable dislike, claiming the loss of traditional solidarity had produced 'normlessness' that manifested as increased crime, despair and suicide then salient at the time of his writing. However, the problem for Durkheim was that Tönnies view of community as a moral tradition ignored then modern way of living together that had emerged with the processes of modernity. Durkheim argued social bonds holding secular, industrialised and highly individualistic modern societies together was a form of civic morality institutionalised in citizenship and ingrained in education. However, the illness of modern society was not the collapse of traditional forms of Gemeinschaft social relations but the failure to produce newer forms of community seen as capable of integrating groups within a much larger social framework. In this sense, Durkheim's entire sociology can be read as a pursuit of community for its moral force, imprinting within contemporary discussion of community a clear and distinct moral dimension, as a way beyond the notion that it was lost.

As such, the notion that community was not yet achieved and should be recovered because of its morality has shaped thinking about the concept (Fisk, 1993). However, as well as having this effect, influential in Durkheim's interpretation of community was the idea that

not just micro societies and cultures like those in rural localities were capable of integration and belonging. Indeed, urban and semi-urban localities were too socially disorganised to achieve such a feat – instead both urban and rural places can function as sites of belonging, and thus community can be a source of strength for many types of societies. Moreover, Durkheim's work on community brought to the fore the possibility of community moving beyond the obfuscating tradition/modernity and rural/urban paradoxes. Durkheim's argument that community functioned as a source of strength for all different types of societies opened community to new ways of conceptualisation, specifically ways of thinking about the distinctive feature of community in the consciousness of interactions and connections between people. This was evident most clearly in Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983). In a quite different context, Anderson (ibid) argued that nationalism in a context of decolonisation was formed by people who perceive themselves as being part of the national group. As Anderson (ibid, p. 6) argued, the community "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". This work seems to capture the constructed nature of community in the minds of the residents who participated in my research, when they spoke of the 'Asian community', the 'old community', the 'lost' community and so forth.

Thus, as Konig (1968) argued, no matter if urban or rural, how big or small, or how modern or traditional it may seem, community is expressed in the interactions between people in social groups. Gusfield (1975, p. 41) made a similar point: "rather than conceiving of 'community' and 'society' as groups and/or entities to which persons belong, it would seem more useful to conceptualize these terms as points of reference brought into play in particular situations and arenas". Weber's (1947, p. 136) definition of community is traceable here in which community was posited as a form of social relationships described as "communal" that incorporated a sense of togetherness with proximity but that "a social relationship will be called communal in and so far as the orientation of social action…is based on a subjective feeling of the parties whether affectional or traditional that they belong together". In effect, Weber was observing the way community is practiced based on the emotional and affirmative ways in which community is lived in everyday places such as

the neighbourhood. Before building on this view to develop my own definition of community, I summarise these debates and developments.

Productive ambiguity over vagueness

As the discussion in the last section shows, community is a heavily contested social concept through being situated at various spatial scales, applied in differing social and historical contexts, and appearing irreversibly intertwined with discourses about its apparent loss and the need for its recovery because of its moral character and affliction. As such, community is considered in the contemporary social sciences a vague social concept, that is perhaps too imprecise to have any analytical utility. In his review of community definitions in academic research, Hillery (1955, p. 22) famously found 94 distinct and individual definitions of community, leading him to declare that, although they "all deal with people", "beyond this common basis, there is no common agreement". Williams (1976) similarly noted how community has been used to refer to a wide range of social relationships, tracing its usage as far back to the fourteenth century. However, its "warm persuasive tone" conveyed to Williams (ibid) merely "a vague sense of social concern between different people" (ibid, p. 76). Delanty (2003) highlighted the symbiotic relationship between everyday and scholarly uses of community, arguing the lines are blurred between everyday and analytical uses because of its omnipresence in society. As Cohen (1985, p. 11) noted, "'community' is one of those words…bandied around in ordinary, everyday speech, apparently readily intelligible to speaker and listener, which… however, causes immense difficulty'".

As a consequence, one way in which researchers have sought to defend community is through calling for greater clarity on the concept by producing, and arguing for the use of, precise definitions of the term (Clark, 1973; Plant, 1978). However, such extremes need not be the case. As Ahmed (2015) argues, community can be reasonably criticised for its vagueness; however, this vagueness can be rethought of as leaving the concept open to a broad range of analyses and usages. Thus, the charge that community is too vague of a social concept to work with analytically can be reinterpreted and reimaged as 'productive ambiguity'.

In this more productive light, community can be viewed as a concept that is useful because of its flexibility. Just as community has been used in academic literature to encompass a

broad range of concepts and ideas (Putnam, 2000), it can also be viewed as something that works in the minds of people to encompass a broad range of phenomena and experiences that shape their identities and everyday lives. At least discursively, a complex range of events, experiences, feelings and phenomena can be brought together into the single frame of community. As I address in the next section, some might argue that such an encompassment is insincere because it renders and simplifies social phenomena. However, I argue that viewing community 'as a discursive encompassment' allows a broad range of phenomena that people experience can be brought together within a single and intelligible analytical frame, something which can be useful and ultimately productive for social researchers.

The problematic notion of 'community as an ideal'

Ultimately, due to the criticisms explored in this chapter some researchers in the last few decades have moved away from the concept of community. This is particularly marked in research on migration and diversity, where the perceived notion of 'community as an ideal' is considered particularly problematic (Young, 1986. 1990). This view ultimately stemmed from Tönnies (1963) famous distinction addressed in the last section, who from within a contemporary context of modern society, conceptualised community as an idyllic portrayal of social life, imagined in rural villages and its positive portrayal of neighbouring relations characterised by harmony, solidarity and cohesion.

Thus, the implicit connotations of community as an idyll have led some researchers to view community as inaccurate with what they found. This view can be read in criticisms of community of denying the realities of the experience of difference. Young's (1986, 1990) work is particularly prominent here, in which the argument is made that even the most liberal conceptualisations of community which claim to accommodate diversity and freedom ultimately end up denying personal and subjective perceptions of differences. Young's research (ibid) can be read closely with Rapport's (1993, 1997) view that individual subjectivity ultimately supersedes group identities, even in cases where people share a common language, faith or ethnicity.

Similarly, others have argued the positive connotations of community as being some kind organic and stable form of social solidarity are at odds with inter-group conflicts. With this

claim as a starting point, Amit (2002) argued this functions to exaggerate inter-group distinctiveness and assumes certain people naturally bond, which, as Alleyne (2009) has warned, reinforces ethnic group essentialism. As I show in Chapter Five, people who identified with the local Asian 'group' or Asian 'community' had different experiences and perceptions of it. However, this can be particularly concerning when researching migrant and minority groups, because viewing them as internally homogenous and externally 'different' not only prevent individual's conflicting identifications from being heard, it also provides justification for their management and governance since they are socially constructed and accepted as distinct from the main national population (Hall, 1996). The view of community as the natural state of social life also creates certain conditions within these communities, in which participation in social life is appraised. As Rose (1999) highlights, this is often at the basis of policy calls for communities to be 'resilient' or policy aims that treat communities as sites for increasing civic engagement (Morris & Gilchrist, 2011; Peeters, 2013).

However, others have argued the ability of community to create 'whole' and thus governable populations is often seized by minority groups themselves. This is particularly prominent in Cohen's (1985) research which found that competition for resources and political legitimacy were dominant drives in the call for community. Through making such claims, Cohen (ibid) interpreted the coming together of diverse collectives of individuals was a process which created the feeling of community. This argument has been pursued by researchers studying ethnic minority groups, leading to claims about 'strategic essentialism' whereby groups appropriate the terms of governmental practices that view established ethnic groups as 'communities' in an attempt to capture state resources (Spivak, 2010). Baumann's (1996) study of Southall is the most prominent work here, in which Baumann (ibid) tied discourses of 'community building' and 'developing the community' associated with the groups to the growing feeling of a community that was experienced between local residents of South Asian origins. Baumann (ibid) argued this emerged from the long history of British government's governing colonial people as distinct 'cultural communities', whilst at the same time being a response of Southall's Asian group to structures of governance in which attempts to cast themselves as a community were interpreted as a means to gather

state resources. Contrary to the concerns of others, it is clear from Baumann's (ibid) work that community can be applied critically and can avoid latent notions of the 'idyll'.

The ascent of conviviality

Not least because of the concerns outlined in the previous section, Neal et al., (2017) argue a general movement away from community in the social sciences has created a lacuna in which the analytical alternative of conviviality emerged. With a focus on lived experience, recognition of the partial and complicated identifications people can develop, and acknowledgement of the everyday interactions which comprise the 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005, p. 181) of living in place, the ascent and popularity of conviviality is particularly noticeable here. Conviviality research that focuses on ethnicity, race, migration, place and belonging has sought to explore and describe the processes in which diverse populations develop ways of living together, whilst recognising at same time the contradictory and often messy realties in which resentment and ethnic conflicts can be present alongside cooperation and relationships (for examples, see Back, 1996; Amin, 2002; Noble 2010; Wise & Velayutham, 2014). As a conceptual and analytical framework, conviviality has come to occupy a considerable degree of focus in twenty-first century research seeking to understand the experience and social relations of diverse places and populations. It has origins in the sociology of Illich (1973) and the anthropology of Overing and Passes (2000), although it was Gilroy's (2004, 2006) application of conviviality to the phenomena of contemporary ethnic and cultural diversity in urban places which signalled the beginning of a 'convivial turn' to understanding contemporary urban diversity. Gilroy (2006, p. 43) defined conviviality as "a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication". Conviviality has subsequently become a popular frame for understanding the lived experience of urban diversity. Convivial research largely contends that diversity is lived in ordinary and unproblematic ways, and that tolerance of 'multiculture' is often central to people's experience of living with difference.

The point about multiculture is an interesting one. As Ahmed (2007) argued, 'multiculture' is a happy word that seems to celebrate diversity as an achievement. This tends to be the tone of convivial research similarly, as apparent in affective connotations of the word itself.

Outside of its uptake in sociology, the word conviviality conjures festival or jovial associations, although Overing and Passes (2000) argued at some length that the word should be understood with its original Latin root meaning of the Spanish word convivir, to 'live together' or to share the same life. However, despite this technical distinction clarifying what conviviality ought to mean, there has remained a tendency when using a convivial frame to develop utopian optimism and celebratory tone that overstates the transformative potential of quotidian social interaction themselves. Conviviality therefore bumps uneasily with the 'contact theory' inherent to the cohesion agenda that I questioned in the previous chapter. This is strikingly apparent in the convivial focus on micro-scale everyday public encounters and social interactions that the convivial frame clings to. Instances of low level sociability such as, for example, holding doors open for strangers, sharing seats in public spaces, helping prams onto public transport, and so on, amount as descriptions of "small achievements in the good city" (Amin, 2006, p. 1012), the "doing of togetherness" (Laurier & Philo, 2006, p. 193) and, more significantly, the basis of pluralism in contemporary urban life predicated on a shared code of ethics and a standard of moral equality (Boyd, 2006).

My use of 'multi-ethnic' over multiculture in this thesis is deliberate. Based on the accounts and views of the people who participated in this research, the overall narrative of the findings chapters was a mix of positive and negative views. I therefore use multi-ethnic to reflect this, in the ways that 'multiculture' is used to reflect interpretations of people's largely positive experiences of place-based diversity elsewhere. Multi-ethnic more accurately captures the sometimes negative perceptions of newcomers and the uneasiness around the new materialities of place that had emerged with the settlement of South Asian groups. I believe that 'multi-ethnic', over 'multiculture', more accurately conveys the way 'difference' (as opposed to 'diversity') was articulated by some residents as central to their lived experiences of Longsight.

Moreover, as Neal et al. point out (2017), conviviality has stalled in recent years. The extent to which everyday civilities and politeness can be seen as truly representative of multi-ethnic understanding remains highly debatable. Valentine (2008, 2004) voiced concern about the worrying romanisation of urban encounter given her own focus group research with White British populations in ethnically mixed neighbourhood showed the way prejudice persisted towards the ethnic 'other' despite participants publicly behaving with

civility with everyday acts of kindness for their new migrant neighbours. Rather than quotidian inter-cultural contact being the "reservoirs of hope" that Thrift (2005, p. 147) proclaimed it as when writing in the midst of the crisis-segregation discourse, Valentine (2008) argued that encounters in public space always come with a set of contextual expectations about appropriate and normative ways of behaving that regulate coexistence and provide a performative framework for public modes of being. For Valentine's (ibid) participants, behaving in civil or decent ways in public was attributed to ideas about Britishness, and as such their urban etiquette could not readily be equated with mutual respect for difference (see also Phillips et al. 2014).

However, leaving aside concerns about its celebratory tone that might overstate its potential, a further problem with conviviality is that it obfuscates context. Within a convivial analysis, the attention afforded to interactions and exchanges comes arguably at the expense of the wider structural and material conditions within which these actions are situated. In light of somewhat naïve and utopian thinking that contact with others translates into respect for difference, Valentine (2008, p. 333) reflected that "encounters never take place in a space free from history, material conditions, and power". Especially in research with conviviality, there is a somewhat uneasy way that analysis overlooks pre-existing tensions and hostilities in places, particularly tensions relating to the material and historical contexts of these places themselves. This is troublesome since a key factor to the variability of the experience of migrant settlement has been found to be the history of places themselves (Robinson et al. 2007; Spicer, 2008; Hickman et al., 2012; Robinson and Phillips, 2015). At one end of the continuum are localities that comprise of longer histories of different cultures meeting, colliding and forming a social settlement, often increasing the likelihood of new migrants receiving a positive reception. At the other end resides localities with limited history of accommodating ethnic difference, with diversity less ingrained in place identities thus heightening the likelihood of negative reactions to new migrants. With an empirical analysis of the everyday encounters and contacts that form the basis of multicultural relations, it is all too easy to overlook the historical and material contexts when adopting the conviviality frame. As such, conviviality like community is far from perfect.

Moreover, whilst often criticising community, it is noteworthy the number of researchers who subsequently return to it in later work. For example, Amit (2002) condemned community for its 'boundlessness' but reintroduced the concept in later work that considered everyday forms of social organisations (Amit, 2012). Rose (1999, p. 195) reviewed the community debates and highlighted the vagueness to the concept but concluded by advocating a "different view of community…not fixed and given but locally and socially constructed". Similarly, Young's earlier work (1986) attacked and seemed to dismiss community but in a later publication appeared to defend it, arguing the "neighbourhood clustering of the group" was an "important source of self-organisation, self-esteem, relaxation and resistance (1990, p. 217). Similarly, a number of researchers have used community alongside their own conceptual alternatives (Back, 1996, 2009; Amin, 2012, Gidley, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014). Neal, Bennet, Cochrane and Mohan (2018) talk about using community to "think conviviality through this impasse", whilst Blokland (2017) positioned her research as contributing to the revival of community in social science research. Indeed, Baumann (1996) noted some time ago how the allure of community often transcends reconfigurations of the term, whilst Werbner (2002, p. 747) commented how theoretical denigrations have done little to shift everyday imaginations of community that "remains a place of amity, mutual support and homeliness". The latter of these points seems to chime with the potency of community to Longsight's residents who participated in my research, in which discursive articulations of their lived experiences of neighbourhood drew heavily on the discourses on community that have been discussed in this chapter.

Community and neighbourhood: divorced but still together?

As Delanty (2005, p. 195) states, "whether community can establish a connection with place, or remain as an imagined condition, will be an important topic for research in the future". What is striking is how the neighbourhood of Longsight when posed by the participants as community seemed to speak to this query. The ordinary and everyday ways in which participants articulated their lived experiences and perceptions of the social relations of the neighbourhood within a discursive frame of 'community' was ultimately unphased by theoretical criticisms in the academic literature reviewed above. Community acted as a prevalent discourse and aspiration to the residents I met and was a key notion through which people made sense of the changes to the area of which migration was a

facet. This is contrary to criticism discussed in this chapter that has suggested community is too unstable and too vague to have analytical use.

What I am suggesting is that community still has considerable salience in the everyday when it comes to constructing the lived experience of neighbourhood. However, this argument seems to contradict the general direction of travel in which commentators have questioned the relevance of community in a context of neighbourhood. With growing awareness of the indirect ways of socialising at city-wide, national, inter-national and virtual scale, Guest and Wierzbicki (1999, p. 109) quite reasonably ask, "what connects people to one another in the same street?". Globalising processes may have created increasingly remote forms of social interaction for some, but this is not to assume that local social interactions and involvement in neighbourhoods is now less important for all. Phillipson, Bernard, Phillips and Ogg (1999) highlight that a lot depends on the nature of the groups to whom this claim is being applied. Reflecting on the work of Davin (1993), they argue that many older people experienced a stability of residence that was much greater than newer generations. As such, belonging and involvement in neighbourhood is particularly important to older people, who might be particularly invested in place through the amount of time spent, and who in older age might see local social contacts as key means support (as I examine in Chapter Seven). The point here is the enduring significance of place might apply to cohorts of social groups, rather than to all social groups. It is perfectly possible that local people did not see or treat Longsight as an important site of their social capital or source of their belonging. The people who participated in this research might therefore be one of many who value local neighbourhoods because familiar landmarks and social spaces in the local area have significance as sources of comfort and security.

The point I wish to make here is that local neighbourhood can be approached as one of the many sources to people's identity, social capital, belonging and constructions of 'community'. This is recognised by authors who have used community in contexts of neighbourhood research. However, there are number of ways of approaching community in contexts of place and neighbourhood. It has been analysed by some as a localised social system with an analytical focus on the bonds between local residents (Miller, 1993; Blokland, 2017). To others, it viewed as a form of localised cultural togetherness and communion based on a shared identity and sets of everyday practices (for example, Silk,

1999). Moreover, in longer standing work, community is treated as a spatial entity based on geographical proximity that is often presented in the form of a locality (McKenzie et al., 1967; Mackenzie & Dalby 2003). It is the latter of these approaches that heavily influence my conceptualisation. In this final section I intend to explain how my definition of community approaches and treats neighbourhood as a site where community is sensed and articulated.

There is little doubt the Chicago School of Sociology saw community through the lens of neighbourhood. As noted in Chapter Two, the now much known work of Park and colleagues throughout the 1920s and 1930s (McKenzie et al., 1967) shaped Rex and Moore's (1967) theory of social change in Sparkbrook. However, the 'race relations cycle' can be read as part of their wider argument about how urbanisation, modernisation and industrialisation had turned the town into a city, with the city representative of newer kinds of negative social relations. Whilst the resonance with the discourses of community I critiqued in this chapter are clear, the sometimes extreme pessimism of rural anthropology was avoided. A key theme at the heart of the Chicago School's urban sociology involved human alienation and perceived crisis and decline of community within the rise of unscrupulous cities that were centres for modern social ills. However, expanding on Durkheim's (1957) arguments, the concern of the Chicago School was with the fate or survival of urban community, with these studies seemingly proclaiming that community was preservable in the vestiges of urban neighbourhoods that were under threat from the wider revanchist city itself. As such, neighbourhoods in the first half of the twentieth century have been referred to nostalgically as the 'golden age of neighbourhoods' (von Hoffman, 1994). An interpretation of this argument might be that the city had become absorbed in the Gesellschaft of society, whilst Gemeinschaft relations had been preserved in the locality. So whilst the city was acknowledged as important in the Chicago School's sociology, everyday lives were understood as remaining in localities with social relations continuing to be negotiated in the more local and intimate spaces of the city – the places, homes, landmarks, and shared commercial and retail spaces comprised at neighbourhood level. This extends to my definition of community as operationalised in the research, as extending over a small urban locality, and acting as a powerful foundation for belonging that was based on

experiences, identifications with groups, ties with local residents and forms of social capital, situated through inhabitation of a common spatial life world.

As Healey (1998) argues, the neighbourhood provides a useful scale for studying people's 'everyday life-worlds'. However, this invariably brings into question the boundary between 'neighbourhood' and 'community', and questions whether a focus on the intimate spaces of the neighbourhood might unwittingly permit the social and spatial integration of Gemeinschaft community, and thus takes the discourses on community as 'real'. To avoid this, in my research I have employed the idea of "neighbourhood as a space" (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p. 2175) through which people live and experience difference, and which symbolise aspects of the identity of those living there, to themselves and to outsiders. Neighbourhood has thus been defined as both a place – a concrete and specific location – and a space that has acquired meaning as a result of experiences (Gagliardi, 1990; Yanow, 1998; Cairns, 2002). This definition of neighbourhood as living space clearly has social and spatial elements. Davies and Herbert (1993, p. 1) make a useful distinction between neighbourhood and community which I have drawn on in this respect, in that whilst community is related to neighbourhood, the social elements of neighbourhood "relates to the area around a residence…which is usually viewed as a set of informal face-to-face interactions based on residential proximity". Moreover, the spatial elements of neighbourhood relate to the "specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of the area" (Glass, 1948, p. 18). As I show later, the neighbourhood's physical and social character alongside the groups associated with it, were drawn on heavily by Longsight's residents in understanding their neighbourhood as a community. The meanings and experiences of place and space was taken as an ontology to community, largely because of the interpretive walking method that was developed. As such, neighbourhood and the subsidiary local places were treated as spaces through which community was 'sensed'. Community was therefore defined through ideas of 'neighbourhood as a space' that contains social and physical elements, as well as having 'imagined' dimensions (Anderson, 1991).

However, a problem with understanding community as grounded in small localities and based on senses of neighbourhood space in which *all* inhabitants form attachments or 'belonging' to, is that it might assume unwittingly that groups inhabiting these places are

confined by some kind of urban boundary, or that groups comprised in these places have bonded in solidarity against something much larger existing beyond neighbourhood. This would inevitably lead to a return to romanticising community through assuming the power of locality and attachments to place (Carter & Jones, 1989). It has been persuasively argued that spatially oriented bonds are now much less important in contemporary settings through the rise of individualism and globalisation (Putnam, 2000; Larsen, Urry & Axhaussen, 2005). Nonetheless, the legacy of place-based community research resonates in contemporary community studies through a focus on the arrangements of social relations and interactions of individuals situated in social proximity (Crow and Allen, 1994). A finding common to this literature are the expressions of the importance of place and framing of it as territory in people's narratives of living in community (Power & Mumford, 2003; Dench, et al. 2006). We know that place assumes a certain meaning in perceptions of community, but we don't know how. This therefore reflects the level of appreciation for locality in my research, but I wish to state that this focus on neighbourhood and the definition of community is not one that romanticises the power of locality. As will become clear later, Longsight was at the centre of people's everyday social lives which formed experiences of differences; however, surrounding neighbourhoods and other places were similarly important reference points.

If then, the view is adopted that community can be about senses of neighbourhood space and local social relationships that support local life, then the presence and particularity of social relations in place is brought into focus. As addressed in the last chapter, a common theme in recent research on experiences and relations of diverse areas has been the return to the locality with Hackney (Rhys-Taylor, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014), Keighley (Swanton, 2010) and Alum Rock (Karner & Parker 2010; Wilson, 2013) all providing important insights into contemporary experiences of diversity situated in places. Savage (2010, p. 140) suggested the most credible empirical contributions the classic British community studies made to the study of society was when studies explicitly "defined the local as a site of social change, rather than as a location in a wider landscape, they abstracted the local study from its environment, and so mobilized them as displaced exemplars of the nation". In this spirit, then, it is possible to see place as not only the setting for research, but also integral to shaping social interactions, affinities, connections and experiences of diversity itself. This

reflects Massey and Denton's (1993) insistence that place is not simply a container of social relationships but itself constantly being made, remade and defined through social relationships. In this spirit, I approached talk of 'community' in Longsight as less a clearly bounded and marked out community of place, and more a certain valued quality to neighbourhood life based on senses of social space and perceptions of the quality of local relationships. In this context, neighbourhood has the capacity to shape the social worlds of its inhabitants. It follows that thinking about places in this way allows place to be treated as sites for examining experiences of immigration-related social change.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the contestations over community, and to arrive at a clear definition of community as developed and used in this research. I began by arguing that classical thought about the polis and cosmos lie at the heart of the great discourse on 'community as lost' and discussed how this discourse has been deployed in debates about immigration-related diversity in places. I have shown the 'lost through diversity' narrative is a deeply exclusionary argued that it is simplistic in light of other research, and, moreover, the great discourses on community are problematic because they treat community as 'real' and something that 'actually' existed.

When addressing the criticisms of community in diversity research and weighing up conviviality as a possible alternative for this study, I have shown that community like all social concepts is imperfect and only ever partially useful. However, through repositioning community as having 'productive ambiguity', I have argued that community is fluid and something researchers have routinely returned to perhaps because of its endurance and continued allure as a prevalent discourse and aspiration in the everyday. Community was certainly a valued quality to neighbourhood life and place-based relations as expressed by the residents of Longsight who chose to participate in this research. As such, I arrived at my definition of community as based on ideas of 'neighbourhood as a space' (Meegan & Mitchell, 2001) and 'imagined' elements (Anderson, 1991). As I will argue later on, community was imbued from the physical and spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood, as well as social elements based on local ties and constructions of networks stemming from residential proximity. Community thus acted as a something to 'think with' (Ahmed & Fortier, 2008) for the local residents by allowing a wide variety of experiences related to

place, identity and social relations to be framed and situated subjectively, and articulated and often 'sensed' in context of a walking interview. I turn now to a discussion of methodology and methods. I end this conclusion with the research questions developed as an outcome of the policy and literature reviewed in Chapter Two and Three, and which framed the design of the methodology and approach to methods I turn to addressing in Chapter Four:

1. Does immigration shape local residents' experiences of change in Longsight?
2. How do experiences and interpretations of local spaces and places contribute to people's constructions of community?
3. What factors shape social ties and how are networks configured in the community/ies people feel they belong to?
4. How is 'community' constructed, articulated and understood by local residents?

Chapter Four – Walking, Talking and Sensing

I have so far focussed on providing a backdrop to the research. I identified the policy and literature areas where this study seeks to critique and contribute to (Chapter Two), and overviewed and explained my conceptualisation of community that frames this research (Chapter Three). I now turn to the fieldwork with a focus on discussing the methodology and methods employed in this research. I work through this chapter sequentially, beginning with an explanation of the broader interpretivist and qualitative positions I have taken. With epistemological and methodological positions established, I then discuss the methods used in this research. I discuss the sampling and recruitment methods, the ethical procedures I adhered to throughout, reflect on the design and implementation of a walking interview method, and then discuss how I analysed the data itself. I then provide a critical reflection on methods, with an examination of the multi-positionalities in relation to interviewing the participants, before addressing potential concerns over how I have written about 'groups' throughout the subsequent chapters.

Interpretivist epistemology

As indicated by the above research questions, this research is concerned with understanding perceptions, experiences and social constructs. Although this thesis is not a theoretical exploration of epistemology, the focus here brings into question epistemology, in terms of the philosophical debates about the nature of knowledge and what counts as 'truth' in and of the social world. The focus of this opening section is to make clear my awareness of these debates and, more importantly, where I stand on them. This provides a key cornerstone to understanding how I approached data analysis and the knowledge claims I make in this thesis.

In the social sciences, philosophical debates about epistemology, broadly understood as "theory of what is valid knowledge" (Temple, 1997, p. 71), have occupied a considerable degree of attention. The main differences to this debate are approaches to the notions of truth and the knowledge we can gain through assuming certain positions on truth itself. Although a simplification, these positions can be divided between objective and subjective perspectives on truth. I do not wish to set up 'straw positivists' (Hammersley, 1997; Ahmed, 2010) or to simplify previous epistemological traditions in order to dismiss them. However,

to make clear my epistemological position, I find it useful to think about epistemology as a continuum of perspectives on knowing about the social world.

It follows that positivism would be at one end of this continuum. Influenced by developments in the natural and physical sciences, early social sciences can be characterised as a period of positivism as reflected by a tendency to make objective truth claims about the social world. The logic of positivism can be summarised as the pursuit of objective truth about the social world through confining knowledge of the social world to what can be directly observed or measured. Positivism thus assumes the social world exists independent of human meaning, and can therefore be understood using methods of inquiry developed for the study of objects and forces in the natural and physical worlds (Milnes, 2003). However, the assumption that truth is independent of location, culture and time (in terms of what is true 'there' and 'then', must be true 'here' and 'now') is now largely considered an unconvincing and therefore unconventional way of understanding the social world. Positivism's relatively marginal status in the contemporary social sciences leads me to position it at one extreme of the epistemological continuum, and although postmodernism would certainly dismiss the rational certainty of positivism (Johnson & Duberley, 2000), I would locate postmodernism equally at the other extreme of this continuum, to similarly denote its relatively marginal status.

With this in mind, I locate interpretivism at the centre of the epistemological continuum to denote its relatively mainstream status in contemporary social research. In contrast to positivism, interpretivism contains a diverse group of approaches including constructivism, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Yin, 2010). Although these groups contain distinctions, they ultimately differ from positivism through claiming that truth does not reside objectivity within a world independent of human meaning, and that truth is instead multiple, subjective and socially constructed (ibid). Put into dialogue with positivism, interpretivism differs in other areas too, with the types of knowledge generated in an interpretivist frame stemming from interpretation of meaning through the collection and analysis of data conducted with self-awareness of the researcher's reflexivity. That reality exists in human consciousness means people cannot be separated from their knowledge. Accordingly, an interpretivist position, which I have subscribed to in this research, involves transactional dialogue with people, awareness and consideration of social constructions, and naturalistically orientated

data collection methods focussed on sensing and interpreting the data that is representative of the social world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

In Chapter Two, I outlined developments in research that have led to a renewed focus on neighbourhoods, places and urban areas and the interaction between groups and individuals. In Chapter Three, I argued that community is discursively constructed at policy and everyday levels, and has come to occupy a key concept in thinking about and articulating experiences of urban social life. I argue that community is a key reference point in social life and has subjective meaning in questions about ourselves and the quality of our social relations with others. To understand experiences of a diverse neighbourhood and people's constructions of community as this research aims to, I am ultimately directed to taking an interpretivist position on the social world. I am not seeking to prove objectively that community is 'real' or that it 'exists', or that it is 'lost', 'found', or not achieved. Instead, I am seeking to understand how community is deployed and understood in contexts of place, social relations and difference. With the epistemological position I have taken now clear, I turn to narrowing my focus by explaining the qualitative methodology I have adopted, and how this methodology allows me to conduct a social study of difference in urban contexts.

Qualitative methodology

Congruent with an interpretivist position, a qualitive approach was deemed appropriate here to allow for the collection of layered and multidimensional perspectives on place, and to understands residents' constructions of community in spatial context of a multi-ethnic neighbourhood. As indicated in Chapter One, qualitative data was primarily collected through a walking interview method that involved traversing and sensing local spaces and neighbourhood places alongside local residents. This approach involved an unstructured interview questioning carried out in a walking and talking manner. Although much has been written about the usefulness of qualitative interviews more broadly for allowing an examination of meaning, concepts, definitions, characteristics, symbols and descriptions (Berg & Lune, 2012), as I reflect on in the discussion below, I felt a walking interview was better suited than a room-based interview in this research as participants were able to place events, stories and experiences in their 'actual' spatial contexts.

In earlier approaches to migration and transnationalism, research examining the social relations of difference often followed, conversely, a more traditional approach of conducting ethnographical analysis of the social practices of individuals and groups in their cultural and historical contexts. In contrast, my methodology appears to fit within a newer methodological direction, focussed on neighbourhood, places and urban environments, and the interactions between people and groups in these contexts. This methodology can be viewed as being influenced by urbanism and the understandings of the importance of place as a context for community (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001) and a 'container' for social relations (Massey, 2005). Although it might lack an in-depth analysis of historical and cultural backgrounds that ethnographic approaches enable, my qualitative approach allows an exploration of people's understandings of their neighbourhood, their local social ties and relationships, as well as their constructions of identity and belonging *in* the urban locality as that was focus of this research.

Qualitative data was primarily collected through a walking interview method that involved traversing and sensing local spaces and neighbourhood places alongside local residents. This approach involved an unstructured interview questioning carried out in a walking and talking manner. Although much has been written about the usefulness of qualitative interviews more broadly for allowing an examination of meaning, concepts, definitions, characteristics, symbols and descriptions (Berg & Lune, 2012), as I reflect on in the discussion below, I felt a walking interview was better suited than a room-based interview in this research as participants were able to place events, stories and experiences in their 'actual' spatial contexts.

In addition, extensive field notes were taken throughout the fieldwork. My approach to field notes involved jotting key words and information onto a small notepad during the day-to-day course of events. These were then written up as logs at the end of each day, and on reflection this served as a key process through which I thought through the fieldwork as I was in the process of conducting it. As I discuss below, the field notes also played a role in the contextualisation and analysis of the interview data. However, they primarily acted as notes that recorded interactions and exchanges with gatekeepers, my emotional responses to the people I met and the things I observed, descriptions of what I observed and experienced whilst moving around the area, and written accounts that ultimately acted as a

means through which I was interpreting my experience of an unfamiliar place and social environment. At the time, the purpose of taking field notes was to support sense-making. I did not intend to use field notes as a means of immersion within the field itself or a primary method of data collection. Instead they contained description that was both practical and useful in the analysis of interview transcripts and the writing of this thesis.

However, despite the specificities of this methodology and the research activities that were undertaken, the usual criteria for ensuring the quality of this research has been applied here. Acknowledging concerns that qualitive research can, at times, be perceived as lacking sufficient rigour (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Seale, 1999), I have sought to ensure this research was carried out in rigorous and methodical manner, so that findings in the following chapters are ultimately worthy of attention. In the following sections, I reflect critically on the methods and approaches I used to carry out this research at all stages, highlighting strengths and drawbacks and providing as much transparency as possible.

Sampling strategy

It is a general feature of qualitative research to design and implement a sampling strategy. However, qualitative researchers have been criticised for their approach to sampling. Barbour (2001) observed a tendency to poorly describing sampling approaches in qualitative research. In addition, others have claimed that when sampling strategies are reported in enough detail to allow proper scrutiny of findings, specific assumptions and situations underpinning the research approach often remain unexplained or unexamined (Knafl & Howard, 1984; Baker, Wuest & Stern, 1992). With these concerns in mind, I seek here to report on the sampling strategy I developed, and reflect on the experience of applying my theory of sampling to the field.

My approach to sampling can be characterised as purposive sampling. This sampling method requires researchers to have prior knowledge about the people they want to recruit, and an understanding of where they can be found so that they can be chosen or 'purposefully' selected (Sandekowski, 1992; 1995). This commentary resonated with my approach because I had already selected the study setting early on in this research, and before commencing fieldwork I had a broad idea of the people and groups I wanted to include based on population data published by the local authority (Manchester City Council, 2011; Bullen,

2015). I acknowledge this data might have been somewhat out-of-date by the time of data collection in January 2018. However, I felt nonetheless that a prior awareness of the ethnicities, religions and language comprising the local population, as well as the relative size of ethnic groups in the locality itself, meant I was effectively starting fieldwork with a pre-existing idea about who I should approach.

With this information at hand, I decided that people who could participate in this research needed to meet the following criteria to be included in the sample: to have moved to and to be living in Longsight; to be able to physically participate in a walking interview without ethical concern; and be able to speak English proficiently (I assumed English would be the medium language people communicated with, and additionally, there was no scope for using translators in this research due to a limited research budget). The sampling criteria proved problematic in this last respect. I observed a pattern during fieldwork in which older members of migrant and minority groups spoke little English, meaning some people may have been excluded unwillingly from the sample.

I make no claim that the demographic data underpinning the decision to use Longsight as a study setting functioned as a sample frame. Moreover, as with purposive sampling, I make no claim the sample was representative of the experiences of other people living in Longsight who did not participate in this research. There was no sampling frame available, and to make representative claims using a qualitative sample of the size used in this research would problematic. Instead, my sampling strategy was governed by selecting people who lived in the area, with a focus on developing findings through understanding the depth and complexity of their experiences, which could be put in conversation with research findings from localities elsewhere and thus create transferability to the research findings.

Recruiting participants

Once I understood my sampling strategy, and had identified the inclusion criteria, I moved onto the participant recruitment stage of the research. This involved approaching local faith and community centres located in Longsight that I had identified beforehand using Google Maps. I assumed these places located in the neighbourhood functioned as sites and spaces in which to meet local people, and given the names of the local centres themselves, it was

clear to me that these sites would provide access to recruiting migrant and ethnic minority residents.

The decision to use community centres as sites for participant recruitment influenced the composition of the sample in a number of ways. The strength of using community centres was that it led to the recruitment of people who were resident in the area as desired, whilst it allowed me to approach them in a friendly and relaxed manner that might have otherwise been difficult in public places and spaces of the neighbourhood. Moreover, as perhaps reflected by their use of a local community centre, these residents seemed to have particular interest in the neighbourhood and the locality. This meant I was able to recruit people who were able to articulate rich commentary in response to interview questions about the local area.

However, this approach seems to have led mainly to the recruitment of older residents, perhaps because older residents tend to engage more with neighbourhood community centres, and perhaps because the fieldwork was conducted during school, college and working hours. This meant that younger residents might not have been in the locality during fieldwork, or indeed might not use or rely on the resources as much as participants at further stages in the life course appeared to. As a consequence, the sample has a marked absence of younger voices and participants. In addition, a large proportion of the participants were women, and it transpired during the interview that they were mothers. The interview occasion itself was shaped by school hours and childcare commitments, with the women perhaps engaged in localised often school-related routines that might revolve around the resources and social spaces of community centres. This perhaps explains the marked absence of males in the sample, although this was not necessarily desired.

Finally, although approaching community centres meant I was able to recruit established residents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds, Roma residents, despite being uncovered as a new and substantial migrant group in the area, were not recruited to this research. Although a considerable population of Roma individuals now live in Britain (Brown, Scullion and Martin, 2015), there was no indication in the datasets I consulted prior to the fieldwork that Roma groups were living in Longsight (for example, MCC, 2011; Bullen, 2015). This might be owing to the fact that Roma migrations to Longsight primarily occurred after the 2011 Census and are yet to appear in official population data. I therefore had no

indication that Roma groups were living in Longsight prior to fieldwork, an outcome compounded by the decision to approach various community centres of which Roma groups are yet to formally establish.

Generally speaking, I approached the recruitment of participants in an open and relaxed manner. In the first few weeks of fieldwork, I intended to converse casually with as many local people as possible in local community centres, telling them about the research and gauging their potential interest. Indeed, all contact with local centres was done in person throughout the fieldwork and at no point did I digitally contact local organisations beforehand. This was, after all, qualitative research on the lived experience of place. Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, Allen (1993) recommend 'prolonged engagement' between the researcher and potential participants in the first stages of fieldwork, to gain adequate understanding of the culture of the field, and to establish trust and working relationships between parties involved. I felt the same applied to me, in that I wanted to experience the neighbourhood and become acquainted with the layout and key public places as part of developing confidence in the accuracy of the participants views, which I feel perhaps contribute to the trustworthiness of findings.

The initial stage of fieldwork was therefore done with little intention of recruiting anybody. My strategy involved walking around the area to see which community centres were active and open, eventually plucking up the courage to knock on doors and speak casually with individuals in organisations about the research. I initially repeated this cycle over a number of weeks, and in between dropping into centres and becoming acquainted with staff members and certain residents, I tended to frequent local spaces including the market, shops and cafes with people I assumed were mostly residents conducting everyday routines in place. I found that frequenting Longsight in this way established my basic assumptions about the area which formed a reflexive frame underpinning the analysis of interview data. In addition, being attentive to the area seems to have helped with my movement from researcher-outsider to researcher-insider in some circles, as suggested by occasions in which people appeared to me, by inviting me to volunteer with English lesson classes at a local church, or when I was invited to play dominos with a group of people in a centre elsewhere.

The fieldwork moments that did not involve interviews were methodically recorded in my field notes. Field notes were developed through jottings inscribed on the scene (Emerson,

Fretz & Shaw, 2011). These field notes went onto inform data analysis by enabling a 'thick description' that provided additional context to what people said during interviews (Gertz, 1973). In some cases, referring back to the field notes was integral to accurate interpretations of transcripts.

In sum, I tried to develop some familiarity with the area and the participants before the walking interviews took place. The aim and intention of this approach developed familiarity on my part with the area itself, as well as links with people and 'gatekeepers' in community centres who were pivotal in assisting with the recruitment of interview participants.

Gatekeepers and access to participants

Prior to the fieldwork, I designed posters advertising the project with the intention of asking staff in local associations to display them in the centres. However, I anticipated interview posters placed in eye-catching locations would do little to entice people to participate in the research. Indeed, I had two expressions of interest that developed in this way, with only one going onto participate in this research. With this mind, I intended to use recruitment posters as a reason to make return visits to place, to check-in with the staff I had contacted and begin conversations about the research through referencing my poster. The posters were largely used in this way, and upon reflection they were a key means of establishing links with local associations, with repeat returns to places leading to me being remembered by people there as the 'university researcher'. I was in effect building rapport with staff and people using the centres that kept the momentum involved with recruitment going. In some cases, this led to recruiting staff members of the associations who were residents themselves.

As mentioned previously, I felt that I was becoming known by people in certain community centres as the fieldwork progressed, with staff members often informing me that they had told others about the research and how the interest of potential recruits was developing. In addition, I began to encounter people enthused by the idea of a university researcher doing a study of their 'local community'. The warm notion of community appeared to resonate with some. In one instance, as an interview was approaching its natural conclusion, the participant (a staff member of a local organisation) stated her intention to help with the

recruitment of residents that matched the sampling criteria on the basis that I was taking an interest in "the community".

It is of course impossible to know how my framing of the research might have influenced or deterred people from participation. However, 'doing a community study' proved a particularly useful way of approaching organisations and recruiting participants in the first few weeks of fieldwork, particularly participants who identified as 'English' or 'white'. As the sample table below might suggest, I can only assume my own characteristics as a white British researcher was enough of a basis for these participants to be willing to participate without little effort, whereas it took more time to build rapport with Asian groups who were uncertain of my intentions and presence in mosques. As I examine in the following chapter, in some mosques I was perceived by gatekeepers as a government spy, based on my characteristics as a white British person, whose intention was to collect information from Asian and Muslim residents. Whilst Weber (1971) long-ago recognised that researchers can encounter obstacles in the form of suspicion about their motives among the people they are seeking to study (Crow and Pope, 2008), the suggestions by some gatekeepers that it would be difficult for me to recruit or even advertise the research in some local organisations was assembled very much from British Muslim reactions to growing Islamophobia and government security programmes such as Prevent (see Chapter Five). Whilst I sought to establish my genuine researcher credentials in these instances (in my field notes, I recorded showing an individual my business card that contained my university credentials) it was ultimately difficult to establish the levels of trust and rapport in a professional and ethical manner in some circles. Fox (1964), in his account of fieldwork in an island off the north west of Ireland, described similar experiences of having to convince local people that he was a researcher and not a British spy. However, whilst Fox (ibid) was able to ultimately convince residents who were initially wary of his motives, for fear of impinging on personal boundaries and pursuing participant recruitment in a harmful and perhaps unethical manner, I decided in these instances to pursue recruitment through other local organisations.

Introducing the participants (table 1.1)

In all, I recruited eleven participants and conducted a total of eight walking interviews over a six-month period between January 2018 and May 2018. I provide background information

to the participants in the order they were recruited in the following table. In addition, I have included the length of the interviews to present some idea of the boundaries to the data collection process. With that said, there did not appear to be a relationship between length of walk and the richness of interview data.

Participant pseudonym	Age(s)	Length of residence in Longsight	Place of birth	Ethnicity (self-described)	Interview time (minutes)
Louise	54	11 years	Sheffield, United Kingdom	British	35 minutes
Mohammed	68	33 years	Urbn, Bangladesh	Bangladeshi British	35 minutes
Frank	71	19 years	Salford, United Kingdom	English	80 minutes
Theresa Mary	80 78	57 years 50 years	Manchester (not Longsight), United Kingdom Altrincham, United Kingdom	English British English British	31 minutes
Mani	51	51 years	Longsight	Pakistani British	35 minutes
Jarin, Sabrina (group walk)	48 48	16 years 14 years	Swansea, Bangladesh	Bangladeshi British (all)	51 minutes
Ruma, Imen, and Siddika, (group walk)	34 48 36	2 years 1 year 3 years	Bangladesh Pakistani Bangladesh	Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Bangladeshi	66 minutes

Ethical considerations

This research was granted ethical approval by the University of Salford Research Ethics Panel (School of Health and Society). I briefed all participants prior to interviews, giving a full overview of the research and what their participation involved. At the end of the brief, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions which were addressed accordingly. Participants were then asked to select an appropriate pseudonym. Research participants and local associations will be handed a summarised version of research findings after thesis submission following requests. These ethical practices were applied consistently throughout.

I did not envisage the interview topic under discussion, the social life of an ethnically diverse community, to elicit particularly strong accounts about place, belonging and change. However, some interviews were shaped by moments in which the participant expressed racialised views when asked about these topics, resulting in moments of some anxiety and uncertainty on my part about how to proceed with the interview. In these instances, I adopted a situated approach to my ethical practice, which was realised in retrospect. Situated ethics relates to a conduct in which researchers are governed by what they feel appropriate in a specific settings or contexts rather than relying solely on universalistic ethical procedures (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Calvey, 2008; Clark, Prosser & Wiles, 2010; Perez, 2017). I remained guided ultimately throughout fieldwork by the University of Salford's ethics panel and, additionally, the British Sociological Association's (2002) guidelines. However, interaction with some participants required a practical approach involving situated ethics since data being collected in these moments was appropriate to the study and useful in data analysis, despite being expressed in a manner that was sometimes uncomfortable. I therefore make clear that context specific decision-making played some part in my ethical practice during fieldwork. It is of course impossible to be certain of this; however, I do not feel instances of racism impinged on the welfare and safety of others not involved in this research.

Gaining informed consent

Prior to the walking interviews, participants were given verbal information stemming from a participant information sheet which outlined the purpose of the research and what their

participation involved. I found that participants had often read the information sheets before the brief and had some knowledge of the research project. Nonetheless, participants were given the opportunity to discuss any concerns before formally agreeing to take part. All participants were then asked to sign a participant consent form summarising their participant rights. Participants were then asked to fill in a participant demographic sheet, which was used to develop Table 1.1. I judged all participants understood their right to withdraw from the research at any time. At time of thesis submission, none of the participants have withdrawn from this research.

Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity – defined here as no revealing links between the participant's words and information about the participant themselves – was mostly ensured by not transcribing participants' names or any revealing information (for example, names of friends, family members, places of work) in the interview transcripts. All research participants identified their own pseudonyms, meaning only the participants and myself will know which published extracts are verbatim accounts of what they said during the interview.

I have also considered the challenge of ensuring full anonymity during the walking interview. My initial concern was that participants would state addresses or defining characteristics of properties associated with themselves or others during the recording. I asked all participants' to refrain from doing this. Unfortunately, this occurred on several occasions, and I therefore anonymised all revealing information about places belonging to people outside of this research in the subsequent transcripts. The second issue involved the possibility that participants would see people they knew during the walks and would subsequently begin conversing with them during the interview recording. This happened on multiple occasions which led me to omit these conversations from transcripts. All interview recordings have been secured on-campus and will deleted after completion of PhD. Transcripts will be secured for a further three years.

Developing a walking interview

The 'mobilities turn' in social science research has sparked interest in methodological attempts to understand how movement shapes social and material realities (Büscher &

Urry, 2009). This has included the possibilities of using walking interview methods to understand how neighbourhoods and senses of local community are interpreted and experienced by people (Hall, Lashua & Coffey, 2006; Moles, 2008; Clark & Emmel, 2010). Walking interviews can therefore be considered a useful way of understanding people's interpretations of the social and physical attributes of neighbourhoods alongside a sense of their daily experiences. The 'small details' of neighbourhood life (Fink, 2011) are situated within the participants' interpretations of their biographies, with participants locating themselves and their interpretation of their biography within socio-spatial settings that is difficult to attain in a sedentary room-based interview.

Within a context of the 'return to place' this research is situated within, a walking interview felt like the logical qualitative method to develop and use as the primary method of data collection. I envisaged it would allow participants to show as well as describe the environments I was interested in. In practice, the walking interview had both advantages and drawbacks. In this section I reflect on the experience of doing the walking interviews, including the benefits to this research, the practicalities of carrying it out, and how I overcame distinct analytical challenges involving the type of qualitative data produced by walking and talking.

I did not offer prescriptive instructions to participants about how the walking interview should be completed. I only asked that we stay in Longsight, and found the participants generally understood the geographical boundaries of the study setting even though boundaries were not marked, and some residential neighbourhoods sat at the intersection of several other areas. I was confident that participants understood my intention to show me Longsight as they wanted it to be seen, without me imposing any sense of wanting to see specific areas or things. I was of course focussed on using the walking interview to collect place-based interview data as generated by the participant. I anticipated a pre-prepared walking route on my part which I would take participants on would encourage opinion-based data as it has in other studies employing approach (see Paulos & Goodman, 2004; Inwood & Martin, 2008). The routes we took were therefore unplanned and sporadic and led always by the participant themselves.

Participants could in effect take me to anywhere in Longsight that they wanted, taking whichever route they wished. Despite this, I hesitate to suggest the walking interview was

totally unstructured since the occasion was motivated largely by self-interest on my part as a researcher (Ahmed, 2010). Nonetheless, my approach to and practice of the walking method could generally be characterised by its flexibility, since all participants had a desire to show me particularly meaningful places specific to the stories they were telling. On some occasions, cultural differences between myself and Asian participants necessitated group walk with friends, which meant that I was effectively doing group walking interviews.

Despite initially planning to do walking interviews with just myself and the participant, towards the end of the fieldwork I ended up doing a two group walks. In hindsight, this proved a key means of recruiting Asian women to the research, who made clear beforehand that they felt uncomfortable walking, and being seen in public, with a male who was not a spouse or family member. Inevitably, group walks were different to walking and talking with a lone participant. Firstly, the power dynamics to the group walks were different, with the stories told and the routes selected as much an outcome of how participants mediated their relationships with each other. In addition, some participants drifted in and out of interviews, and despite formal consent in the research, some went onto to say very little. These individuals drifted in and out of conversations, and on one occasion chose to leave the group entirely for unknown reasons. Nonetheless, I found that decision-making about where to go during group walks often led to richer meanings associated with the different areas we passed through, and the destination where we eventually ended up. In sum, the group walking interviews were not a simple combination of focus group and mobile interview methods: it was a distinct method of data collection that had its own benefits and challenges, and, crucially, was capable of collecting data from Asian residents in particular methodological circumstances. I discuss in the following section how analysis of group interview data differed from the analysis of transcripts with lone participants.

Despite variation in interview numbers, all interview data was collected with audio recording that was subsequently transcribed and turned into verbatim interview transcripts. The interview transcripts generally comprised of a mix between general commentary on everyday routines in the area, and fuller stories and accounts constructed with memories and feelings and involving a combination of biography and overarching events. As we walked, we often talked about the places we were passing through and the significance of them to the participants' lives in Longsight. In appendix 2, I provide the interview topic

guide. The interview questions were based on the research questions outlined in the conclusion of Chapter Three, and were designed to address the main themes and concepts that this study was interested in, as outlined in the previous chapters.

As appendix 2 shows, the walking interviews mostly started with a simple question: "can you tell me about your life and how you came to live in Longsight?". The participants would often then reflect on their lives before walking in autopilot without much consideration about where to go. I had in effect executed a grand tour question as outlined by Spradley (1979), with the intention of producing a descriptive response that would generate other talk. From this, the participant would generally know where they wanted to go next, based on the account that they had just given with the intention of reaffirming or supporting what they just said. For example, one participant showed me the street they had lived in at the time they had referred to, whilst another showed the location of an event in a local shared memory they had just recollected. Each interview therefore had its own motion and dynamics, meaning I did not have to rigidly stick to the interview questions in the topic guide. It was only when a break occurred in the participant's talk, or when the participant silence suggested they had little to more to add to what they had just said, that I would glance at the topic guide and use a prompt related to the question, or just move onto a separate topic altogether. Even then, I did not go through the topic guide in any set order, although I was conscious of asking all the questions even if the topic felt exhausted.

In practice, however, I encountered some challenges with the walking interview. Firstly, the walking interview transpired as a physical challenge for one older resident who had to cut short her participation in a group walk. Secondly, fieldwork started in the first week of January 2018, and the weather then was particularly bad. This had the effect of demotivating some of the participants, and in one case a person who had expressed interest in participating subsequently decided not to, citing bad weather as a deciding factor. On another occasion, a downpour of hailstone cut short an interview, as the participant naturally wanted to be inside and away from the elements. The weather therefore may have had some say in the length of interviews as well as the amount of data that could have been collected.

Moreover, the technical challenge of listening to and transcribing an interview enmeshed with background noise of an inner-city neighbourhood made parts to some of the

recordings inaudible, despite attempts to listen back at varying playback speeds. Unavoidably, not all sections of interviews could be transcribed verbatim, meaning there could have been a case for employing video technology as has been done elsewhere (see Pink, 2007). There was, however, the ethical concern that using video would capture people outside of the research who had not agreed to participate. Using video was therefore judged ethically problematic for outdoor walking interviews. Furthermore, the usage of video has been commented as overburdening participants since participants are strapped with a camera (Jones, Bunce, Evans, Gibbs, Hein, 2008). The concern here was that – not to mention the practicalities of walking, talking and filming – a participant strapped with a camera would undermine the naturalness to the data collection process, since the participant would invariably become aware of themselves wearing a video camera or that I was filming them. Moreover, other researchers reflecting on their walking method that involved video camera as the data collection device complain footage is often blurred and somewhat disorientating (Evans & Jones, 2011). Considering this, it seems there was no guarantee that using video would solve the technological problems I encountered. With this in mind, my technological issues may have been to a large extent inevitable.

At the end of each interview I had recorded the walking route using Global Positioning System. From this, I manually plotted the routes onto a map using online software which produced visual representations of the interview routes documented in appendix 5. Although the stories and conversations of interviews extended far beyond the specific routes we traversed, providing a visual overview of routes helps detail the lengths of the walks and thus illuminates aspects of a relatively novel research method for future researchers. Ultimately, I did not consider the interview walking routes a representation of the participants' actual spatial practices or daily routines. Rather, they were indicative of how participants moved through the neighbourhood for specific reasons; in this case to show (as well as describe) specific places and spaces that were significant to their understandings of place and constructions of community.

Analysing the data

Initially, this research was planned as a narrative inquiry. However, following fieldwork and the subsequent examination of data, I chose to diverge from a planned narrative analysis for two key reasons. Firstly, I found narrative and storytelling featured in the interview

transcripts but only partially, with large parts of the transcripts, contrary to my intentions, made up of general conversation and interaction between myself and the participants which I interpreted as useful and interesting. This type of data seems to have stemmed from the data collection method itself, with conversation perhaps an intrinsic aspect to walking and talking, suggesting walking interviews might not be the best method for carrying out narrative research. Secondly, as touched on in previous sections, some walking interviews were conducted with groups of participants. For cultural reasons, some participants stated that they felt uncomfortable with the idea of walking around Longsight with a White British male researcher, whilst others arrived at prearranged interview inadvertently with a friend who wanted to participate. Thus, because of the type of talk the walking interview seemed to encourage, as well as the practicalities and realities of recruiting a range of local people to a sample, I was unable to carry out narrative research as intended, leading me to modify my planned analytical method to make congruent the methodology with data analysis and findings.

However, because I began fieldwork with the intention of conducting a detailed narrative analysis of the interview data, all interview data was collected using a narrative interview topic guide. I designed the interview guide following consultation with literature that suggested storytelling is best triggered by asking questions structured using memories and feelings (Riessman, 2008). Thus, I designed interview questions around memories and feelings (as opposed to experiences or opinions), which meant large sections of the transcripts take the form of stories but move additionally to other forms of talk including general conversation and/or focus group talk.

Indeed, stories and accounts form key aspects of the interview transcripts, but there were other interesting and equally useful types of interview data that I have chosen to draw on and present in the following chapter. In order to properly report the data that was collected, the extracts in the following chapters involve conversational and narrative interview data, and at times field note extracts. I now turn to reporting how I analysed the data itself.

Analytical process

The first stage of data analysis involved the verbatim transcription of interview recordings. I did this after each interview to produce textual accounts that provided the main focus for

data analysis. All transcription and analysis was done using NVivo software. I transcribed the interviews throughout the fieldwork stage (as opposed to afterwards) and found this was a valuable way of quality controlling my interview practice, in terms of ensuring the conversation was eliciting interview talk related to the research questions.

Once transcription was done, the next stage of analysis involved a closer reading of the text with the aim of identifying and coding semantic themes I felt related to the broader research questions. At this stage, I returned to my field notes and read over my entries that had recorded interactions and conversations with participants before and after interviews. I found this useful because during the interviews the participants often referred to conversations and interactions with others that had occurred outside of the interview occasion, often in the centres in which I had recruited the participant themselves. I found my method of previously taking extensive field notes useful here because reading the interview transcripts through sometimes occurred months after fieldwork and data collection. It otherwise might have been difficult to remember what the participant was referring to in the interviews if I had not logged what we had discussed during the interview.

All interview analysis is concerned with identifying the theme of the extracts (based on content or 'what' is said), although Braun and Clarke (2006) draw a distinction between 'semantic' and 'latent' coding based on the level at which themes are identified. At semantic or explicit level, themes are identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data, with subsequent written analysis involving description (of the talk and its similarities to other data in the dataset) and interpretations (where broader meanings and implications are theorised, often in relation to research literature) (Patton, 1990). In contrast, a latent level goes further, and starts to identify and examine broader ideas, assumptions, structures and conceptualisations. Because the latent approach is associated closely with a constructionist paradigm (Burr, 1995), and a semantic approach involves interpretivist decision making, I opted for a semantic approach cognizant with my broader epistemological position that was outlined at the start of this chapter.

Once the data was coded semantically, and I felt I had themes and sub-themes containing extracts that discuss in explicit or semantic terms themes related to the research questions, I then began to select interesting and suitable extracts I felt reflected broader themes in the dataset itself. In the previous chapter, I suggested that despite significant debate, the

community concept is broadly accepted as involving three interconnected dimensions: spatial (place/location), social (networks) and interpretivist elements (identity/belonging). I therefore structured my chapters around place, networks and ethnicity themes, that reflects the coding in NVivo, and began to identify and import extracts into findings chapters which I use to report these themes.

Thus, once key extracts were identified and imported into thematically organised findings chapter, I then moved to specific analysis of each account to begin the interpretation of thematic patterns that structure the findings chapters. The extracts used in the findings chapters are chosen because they illustrate and reflect key issues raised by the participants. The writing accompanying the extracts in these chapters takes descriptive and analytical forms, with incorporation of relevant literature used to substantiate and ground my interpretations with the wider literature base. At points in findings chapters, I focus in detail on the views of specific participants, providing a commentary that reflected the depth to which some participants talked at length about specific interview topics, but conversely had very little to say when asked other questions. Moreover, analysis of group walks was particularly attentive to the nature of interaction and power dynamics between participants (Clark, 2018), with points of consensus and disagreement between participants in the group treated as a key analytical point of interest. Throughout the analysis, interpretations were inevitably made through my own personal frame and assumptions about the participants and the area itself. I now turn to addressing questions of reflexivity in detail.

Reflexivity and positionalities: moving from cohorts to individuals

The importance of reflexivity is widely discussed in qualitative research. It can be summarised as the series of processes throughout all stages of research which enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of findings (Finlay, 2002, Gergen & Gergen, 1991; Hawes, 1994). The literature provides numerous strategies for enhancing reflexivity. Pillow (2003) suggests researchers should provide a summary reflection accounting their assumptions, beliefs, knowledge and characteristics. Kacen and Chaitin (2006) and Berger (2015) concur that researchers should critically reflect on the relationship between reflexivity and the position of the researcher on the phenomenon being studied. In this section I intend to do both.

Being reflexively aware of myself and my relationship with participants was a crucial process to guarantee the rigour of research findings. However, it was not easy nor perhaps possible to predict how I would be placed or perceived by participants during the interview occasion. However, as a White British male researcher, prior to the fieldwork, I anticipated I would be perceived as being privileged and this would function as a potential barrier to the collection of the interview data. I was conscious during the days of fieldwork of travelling to Longsight from a comparatively wealthier suburb of Greater Manchester typically associated with white populations. Moreover, despite living much of my life a few miles away, I had never been to Longsight prior to fieldwork, and had only passed through the area en route to the city centre. I thus positioned myself as an 'outsider' in ethnic and class/social capital terms and anticipated I would have very little in common with local people and the place I was interested in. In hindsight, I formed these preconceptions based on a reading of the insider/outsider debate in qualitative research attributed to the challenge of gaining access to participants (Alzbouebi, 1999; Twine, 2000). However, in practice, I believe that positionality was more nuanced.

Associated with Merton's (1972) essay 'Insiders and Outsiders', this argument claims access is easier for 'insider' researchers who possess similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic and national similarities to whom is being researched. Conversely, sharing few similarities with the social groups the researcher is interested in presents difficulties, and in research with ethnic minority groups, limited language skills and country-specific expertise is widely commented on as undermining researcher 'authority' (Mauthner & Douchet, 2003). However, I find these terms problematic based on my experience. Whilst 'insider' status has been deemed the goal for qualitative researchers because it provides levels of trust and openness assumed to facilitate the collection of richer qualitative data (Ganga & Scott, 2007), 'insider' status often functions with an assumption of similar background and experiences without attempts during the interview occasion to actively investigate it (Chavez, 2007). In addition, researchers claiming to be 'outsiders' might be implying a degree of neutrality or objectivity that can be interpreted as suggestion of them having immunity from personal perspectives (Dwyer & Buckle, 2008). Both statuses ultimately negate the dynamics of participant and researcher identities throughout data collection and analysis, and one that for me at least offered more ambiguity than clarity.

In community research, insider status can be conceived of as some kind of shared belonging to the people or place the researcher is interested in. Additionally, in migration research, insider position might be understood as a shared ethnicity or experience with the people being interviewed. However, I found it more useful to abandon these positions and the general aspiration of becoming an insider with the assumption it would lead to the collection of richer qualitative data. The insider/outsider dichotomy seems to me an inherently static notion because it posits qualitative researchers as either/or in relation to their entire research sample. Whilst Dwyer and Buckle (2009) have conceptualised an 'in-between' in attempts to break down the simplicity of the dichotomy, this seems serves to reinforce the fixity of static positions altogether, whether they be 'insider', 'outsider', or at "the hyphen of insider-outsider" (Ibid, p. 60). In this research, because of the diversity of backgrounds to participants interviewed, I perceived my research relationships as being dynamic and multi-faceted, with different degrees of 'social proximity' to different participants in the sample that seemed to fluctuate throughout the interviews depending on how I was socially situated to (and by) the participants in context with what was said (Ganga & Scott, 2006). I was therefore neither an insider nor an outsider, and the amount of literature on the constructed nature of community and ethnic identities deterred me from thinking about myself as being an insider or an outsider (Glick-Schuller & Caglar, 2009; Amelina & Faist, 2012; Nowicka & Cieslik, 2013).

As I showed in Table 1.1, I initially recruited what I perceived as a particular type of participant; a White British elderly person, who had lived in Longsight for a considerable amount of time and whom I suspected felt I would be sympathetic to what they saw as 'local problems'. Longsight to them had changed considerably, an outcome of incremental changes in local culture and place and in ways which I perceived as 'leaving them behind'. In some ways, I felt positioned to grasp their views, given I did not recognise or identify with the place that they were showing me. However, at the same time, I felt unable to bring myself to their perspective, with points in the interview marked by tension and awkwardness following articulations of their ideas and world views.

The second period of recruitment involved people who I perceived as more relaxed and at ease, and in the third period I managed to recruit newer migrants. Initially, my analysis was prioritising ethnic identity over other forms identification, and it was not until deeper

reflection and detailed analysis of transcripts and interview recordings that I began to glimpse the complexity of positionalities. I realised I related to participants individually and not as types, and that at different points throughout the interview, our relationships seemed to shift based on our complex and active mix of identities made up of gender, age, class, religion and ethnicity. Razon and Ross (2012) refer to the fluidity of identities throughout the research encounter as a 'dance' in which both parties attempt to size themselves up. This notion has helped me to understand the intricate shifting of our positionalities throughout the interviews and across the sample, in ways more nuanced than ideas about 'insiders and outsiders'.

Making sense of these multi-layered positionalities retrospectively has been a challenging process. This change has been silent and subtle and not always within the purview of my analytical consciousness as other researchers attest (Mauther & Doucet, 2003). In addition, it might not have been particularly interesting or noticeable to the participants themselves. However, they have undoubtedly played a role in the research because they shaped the questions I asked, how I understood initial responses, how I interpreted their words afterwards, and how I reported the analysis in this thesis itself. I am not attempting to claim that because interview moments were interpreted as a shared positioning between myself and the participants, I can claim a success over issues of reflexivity. Instead, I am suggesting that through awareness of the dynamism of the 'dance' of multi-positionalities between myself and participants during the interview, I better appreciated the complexities and contingencies of the talk collected, understood through the particular interactions of identities that characterised the interview encounters.

Writing about groups

Throughout the chapters that follow, I use terms such as 'Asian group' or 'English' to refer to people of specific origins. Simplified references in research to people's culture and ethnicity have been criticised in the past for their perceived essentialist depictions that are said to socially constructed boundaries of ethnicity and culture (Baumann, 1996; Erikesen, 2002). I am aware that research on migration and diversity risks taking group differences as a given, and the terminology I use might perhaps suggest that I overlooked or did not considered the fluidity of group boundaries and cultural and ethnic identifications.

Yet whilst the critiquing and deconstructing of ethnic categories and ethnic 'groups' are worthy of research at a theoretical level, I found it was exceptionally difficult to write the following chapters without reference to ethnic group categories and ethnic group names. I am aware of the problem with generalising along ethnic, national and cultural lines, and I am aware that my approach might thwart attempts to move beyond socially constructed nature of group boundaries and identifications. However, the categories and terminologies I use in the following chapters reflect how the participants and people I met during my fieldwork spoke about themselves and others. I write about, for example, the 'Asian group' to refer to people's shared origins, in ways the participants described themselves and others. Importantly, these categories were used pleasantly and were not seen as problematic on the ground. I therefore take an inductive approach, using the residents' own terminologies when it comes to describing people's backgrounds.

Chapter Five – Unsettled Belongings

As I discussed in Chapter One, Longsight has a long history of immigration which centres predominantly on postcolonial migrations from South Asia. Such neighbourhoods which are rich with histories of immigration are frequently referred to as arrival zones in the literature, denoting their status as diverse areas in which new migrants settle alongside previous migrants, established minorities and longer-term 'original' inhabitants (Phillimore, Humphries & Khan; 2014; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018; Wessendorf, 2020). As a way of introducing the voices, outlooks and attitudes this and the next part of the thesis focuses on, this chapter examines the participants' notions of belonging to local groups, the area itself, the nation, and wider notions of community, within a context of Longsight as an arrival zone.

This chapter is presented from perspectives of people with different lengths of residencies: longer-term residents who had lived in the area for the majority of their lives, established British Muslims of South Asian origin comprising of longer-term migrants and second-generations, and recent Italian migrants of Bangladeshi origins who had just arrived and were in the process of settling in.

In the first section, I explore longer-term residents' experiences of living in a neighbourhood shaped by Asian settlement. I note how local accounts of South Asian immigration bear resemblance to the overarching story of post-war Asian migration to Britain, and examine in-depth, in the case of one participant, how this changed and ultimately unsettled her notions of belonging to community and place. I then look at the experiences of more established British Asian residents, who, following the problematisation of Muslim identities as part of the integration agenda, felt Longsight represented a community place that was safe for Muslims to exert religious identities in a wider landscape of fear and suspicion. Lastly, I look at the experiences of settlement from the perspectives of recent Asian migrants. I examine how feelings of exclusion were based not on faith but ethnicity, derived from negative experiences of trying to access public services, and made sense of referentially with positive memories of living in another European country as migrants. In the concluding section, I reflect on how Longsight as a transnational space stimulated nuances and complexities to the participants' identifications and notions of belonging.

Longer-term residents' experiences of Asian settlement

A number of researchers asserted the importance of addressing the experiences of 'original' inhabitants alongside groups with migrant backgrounds (Blokland, 2003; Wise & Velayutham, 2009; Wessendorf, 2016; Huttunen & Juntunen, 2018). In this vein, I start this chapter by looking at the views of two of the longer-term residents who had lived in Longsight for the majority of their lives, and who throughout the interview articulated memories of what Longsight was like before and during the initial settlement of South Asian migrants. As participants with the longest residences, for Mani and Theresa, a sense of intense social change was derived from the decades of Asian settlement in the area. Although having very different backgrounds and heritages, they provided rich insights throughout the interviews to how the period of post-war Asian immigration was experienced locally. As mentioned in Chapter One, the phase of post-war South Asian immigration can be charted roughly to the 1970s, occurring after a period of significant migration from new Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean. The account outlined by Mani, the daughter of a Pakistani migrant, who had lived the majority of her life in Longsight, brought to the fore the role pioneering males played in the processes of post-war Asian migration to Britain:

> Mani: "The first arrivals here were in the 60s and 70s. The migrant groups were Asian, and even the 80s and 90s, because as people got married to somebody back home, then you might have a husband who brought his wife over here with him, and even though he came first, as a family they'd be both starting from scratch".

The patterns of continued Asian settlement in specific towns and cities of Lancashire, the Midlands and Yorkshire, as well as in certain inner-city areas of London, Birmingham and Manchester, are known to be sustained by processes of chain migration (Phillips, 1998; Simpson, 2004). This involved Asian migrants in the 1960s and 1970s acting as pioneers, who set off on routes not yet established, charting the way for family members, friends and compatriots to join them at a later date. This process of migration led to the clustering, in some cases, of entire Asian kith and kin networks in specific British urban localities (Peach, 2006). Generally, though, this process of migration transferred a mixture of families and friends from similar origins to certain urban areas, with Mani illuminating the role played by husbands who were later joined by wives and children throughout the 1970s as the

introduction of immigration controls made return difficult, and thus encouraged permanent settlement (Anwar, 1979). Theresa, who had moved to Longsight in the 1950s, provided an everyday perspective on the initial period of Asian settlement in Longsight. She reflected warmly on her initial encounters with the pioneers of the first phase of post-war Asian migrants, recollected as we walked through her residential neighbourhood:

> Theresa: "Now this big house here, these were the first Asian people, and that was about forty years ago they came. And we were alright, and we all got on with them, I lived just over that wall, and we all got on with them great, they were smashing. And we had a lot more, a chap in [street name] had a shop, he was great, his family were great".

Theresa traced the beginning of Asian immigration in Longsight to the 1970s. In the extract, she depicts the pioneers of the first phase as being well received by herself and other longer standing residents. This is based on her memories of the friendliness between the first Asian families and longer standing households, with one Asian family recounted fondly as running a corner shop in a nearby street to where we were situated. Theresa seems to be referring here to the 'corner shop culture' associated with the post-war settlement of Asian migrants. This relates to the self-employment of Asian families who operated and became associated with neighbourhood businesses such as newsagents and green grocers that were, for a period, synonymous with romanticised portrayals of British urban life. While such depictions of British Asians have at times provoked controversy for their perceived stereotypical connotations (Ram & Jones, 2008), others have framed this form of migrant self-employment as denoting the 'hard work' and 'successful integration' of early Asian migrants determined to carve out a new life in Britain (for example, see Easton, 2009). In some ways, Theresa's account appeared to reflect this framing, sensing the shopkeeper and their family were representative of how early arrivals fitted in with local people and contributed to the area. However, Theresa's favourable view of Asian migrants in the early phases of settlement was set in contrast to her perception of the next major phase of arrivals:

> Theresa: "But when they had the Oldham riots, a lot came from Oldham down to here, and that's what caused most of our problems. Even the [shopkeeper] in [same street name] will tell you that, and he is an Asian, and he will tell you that that it is

them lot coming from Oldham round here that caused all our trouble. And they just

want a place of their own, they don't want us in it, if you know what I mean?".

Hickman and Mai (2015) argue that longer-term residents' understandings of the more recent immigration is shaped by previous moments of migrant settlement. In other words, memories of encountering and interacting with migrants of past phases who have settled in neighbourhood spaces can be drawn on referentially to make sense of social relations with newer arrivals. This point seems to contextualise the perception articulated by Theresa in the extract. Although she appears to conflate first and second-generations, her negative perception of more recent Asian arrivals appears to have been constructed referentially with positive memories of the pioneering Asians in the 1970s. Perhaps instead of fitting in with the values, customs and practices of longer-standing residents as the pioneers were perceived as doing, Theresa, in the above extract, links post-2001 arrivals to the aftermath of the 'riots' in Oldham, therefore instilling later Asian arrivals with deviant and unwanted properties. This is congruent with her view the group were responsible for *"causing all our trouble",* hinting at Theresa's feeling of alienation from place following the large-scale settlement of Asian migrants and Asian place-making processes, as I examine in detail in the following chapter.

However, while Theresa sensed that she and other local people she identified with were being made to feel like they no longer belonged as an outcome of continuous Asian immigration, what is striking is her suggestion the shopkeeper, like other pioneers that still lived in the area, would concur with her view. Wallman (1982) showed some time ago that in a South London area that was then a popular arrival zone for Commonwealth migrants from the Caribbean, distinctions between 'us' and 'them' were not drawn purely around ethnic or racial difference, but around factors such as length of residency, and whether new groups ascribed to local rules and customs established by longer-term groups. Wallman (ibid, p. 187) vividly illustrated this with the account of Jamaican resident referring to a newcomer from the northeast of England as a 'foreigner'. Therefore, whilst recent research has highlighted how the pace, scale and extent of migration can unsettle white residents in areas of immigration and emerging ethnic diversity (Open Society, 2014, Dench et. al., 2006; Thomas, Busher, Macklin, Rogerson & Christmann, 2019), Theresa's nuances to her feeling

that she no longer belonged seems to hint at a more textured experience that cannot be explained easily around her perceived racial or ethnic differences with newcomers.

This feeling of no longer belonging to place and community as a consequence of Asian immigration was also apparent in the interview with Mani, which I now turn to focusing on in detail. As the daughter of one of the pioneering Asian migrants to settle in Longsight, what was interesting was her sense of feeling out of place in an area that she experienced as 'changed' as an outcome of Asian immigration. After reflecting on how the post-war phases of Asian immigration had played out in Longsight, Mani talked about a distinct change to the more recent phase of Asian arrivals:

> Mani: "But in the last few years, it's definitely been people coming from countries like Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal who are, funnily enough, ethnicity wise, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, but coming from Europe. So they've travelled from their country of birth to Europe, and then with Brexit, they've all come here, because when you ask them, they'll say it's to do with schooling, and education and benefits, you know so there's security here whereas there isn't in Europe. And it's the fact that there's community here, everything's accessible, they've got everything that they need, and they'll say as well, it's a bit like being at home".

Mani was referring here to more recent Asian arrivals. They were colloquially referred to as 'the Europeans' by more established Asian residents because of the previous places in Europe in which they had lived prior to onward migration to the UK. As Bangladeshi and Pakistani nationals who had lived in the European Union before 2016, Mani suggested the Brexit vote had triggered their movement to the UK, perhaps inferring here that a 'beat the ban' style rush had been triggered by concerns about the ending of EU freedom of movement within Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups living elsewhere in Europe. Although it was not confirmed by Asian participants who themselves had recently arrived from Italy, it seemed likely that the recent arrivals Mani referred to had migrated through freedom of movement channels accessed following their naturalisation as citizens in specific EU member states. However, despite evidence that Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals have settled in significant numbers elsewhere in Europe (Knight, 1996; Abbasi, 2010), Mani suggests these migrants had moved en masse to Longsight for two reasons. The first is the perception the benefit system in the UK provided migrants with greater security than

elsewhere, and the second is that the accessibility of local cultural and retail facilities construed as 'community' that made Longsight feel "*a bit like home* [South Asia]*".* However, for Mani, the settlement of what could be considered new 'superdiverse' South Asian migrants presented a number of problems that seemed to unsettle her feelings of belonging to place and a local community. The first was the suggested reliance of the local Asian community on interpreter services, despite her hope that the local Asian group would one day not need to rely on state support:

> *Mani*: "*I mean today, I met somebody who came from Portugal, somebody who came from Spain and somebody who came from Italy, and it's quite amazing that you can talk to a Pakistani who can speak fluent Italian but no English. But I always thought that some of the services like interpreters, they wouldn't need to cater for the Asian community living here for much longer, but there is a need now because they're not going to get an Italian interpreter. Chances are you're getting an Urdu interpreter, but not an Italian interpreter. So maybe five or so years ago, I wouldn't have thought that we would need as many services for the Asian community living here, but I think it's on the rise again because more and more people have come in".*

The challenge of not speaking the national language of a new country is widely recognised as a key issue when it comes to integrating new migrants with societies (Piacentini, O'Donnell, Phipps, Jackson, 2019). In addition, there is growing awareness of the challenges posed by superdiverse migration that in some cases outpaces the ability of service providers, presenting new social and welfare problems unforeseen by policymakers and practitioners (Phillimore, 2011; Huttunen and Juntunen, 2018). Whilst Mani senses these challenges were occurring locally, the settlement of new Asian migrants from Europe was taken further as thwarting her apparent hopes the Asian community would one day not need to rely on welfare and state services as it had previously. Thus, although Mani suggested that she engaged in quite friendly conversations with recent Asian migrants about their backgrounds and experiences of living elsewhere in Europe, it seems these conversations had led her to rethink her assumptions about the inevitability of Asian integration with wider British society. This direction of travel, in which new Asian migrants, perceived as amalgamating with the longer-settled Asian community, and experiencing the difficulties of initial integration with a new national setting, was suggested later as putting

Mani's identifications into conflict. Later in the interview, Mani articulated a view that continuous Asian settlement in Longsight had led to the emergence of a traditional and more restrictive Asian culture. This culture, depicted as embedded in the social ties of the neighbourhood, was portrayed as governing local mores and customs, and ultimately restricting younger British Asians to experience 'freedom' within Longsight as suggested she once had:

> Dillon: "So do you have good memories of growing up here?
>
> Mani: Yeah, yeah, but there was definitely much more freedom, whereas now the kids don't have that freedom. And a lot of it is fear and perception, you know, there's a fear that something might happen, if you're out and about, and what would people think? And that governs your life quite a lot, what would people think if you do this, like what would your neighbours think, and that effects what you do, how you dress, how you behave, because it's quite a close knit community, in terms of what will Asians think".

It is noteworthy that Mani identified as 'British' in the participant information sheet, and, at the start of the interview, she talked about her childhood that involved several back-and-forth migrations between Longsight and a city in Pakistan. However, when asked if she had good memories of growing up in the area, she articulated a view that there was once greater 'freedom' in Longsight, freedom which she felt younger British Asians were no longer able to experience and enjoy. This is based on apparent concerns about the perceptions and judgements of the 'tight knit' Asian community that had emerged in Longsight an outcome of a continuous stream of Asian migrations to the area. This tight knit Asian community is depicted as having strict and traditional ideas about dress and acceptable forms of behaviour, with Mani perhaps implying here a sense of what Bauman (2013) critiqued as the trade-off between security and freedom that can comes with identification with a community. While on the one hand, community can create feelings of security and safety for its members, on the other it involves conformity to group identity and culture which can affect feelings of individuality and personal expression. However, these tensions might be particularly intensified in a context of the Asian diaspora in Britain.

As Anwar notes (1979), for many early South Asian migrants, return was made difficult

following the arrival of family members and the introduction of immigration controls throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Migrants who had assisted family members with migration to their new place of residence, often at great personal and family financial cost (Dench et al., 2006), in reality had little means or grounds to return to Pakistan or Bangladesh. In this context, Hoque (2019) has written about how many elders and first generations who had not anticipated permanent settlement subsequently feared the loss of culture, stimulating need to re-apply South Asian customs in diaspora spaces on children and grandchildren schooled and socialised in environments entirely different from their own. Hence, Mani might be alluding to the perceived effects of the sense of conformity to a tradition now imposed on younger British Asian residents by elders and first generations, a conformity she herself might not have experienced. In the interview, she seemed to imply a perception that British Asian youth who lived in the area were now incapable of experiencing identity within the locality in ways beyond religion and ethnicity because of the need to conform to South Asian traditions imposed by older migrants. In her own research, Watson (1977) describes how the children of post-war Asian migrants that were born in Britain felt trapped between two cultures and were ultimately resigned to juggling the conflicts and contradictions that came with honouring South Asian tradition at the same time as identifying with Britain. Although, as I examine below, Mani was seemingly encouraged by her father to incorporate the sensibilities and culture of Britain into her identity, Mani ultimately attributed the large-scale Asian settlement to the emergence of a restrictive Asian culture and thus a sense the local community had changed and was ultimately lost:

> Mani: "The community was very diverse then, as in we were the minority, Asians, whereas now, Asians are definitely the majority, because it was a different community years ago. So it's completely changed, changed for the worst, it was more of a community back then. I remember going to the mosque with my brothers and coming back and grabbing a bag of chips on the way home and just eating them, nowadays, you couldn't do that, it's not the done thing, and the chippy's gone".

As I discussed in Chapter Three, a number of commentators have argued that longer-term residents can experience a loss of community in contexts of immigration-related diversity (Dench et al., 2006; Putnam, 2007). Derived from the perceived shift in positions and power of the local Asian group from minority to majority status, following continuous Asian

settlement and the apparent 'white flight' (Kaufmann and Harris, 2013) of original inhabitants away from Longsight, Mani seems to subscribe to this view. The perceived loss of diversity that came with this change to the local population was attributed to the loss of the old diverse community, and in its place the emergence of a new ethnic community. Thus, what might be interpreted here is a sense that this change left Mani feeling conflicted between her sense of place and ethnic identity, with her recollection of "*going to the mosque with my brothers and coming back and grabbing a bag of chips on the way home*" capturing this neatly. Notwithstanding, as I examine in the next chapter, the fish and chip shop appeared to have been closed altogether following the changing consumption practices of local people, Mani seems to depict herself in this memory as being able to move freely, in the spatial setting of Longsight, between religious/ethnic identity ("*going to the mosque*") and local/British identity ("*and grabbing a bag of chips*"). What is implied is a sense that identity could once be experienced in fluid and multiple ways within Longsight, whereas her sense that a strong and traditional Asian culture as an outcome of immigration and white flight now restricted her experience of identity to the singular and more rigid realms of ethnicity and religion, governed by concerns about the perceptions of the 'tight knit' Asian group ("*you couldn't do that now, it's not the done thing"*). What is apparent is how Mani's feelings are framed and generated by notions of community. After the interview, Mani appeared to consolidate these feelings as we talked casually on a street corner:

> *After interview [Mani] talked about how if her Dad was still alive, he'd be "shocked at what Longsight had become". She talked about how he gave his passport back to Pakistan because he saw himself as British. She also talked about how her brothers couldn't wear jeans when they were younger and had to wear trousers when they were out and about. (Field note, 24 April 2018).*

In many respects, Mani's father might represent what Keith (2005, p. 82) refers to as an "assimilationist hero". This is an exemplary and often pioneering migrant who embodied the cultural practices and sensibilities of his new nation, once it became clear that return to his place of origins was unlikely. For Mani's father, making his sons wear trousers could be perceived as an attempt to display an outward appearance he interpreted as respectable in the eyes of the British, thus enabling his family to fit in with British culture and society as

part of his national identity associated with his new home. This upbringing, and the suggestion that Mani's father handed his passport back to Pakistan as a way of denoting his new found identification with a British national identity, seemed integral to Mani's views and affections, underpinning her sense that her father would be 'shocked at what Longsight had become', in that Longsight as an Asian diaspora space ran contrary to their shared hopes and desire about inevitability of assimilation of the South Asian group with British society.

Mani's articulation of these feelings as a second-generation migrant, alongside Theresa's insistence the shop keeper alongside other pioneers would agree that recent Asian arrivals were unwanted and responsible for the perceived negative changes in the area, suggest that it cannot be assumed the unsettling of original inhabitants belonging to neighbourhoods of immigration rests solely on ethnic or racial differences with newcomers. People living as long term residents in urban arrival zones can articulate nuances and plenty of ambivalences surrounding their identifications to groups, the neighbourhood or senses of community. However, this experience did not extend to all residents and participants that I met during fieldwork. For many residents of Asian backgrounds, Longsight was experienced as a place of safety in which they could articulate freely their religious identities in a wider context of fear and discrimination. I now turn to examining this.

Longsight as a safe place for British Muslims of South Asian origins

> *Sabrina: "It was one morning, some friends were in my house, and then the police came. They said somebody complained about my house, probably a neighbour said some Islamic activity was going on or something. I don't know, so I welcomed the police in, you know 'have a look, see whatever you want to see'. So the police came in, just like you know, said 'oh, enjoy your coffee morning', and then they left".*

This is one of the few interview occasions in which a participant talked openly about a first-hand experience with the authorities on the grounds of their Muslim faith. The event that Sabrina, a British Bangladeshi, narrates, in which authorities had apparently entered her home and interrupted a coffee morning she was hosting for friends, appeared to have left Sabrina feeling confused and uncomfortable, and suspected by both her neighbours and apparatus of the state, the latter who have become increasingly focussed on enacting

counterroism and counter-radicalisation policies as part of the integration agenda examined in Chapter Two.

Although, as a few scholars have noted, research on the impact of counterterroism and counter-radicalisation policies on Muslim identities is relatively new (Jarvis & Michael, 2013; Ragazzi, 2016), a number of researchers have formulated claims about the performative nature of these policies on the identities of individual Muslims (Brittain, 2009; Mythen & Walklate, 2009; Heath-Kelly, 2012). By performative, this relates to how policies directly influence how Muslim perceive and are perceived by British society. However, building on work that explored the Irish experience of British counterterroism in the 1970s and 1980s (Hillyard, 1993), new research has developed an understanding of how British Muslims do not feel the impact of counterterroism in isolation, but instead as part of a broader 'suspect community' (Pantais & Pemberton, 2009; Ragazzi, 2016). Although Sabrina appeared to have been singled out for state attention by a search order because of her membership with a faith viewed as 'problematic', the order and surveillance of British Muslims as part of the switch from cohesion to integration is increasingly understood to affect the group identity of British Muslims. This understanding provides a context to the views of some residents I met during fieldwork, who articulated a sense of commonality and community with other Muslims living in Longsight based on a shared subjective experience of being feared and suspected on the grounds of their Muslim faith. As such, belonging to Longsight was articulated in notions of it being a 'safe place' for Muslims of South Asian origin to express their religious identities.

The fact this part of the chapter relies on field note extracts reflects the sense of angst and suspicion amongst some Muslim residents about engaging in conversation with a White British researcher. Articulated specifically in terms of policing and surveillance, a theme when carrying out the fieldwork was encountering local residents who were sceptical of my claims about being a researcher. Despite reassurances, I was at times perceived as working for intelligence agencies. The following field note captured part of a conversation with a younger resident in a local mosque, who despite being receptive to the research, felt elders and other attendees of the mosque would be wary of speaking with me based on a sense that I was perceived as an undercover police operative:

> *He cautions though that [him] talking to people about the research might not turn*

anything up as 'people might think you're undercover, they might think you're an op
[operative]' in terms of police surveillance (Field note, 7 May 2018).

Broadly speaking, the practice of counterterroism and counter-radicalisation strategies have been found to impact social identities and stimulate disconnection, exclusion and disenchantment amongst Muslims living in Britain (Lindelkilde, 2012). At worst, this can inflame feelings of personal and group persecution, underpinning senses of anger, fear and resentment towards wider British society and British non-Muslims (Fekete, 2004; Mcdonald, 2011; Ahmed, 2019). Thorntonn (2010) outlines the disastrous effects of the Champion project on police community relations with British Muslims, in which controversy around the use of covert CCTV-based counterterroism in neighbourhoods with large populations of Muslims of South Asian origin in Birmingham, provided concrete evidence of covert intelligence gathering despite an initial government report that stated such accusations of police 'snooping' were unfounded (House of Commons, 2010). As the interaction in the field note suggests, Asian residents who took their faith seriously seemed intensely aware of these surveillance operations and were therefore suspicious of outsiders entering certain Muslim community spaces. A second field note, inscribing a conversation with a staff member at a local women's group, cast light on the broader context in which the constructions of my outsider status were grounded:

She mentions observing and coming along where she'll introduce the research to the ladies, but she then talked about a "climate of fear" in terms of the cultural barriers and the way the ladies might perceive me. I asked what she means, and she talked about "media discourses" and "Islamophobia" and that they "might think you're a spy". (Field note, 3 May 2018).

Writing about the 'suspect community', Pantazis and Simon (2011) envisage societal suspicion of British Muslims in the form of a pyramid. At the top, a minority of formal suspects are targeted by control orders and surveillance, suspects in the middle face search orders, whilst the wider British Muslim group at the bottom of the pyramid are besieged by Islamophobic discourses stemming from media, political and societal constructions. As this field note reflects, it seems fear and suspicion of my outsider presence was grounded in wider societal and media discourses that led to the perception that local Muslims were living in a 'climate of fear'. Although the resident in the extract was quite receptive about

the research, and we conversed and interacted in an outwardly friendly and amicable manner, she explicitly suggested that following her offer to attend a women's group might be uncomfortable for other attendees based on her concern that I would be perceived as a 'spy' in a wider climate of fear. Hence, my white, British markers of identity, and their group association with post-2001 discourses that have problematised Muslims living in Britain seemed to cast me as an outsider in some circles, suggesting state practices associated with integration agenda have impacted British Muslims' perceptions of commonality with British non-Muslims.

However, although recent state practices in the UK provide solid grounding to the argument that shared experiences of discrimination have created feelings of community amongst British Muslims (Pantazis & Simon 2011; Jarvis & Michael, 2013; Ragazzi, 2015), this literature arguably misses two crucial points. The first is how belonging to a Muslim community appeared to supersede belonging to an Asian community in the case of some British-born Asian residents that I met during my fieldwork. As Ahmed (2019) notes, the 'Asian' category has effectively been dropped from political and societal lexicon following the 'war on terror' and the intensification of counterterrorism and counter-radicalisation strategies as part of the integration agenda. It seems that problematisation of Islam and Muslim identities at policy and societal levels has become ingrained in how descendants of Asian migrants born in Britain have come to perceive themselves, in the way that they identified as Muslim and belonging to a 'Muslim community', as opposed to Asian and belonging to an 'Asian community' as first generation migrants tended to.

The second point is the perhaps overlooked role place and neighbourhood might play in providing a context for the formation of a feeling of community. Although the walking method might have overstated or valorised the local, there were repeated inferences to how Longsight represented a place that was 'safe' for British Muslims of South Asian origin to enact and practice religious identities in a wider national context of discrimination and fear. This was captured in the following field note, that inscribed part of the conversation at the women's group I mentioned earlier which involved British born Muslims and newer migrants of South Asian origins:

> *The conversation focussed mainly on religious holidays like Eid not being the same in Longsight as they were in Pakistan. However, some of the women who had previously*

lived in Italy and Spain said Longsight as a place was much better in this sense,

particularly in the way that there was greater access to mosques. One made note of

the mosques in Longsight being grand and the visuals and feeling giving a sense that

it was a "true mosque". With [resident]'s guidance, the women talked about there

being greater freedom to practice Islam in Longsight without feeling persecuted.

[Resident] talked about the women feeling "safe" in Longsight. [Resident] said to the

group that she saw a woman wearing a veil whilst working in [the local?] Asda and

that this was "really progressive". (Field note, 10 May 2018).

As this field note reflects, the direction of the conversation was conjured largely by the British born Muslim resident. In the field note, the resident puts emphasis on the women feeling safe in Longsight, appearing to foreground this view with a sense that some of the recent migrants who travelled directly from Pakistan felt homesick, particularly during religious holidays which were experienced as being comparatively better in Pakistan, whereas those who had lived Spain and Italy were impressed by the materialities of local mosques. Thus, despite some of the migrants appearing to differ in their experiences of holy festivals and religious sites located in the neighbourhood, what was suggested to me was a sense the British born resident was attempting to instil a feeling of belonging amongst the group to a neighbourhood place that was allowed Muslims to practice religious identities, and which was ultimately 'safe' for them. This is captured most vividly in her recollection of a Muslim woman wearing a veil in what could be assumed was the local Asda, which she describes as "really progressive", in terms of what she perceived was a supermarket advocating belonging for local residents by allowing Muslim women to wear Muslim dress within a local corporate space.

This sense that Muslim women could wear Islamic clothes within the spaces of the neighbourhood was discussed elsewhere. Another resident I met talked about her upbringing that had resemblances with Mani's background that was examined earlier in this chapter. Similarly, her father had attempted to assimilate her with English dress and appearance during her childhood. However, though her involvement locally over a number of years, she suggests taking a different path:

She talked about her own upbringing as a second-generation Pakistani. Her Dad was

a foreman for [company] and "integrated well", making note of him and her brother

being allowed to wear jeans, and how she wore jeans as a young woman. She made note of how this was unusual, and how wearing a veil is unusual because people think she's Arab. She said about wearing a veil "I am in control" about who I speak to and interact with, and she said she is comfortable wearing it in Longsight but getting the bus to the city centre can feel uncomfortable. She then reflected more broadly that how this might be "bad for integration". (Field note, 3 May 2018).

Similar to the experience of Mani examined earlier in this chapter, this resident appeared to have also been influenced by her migrant father's attempts to assimilate with British culture and society. In this instance, this resident appears to have taken her father's lead on 'integrating well' through dressing in British clothes and appearance, with the notion of wearing denim jeans flagged by Werbner (1988) as perceived as 'modern' by early Pakistani migrants in Manchester and thus a means of fitting in with Western culture. However, for reasons not expanded upon, this resident describes turning back to her faith in later life, a decision alongside choosing to wear clothing associated with Muslim women in Arab contexts that led other Muslims to be uncertain about her national origins. What is marked, however, is her feeling of agency exerted by her decision to wear a veil in public spaces and the feeling of being in control when conducting everyday routines in the local area. This, however, is juxtaposed with feeling uncomfortable wearing this choice of clothes outside of the locality, hence suggesting a feeling that she could exert her religious identity in the locality, but that this was perceived as a source of tension for others when she left the area.

These examples of fear and suspicion reiterate the invasive and insidious effects of the integration agenda's counterterrorism and counter-radicalisation policies on the religious identities of British Muslims (Brittain, 2009; Mythen & Walklate, 2009; Jarvis & Michael, 2013; Ragazzi, 2016). What was clear to me was the performative effect of these policies, in that being cast as a suspected and feared group led residents who identified as British Muslims to be fearful and distrusting of outsiders, formed through a sense of solidarity with local people who were perceived as sharing the same subjective experience of discrimination and persecution. In some ways, these notions of community echo with the Tönniesian Gesellschafts/Gemeinschaft distinction, in that the perceived solidarity of local Muslims as a community was formed in opposition to a society that was perceived as hostile to their identities and faith. However, whilst shifting policy and societal discourses that have

erased the 'Asian' term appeared to be felt keenly by British born Asians, what was clear was that Asian identity still had currency locally, particularly for migrants who had only just arrived. To end this chapter, I now focus on the settlement experiences of newer Asian migrants who had arrived from Italy, and who perceived their ethnicity, rather than their faith, as the source of their discrimination and exclusion in the UK.

The arrival and settlement of superdiverse Asian migrants

A key finding introduced at the start of this chapter was the difference to the most recent phase of Asian migrants who had settled in Longsight. The arrival of the Europeans certainly reflected the current age of superdiverse migration, in which contemporary migration as driven by globalisation has effectively 'diversified diversity' (Hollinger, 1995) in terms of the legal statuses, migration channels, backgrounds and experiences within settled minority populations. Huttunen and Juntunen (2018) have examined the important lines of differentiation within ethnic minority groups that have emerged in the period of superdiversity, warning researchers to look closely at the experiences and identities of new migrant groups settling within and alongside established ethnic minorities, rather than assuming homogeneity with the ethnic or national group they often settle within. The European arrivals seemed to bewilder first and second-generations whose experiences and family histories of migration had involved the more conventional direct route from Bangladesh or Pakistan, as opposed to entry via another European Union state. This confusion and uncertainty were illustrated in the following exchange between Jarin and Sabrina, who were responding to a question that asked why they felt the European Asian migrants were settling in Longsight:

> Jarin: "I don't know why they're coming, but they're building one primary school, [name of school], and I think we need more because demand in Longsight for school places is really high
>
> Sabrina: Because of the European people who have come in from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Germany, those sorts of countries
>
> Jarin: Yeah, everywhere from Europe really, I don't know what reason everybody decided that this is the place, I don't know, it's a new move in Europe, everyone loves to come to Longsight, you know?".

The impacts of migration on public service provision was often a point of contestation in public and political discussions in the UK. This was particularly marked during the recent phase of immigration that involved the settlement of accession migrants from Eastern Europe after the expansions of the European Union in 2004 and 2007. Robinson (2010b) has explored the moral panic that engulfed this period, highlighting how it was often intensified when it was presented as posing potential competition for 'scarce' social resources, and when budget allocations were reported in the media as stretching to meet demands for public services in popular arrival zones. This fear in some part seems to echo in Jarin and Sabrina's views. The arrival of 'new EU citizens' (Van Hear & Lindley, 2007), the broadly overlooked category of a naturalised citizen of the European Union, was perceived as having an impact on the availability of local school places, leading to the notion that new schools were being constructed in the area to meet rising demands on local services because of the settlement of the Europeans. What is of note, however, is this was relatively unproblematic. Although presenting some confusion as to why people were coming to Longsight, Jarin seems to reflect on the area in a matter-of-fact way as being attractive to EU migrants of South Asian origin. As the interview progressed, the pair expressed sympathy for a group who they perceived as experiencing racism in Europe. Echoing the noted view that Longsight was a safe place for Muslims, Jarin, a resident with a Bangladeshi background, suggested that growing Islamophobia in Europe was a key factor that had triggered people's migration to Longsight:

> Jarin: *"But quite a few of the ladies said they actually faced discrimination and some like you know, Islamophobia, they have had some problems with that. One lady from Afghanistan, she's moved in from Holland [sic] and she said because of racism was that bad in Holland she moved into Longsight".*

Jarin's understanding of recent Asian migrants was based on concrete interactions with new arrivals through her work with a women's group at a local community centre. Her suggestion that South Asians in Europe had migrated onto Longsight because of growing anti-Muslim sentiments in Europe touches on wider research findings. For example, Ahren, Kelly and Liempt (2016) found the majority of naturalised Muslim EU citizens in their study onward migrated to another EU state because of discrimination and racism experienced in their previous places of residence. However, the Italians of Bangladeshi origins that

participated in this research had broadly positive experiences of living as a religious and ethnic minority in Europe. It was in the UK where they perceived themselves as being treated as 'other', based on the difficulty of accessing public services and the perception that public authorities were not as attentive to their social needs as they are with White British people. This was captured in the following exchange between Imen and Siddika, both of whom had lived in large Italian cities for over a decade before their recent onward movement to Longsight:

> Imen: "In Italy, there is no difference if you are Asian, Italian, no difference, all people are treated as an equal level. But here we see they treat different people on a different level. They don't treat Asian people as British people
>
> Siddika: "It's true, I lived in Rome for fourteen years, and if you want to know the difference, in my opinion, the treatment system in the UK, I don't like this system. When we were in Italy, if we have got a problem, then we call for an ambulance, they would send it immediately, as soon as possible they would send an ambulance to our house. But here, when we call for a doctor, they ask questions one by one, one by one".

Siddika talked about living in Rome for fourteen years, as though to couch her claims with the authenticity of having lived elsewhere as an ethnic minority, to substantiate Imen's view that Asians in Britain were treated differently because of their nationality and ethnicity. Siddika made sense of the issue she had encountered with accessing an ambulance through a comparison with a similar experiences in Italy, with the sluggishness involved with getting a doctor to her house perceived as the operator's reluctance to treat Asian people with as much urgency as they would British people. As I outlined in Chapter Two, systematic racism and discrimination have been prolonged and enduring experiences of ethnic minorities living in Britain. Ford (2008) argued that black and Asian groups continue to face racial discrimination in everyday life which has perpetuated inequalities in employment, housing and health despite legislations that make formal discrimination illegal. Whilst the feeling of being treated as 'other' as a British ethnic minority is documented (Benson & Lewis, 2019), the views expressed by the newcomers suggest the experience can extend beyond longer-term groups and to newer and settling ethnic minorities. However powerful and unsettling such experiences might have been, Ruma saw it differently as she was listening to what the

women had to say. Ruma offered the alternative view that it might not be direct discrimination, but instead there was high demand for doctors locally because Longsight was a busy and populated area. In response to the above exchange, Ruma suggested:

> Ruma: "But I think this problem is it's a busy area and a lot of people are living here, so I think more doctors are needed here".

Ruma seemed to be suggesting the population density of the neighbourhood was a central reason to Imen and Siddika's experience of poor service provision. Ruma's suggestion that it was more a case of limited service provision hitting them the hardest because of where they lived, and not necessarily because of who they are, goes to the heart of debates about the persistence of ethnic inequalities in Britain. On the one hand, there is now a substantial evidence base that links the entrenched deprivation of ethnic minorities in health and housing to the systematic discriminations of migrant groups in the past (Phillips, 1998; Phillips, 2011). However, a separate body of work, relating to the initial period in which newly arrived migrants adapt to new systems of education, employment and health, documents how urban places with concentrations of new and settling migrants can become prone to developing ethnic inequalities, as poorer migrants experience social systems different to the countries in which they had lived that creates issues with accessing and receiving state support (Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan & Zhang, 1999; Lymperopoulou & Finney, 2018). Similar to concerns around school places outlined by Jarin and Sabrina, Mohammed, a Bangladeshi migrant who had arrived in the 1970s, felt the enduring popularity of the area as an arrival zone for Asian migrants had led to a situation in which local residents were now experiencing difficulties with accessing public services because of high demand:

> Mohammed: "But the problem is the size of the area, the houses are limited in number, and the new people struggle to live in this area, they don't want to go outside. This is creating a lot of pressure in terms of public services, doctors and such".

As Mohammed seems to allude to, it is possible that overcrowding as an outcome of the popularity of the area with new Asian migrants, coupled with newer forms of inequalities developing from new public systems that can be difficult for newcomers to navigate, had

created a situation in which accessing public services was increasingly difficult for the local Asian group. Moreover, this may have been exacerbated by recent cuts to public services that are known to disproportionately impact British ethnic minorities that live in inner-city places (Hall et al., 2017; Achiume, 2018). Yet palpable frustrations around poor access to public services had, for the recent Asian migrants, created feelings of discrimination that underpinned their sense of social insecurity. This was made sense of referentially with more positive experiences in Italy, leading Imen to become particularly vocal about this issue:

> Imen: "I think the system is not good here, people do not feel secure, we feel more secure in Italy than here".

Contrary to Mani's perception examined earlier in this chapter that Asian migrants from Europe were being drawn to Longsight because of the availability of better social security, the perception of new Asian migrants that participated in this research was that they were not receiving adequate support in the UK because of systematic discriminations against Asian people. Building on work that has shown how systemic experiences of group discrimination are shaped by personal experiences of racism (Essed, 1991), the feelings of insecurity that stemmed from feeling positioned outside of the social system appeared to have created insecurity around identity and moving through city spaces as national and ethnic 'others'. After discussing an occurrence in which her husband had been racially harassed by a younger person in the city centre of Manchester, Ruma spoke of her partner's perceived awareness of his 'other' identity in a new national context, and how he was now fearful that Ruma's Asian identity would similarly lead her to be targeted when moving through public places:

> Ruma: "I say, 'it's you, it's you', but nothing, he says it's its youth things, it's youth things, [they were] joking, just joking', but my husband says when I come home at night I am afraid a young person is walking and will know which country I am from".

Listening to this account, Imen responded:

> Imen: "The people of Italy are very nice, there's no problems in Italy, every person will respect you and your traditions, [there's] no difference, no hate".

This exchange, put into context with the difficulties experienced by the newcomers with

accessing public services in Britain, reflected a sense of apprehension and uneasiness as new Asian migrants attempted to settle and live in a country that was perceived and experienced as hostile in systemic and everyday ways. However, it is important to understand these experiences, although in larger contexts, were tied closely to their perceptions and identifications with Longsight itself. The causes of the newcomers' difficulties and experiences may lie in wider societal issues, all of which appeared to unsettle their personal and group notions of belonging. However, articulating and discussing these concerns as we walked through neighbourhood spaces, Imen seemed to suggest that Longsight itself accentuated their Asian identities. Whilst, as I explore in the next chapter, Longsight was valued by some residents because it represented a community space for residents to enact Asian identities, this was perceived, by Imen, as problematic because it limited the possibility of living as a 'community' with the national population as she had in Italy:

> Imen: "Here in Longsight, mostly people live as they would in their own country, but in Italy there is not too many other populations, so we live there as a community".

Prior to this extract, Imen had been talking about her previous place of residence in Italy. She described how there were comparatively fewer Asians retail places in her neighbourhood, meaning Asian migrants had to travel to a nearby city in order to consume and buy Asian food and Asian clothes. Imen seemed to attribute this practice to there being fewer nationalities in Italy compared with the UK, with Italy attributed to having much fewer established ethnic minority areas and much less ethnic diversity. Hence, Imen might have perceived the practice of travelling beyond the neighbourhood as one way of mixing with Italian people, which made her feel as though Asians and Italians had greater commonality and, thus in Italy there was greater unity between people of different nationalities, cultures and faiths. This is set in contrast with the way she perceived other Asian residents as living in Longsight "*like they would in their own country*". Imen seems to suggest that cultural and retail amenities in the locality enabled Asian residents to dress, eat and enact Asian identities as if they were living in a South Asia context, and that this was integral to their experiences of systematic and everyday discriminations not experienced elsewhere. In some ways, Mani's sense that her father would be 'shocked' at the Asian neighbourhood Longsight had become could be read, in some part, as being shared by Imen.

Conclusion

New migrants often move into places where previous migrants have settled. Such areas are referred to as arrival zones (Phillimore, Humphris, & Khan, 2014; Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016) where newcomers find their feet and begin the process of settlement and integration with new social systems and a new national setting. Whilst public and policy discourse contends that it is white majority residents who feel the effects of immigration within neighbourhoods, a growing body of research has looked at the experiences, attitudes and perceptions of newer arrivals from the perspective of settled ethnic minorities living in areas where they were born or had migrated to some years previously (Hall, 2012; Hickman et al., 2012; Heil, 2014; Phillips et al., 2014; Albeda et al., 2018; Wessendorf, 2020). This chapter builds on this literature. It has shown, through an in-depth focus on one resident, how feeling 'out of place' in a neighbourhood of immigration can be experienced by long-term residents despite sharing ethnic origins with immigrants who had settled in the area. This highlights the complexities of identification and belonging. I have showed that while community can create feelings of security and safety, feeling a need to conform to group identity and culture can affect feelings of individuality and create conflicts and contradiction in senses of identity. The language of 'groups' in research on diverse neighbourhoods assumes static or essentialist notions of ethnic minorities living in solidarity. Although as I show in Chapter Seven, other residents perceived Longsight's tight knit Asian bonds in a different light, the finding here suggests a need to look closely at lines of differentiation in experiences and identities of people located within ethnic or national groups.

Whilst developing understandings of how early migrant pioneers can be distinct from later arrivals (Huttunen & Juntunen, 2018; Wessendorf, 2020), I have also shown how later arrivals from the same country of origin can have different experiences to longer-term settled minorities in the current era of superdiversity in which people onward migrated from initial places of settlement. The focus in this chapter on the settlement experiences of Italian migrants of Bangladeshi origins in found that feelings of exclusion and discrimination were deduced from the difficulties of accessing public services. I sought to carefully provide explanations as to why accessing public services might be difficult within a context of Longsight, showing how public services in an inner-city arrival zone, perhaps in a wider context of cuts to public services, affect and impact new migrants. Whilst this qualitative

finding adds to more quantitative large-scale studies addressing the impact of public service and welfare reforms on ethnic minorities (Hall et al., 2017; Achiume, 2018), this finding might also indicate a need to look again at indirect discrimination newcomers can face within the bureaucracies and institutions of nation states, as was once the focus of research as outlined in Chapter Two.

Moreover, this chapter has found repeated instances of the various communities people imagined themselves as belonging to. There were repeated references to how the fathers of second-generations had once sought to instil in their children a British national identity and senses of Britishness in the public domain – something with seems to chime with the principles of multiculturalism reviewed in Chapter Two. Whilst some might have adhered to this, there was a sense that a British national identity was far from the identifications of other residents I met throughout the course of my fieldwork. Despite references to a shared 'Asian' identity as I explore in Chapter Seven, for many British born South Asians, perhaps following intense problematisation of their faith in a context of the integration agenda, there was evidence that some residents had come to view themselves as Muslim as opposed to British or Asian. This shift seems to follow policy and societal discourses that have led to the construction of the 'suspect' British Muslim. This indicates the performative effect of recent policy and societal discourses on British Muslim identity, in terms of how British born Muslims of South Asian origin have come to perceive and present themselves as members of a community.

This appears to have had two effects. I have noted how a sense of community has arisen amongst some British Muslims residents after being cast with fear and suspicion. This was clearest in the notions of some of residents that Longsight was a safe community place for British Muslims to exert and express religious identities. I have therefore tried to make a theoretical contribution to growing literature on the 'suspect community' (Pantazis & Simon 2011; Jarvis & Michael, 2013; Ragazzi, 2015). I have done this by drawing out a Tönniesian Gesellschafts/Gemeinschaft distinction perhaps at work, in that perceived solidarity between local Muslims had quite clear groundings in a neighbourhood context, with Longsight as a safe place for Muslim identities set in opposition to experiences 'out there' beyond the neighbourhood and in a wider society and nation experienced as hostile to their faith and identity. However, perhaps more worryingly, through frequent suggestion

amongst some residents that I was being perceived as 'spy' by local people, there might be grounds to suggest that state suspicion of British Muslims as an outcome of the integration agenda has begun to impact perceived commonality of British-born Muslim people with British born non-Muslims.

Chapter Six – Making and Losing Place

Having argued previously about the significance of residential neighbourhood for belonging and 'community', discussions in this chapter centre on the participants' perceptions and experiences of place and local social spaces and how they relate to sentiments and articulations of community. People's experiences of neighbourhood facilities are examined here, with contrasting feelings of inclusion and exclusion derived from these spaces explored in this chapter. Neighbourhood facilities comprising of cultural and retail sites are conceptualised as 'place' (the physical and observable creations of groups that moved to and lived in the area), whilst social 'space' denotes the settings these places provide and the experiences and meaning given to them by the participants.

This chapter ultimately demonstrates the participants' different experiences of local places and social spaces. Firstly, retail and cultural facilities that are shaped by the settlement of migrant groups from South Asia are examined and contextualised with the wider literature on the ability of migrants to 'make place' (Gill, 2010). I then examine the participants' differing views on local community centres associated with the migration and settlement of Asian groups in the area. Finally, neighbourhood change articulated around a discourse of 'loss' is examined. Amongst other findings, discussed in the conclusion of this chapter is the contrast between the ability of South Asian groups to make place through establishing new retail and cultural facilities, and the perceived powerlessness of longer standing residents to influence desired changes in their area.

Experiencing a British Asian area: a walk through the neighbourhood

Longsight's urban scenery is characterised by a blend of Asian retail and cultural facilities, national supermarkets and well-known retail outlets, and rows of Victorian terraced houses and newer social housing estates. This reflects the ethnic and socio-economic mix of the area, which is characterised, as I discussed in Chapter One, by large Asian and white populations and levels of deprivation that are above the national average. Located at the centre of Longsight's nineteenth century terraced neighbourhoods and newer social housing estates, Longsight's open air market was repeatedly discussed as a point of interest during interviews with people who held generally upbeat views on the neighbourhood and other local people. Depending on the weather and trading day, the market was usually a popular

and busy local site. Because of its location at the junctions of main roads connecting different areas of Manchester, the sound of traffic and the city was never too far from the sounds of sociability and interactions between traders and shoppers. This meant that on particularly busy trading days, a certain vibrancy and energy permeated from beneath the market's multicoloured canopies.

Participants who viewed Longsight as a neighbourhood with a good range of retail facilities were keen to show and discuss the market. The diversity of the participants' backgrounds was noteworthy. Indeed, the public spaces of urban markets have been a focus for research on the lived experience of cultural and ethnic difference in urban settings. For example, Rhys-Taylor (2013), drawing on a sensory ethnographic approach that incorporated smell and taste, argued that urban markets with a diversity of people and goods play an important role in the production of the experience of multiculture. In addition, Watson and Studdert (2006) identified a number of factors that bring together diverse social groups into market spaces. They argued that markets provide important sites for social interactions amongst diverse groups, leading them to outline a number of ways in which policymakers could harness these neighbourhood spaces to foster better cohesion amongst social groups. The authors (ibid) argued that informal seating, cafes and food vans could provide opportunities for diverse groups to linger in market spaces, whilst improved thinking about the physical infrastructure of a well laid-out site could enable facilitating aisles for people to walk through and interact with one another. These, it is argued, might potentially facilitate positive encounters with difference.

I visited Longsight market numerous times during my fieldwork. A visit to Longsight market on any trading day would likely reveal an extensive number of stalls that sell an assortment of items. I perceived some stalls as more esoteric than others, with one inscribed in my field notes as selling a collection of used car wing mirrors from a stack of cardboard boxes. In addition, I noted that the market had a number of food outlets, with an English café specialising in fried food and homemade meals noticeably a busy place of activity. However, alongside the visible 'British' traders, what was apparent was the extensive range of South Asian goods available for purchase in Longsight market. These included Asian garments, fabrics, jewellery, and personal and domestic items. Moreover, located in between these stalls were sellers of Islamic books and DVDs. I observed one stall showing, on a small

television, pilgrims embarking on rotations of the Kaaba at the centre of the Great Mosque of Mecca. However, it is important to point out the number of people who suggested the market was popular with all kinds of residents regardless of backgrounds or faith. Louise, who had moved to the area relatively recently, suggested the popularity of the market was based on the range of goods made available across a number of trading days:

> Louise: "The place to go in Longsight is the market, everyone goes to the market, it's loved by everyone. Mondays it's sort of like, the veg markets and things, then Tuesday it's the secondhand stalls, I don't think they do a Wednesday, but Thursday it's sort of nearly new clothes. That's the local hub there, the little market".

Building on Louise's depiction of the market as "*the local hub*" which "*everyone goes to*", Mohammed suggested the status of the market as a retail site for local people was based on its handiness at the relative centre of a low-income area:

> Mohammed: "That's the market there. Not only is it convenient because of where it is, you'll find that because local people are economically disadvantaged, you'll find this is the market they can't live without".

It is therefore noteworthy the residents who suggested the market's usefulness as a retail site transcended ethnic group boundaries. Often aware of the vibrant Asian space that came with the experience of the market, it was decidedly a place to these residents that provided for all kinds of people. In addition, alongside retail and consumption purposes, others valued the market because it provided a space for socialising with others. Jarin suggested that she "loved" the market because it was a local space in which residents including herself could spend time socialising with others:

> Jarin: "I love coming to Longsight market and just zooming around really saying 'hi hello' to everybody, it's like a community hub or something, like where you see and meet everybody. And there's a lot of older ladies, they just walk about and see everybody out there, you don't need to buy anything, you just have a look and nosey around all the stalls at everything".

What can be interpreted in Jarin's description of the market is the view that it provided a social space for local Asian women. It is described as a "community hub", with Jarin's

onomatopoeic description of herself 'zooming' around in the hustle and bustle of the space denoting the energy and vibrancy that I touched on above. In addition, Jarin's suggestion that socialising in the market was a particularly popular pastime for *"older ladies"* (older Asian women) touches on its prevailing popularity with South Asian people in an area with a large South Asian population. Ullah's (2010) research on this area of inner-city Manchester incorporated observations of Longsight market, interpreting the abundance of Islamic and Asian stalls as "reminiscent of traditional shopping areas in South Asia" (ibid, p. 377), and suggesting the market is renowned nationally by British Pakistanis because first generations are able to barter in Urdu and Punjabi. The participants in this research seemed unanimous in their descriptions of Longsight as an "Asian" or "Muslim" place, with only Louise describing it as a "*very multicultural area*". The seemingly shared recognition of Longsight as an Asian and Muslim place was derived primarily from the retail and cultural facilities such as the market that conveyed South Asian and Muslim identities that reflected the recent history of immigration to the area. This emanated most vividly in the social space of the high street that is situated close to the market. The following field note conveys the markers of South Asian place-identity that at the beginning of the fieldwork was quite striking to me:

> *"I see an abundance of Asian shops, businesses and restaurants. As well I can see an Islamic bank and Islamic tax consultancies, I can see travel agents advertising trips to Mecca sitting next door to money transfer services, alongside solicitors advertising a range of immigration services. There are also several letting agencies, greengrocers and newsagents, as well as a large public library and at least one migrant community centre. There are also standard high street shops and businesses – Greggs and bookies. Parts of the pavements itself has goods from shops laid out onto it"* (Field note, 4 January 2018).

Hence, as the field note might illustrate, as opposed to constituting the 'liminal space' of an emerging superdiverse neighbourhood, in which no migrant group is yet to imprint a clear and collective identity onto place (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2018), Longsight's retail places and public spaces seemed to reflect the settlement of a single and relatively large group, who had forged and impressed a collective identity onto the local area. Although the gambling shop inscribed in the field note seemed to reflect the presence and practices of different groups, with the fast food bakery similarly most likely a mixed social place, it was

apparent that Longsight was physically and conceptually a distinctively South Asian area, an area in which people of South Asian origins had 'made place' that allowed for the retention of national and religious identities in a transnational context (Gill, 2010; Castles & Davidson, 2009). Friedmann (2010) comments that the predominance of shops and retail facilities around a particular ethnicity are key indications of migrant place-making. The clearest example of the way successive phases of South Asian migrants had made place in Longsight was the use of pavements as an extension of shop spaces to display business goods. Goods displayed and arranged to passers-by seemed to reflect a different conceptualisation of public space that diverged from British retail practices that are generally confined to shop windows and indoors spaces. When we were in the space of the high street, Mohammed depicted South Asian place making in positive terms as driven by the entrepreneurialism of particularly successful Asian migrants:

> *Mohammed: "So they [migrants] come in here and they develop it in terms of businesses, in terms of opportunities, you know in terms of services, dentists and everything. That supermarket, a guy came over, he started it. And there used to be a sweetshop there, then it closed. Then this Pakistani guy opened a store, he moved in there, and he would become very successful, now he put a sweetshop again back in there [the supermarket]. And there's a cash and carry on the other side too, and there's a few cash and carries on that road as well, which didn't used to be there. There was only an optician once, and the rest of the shops were English clothing and things like that, but now it's all very convenient".*

Massey and Denton (1993) have portrayed place-making as when a new minority identity replaces that of the previous identity. This seems to chime with Mohammed's account of the area in the extract, which talks about the changes to local retail places as driven by settling migrants from South Asia. From Mohammed's perspective, the place making process seemed to have created a situation in which Asian groups had benefitted and which shops that were once 'English' were now "all very convenient". Individual migrants with enough social, cultural and financial capital to start businesses overseas are depicted as successful, with the emergence of retail facilities seemingly now providing an extensive range of goods and services for Asian people in ways previous shops had not been. The abundance of Asian retail facilities was commented on by Sabrina similarly. Sabrina had a

British Bangladeshi background and moved to the area in the mid-2000s. Sabrina suggested her Asian friends who had moved away from Longsight to the more affluent suburbs of Stockport routinely returned to the area for their shopping:

> Sabrina: "I have a lot of friends who live in Stockport, Heald Green, Cheadle, that sort of area, they will come here for shopping, they come here regularly. But I have friends living in Cheetham Hill, they have shops there, so they don't need to come to this place".

Unlike friends in Cheetham Hill in the north of Manchester, with a large Pakistani population (Bullen, 2015), which seemed to contain sufficient Asian retail facilities, Sabrina discusses here how her socially mobile Asian friends who had moved away from Longsight and to the predominantly white residential areas of Stockport returned to Longsight regularly as part of their retail practices. Asian shops in Longsight alongside cultural facilities such as mosques and halal butchers suggest that Longsight was a centre point for Asian people, and thus somewhere that Asian people tended to congregate. As Jarin explains, Longsight was a vibrant social space and 'community' area for Muslims of South Asian origin, something that she ultimately valued and appreciated:

> Jarin: "I really enjoy living in Longsight, it's such a vibrant community. We got all the shops, we got all the mosques, and wherever you go, everyone knows you".

Hence, whilst place making provided practical retail opportunities, the place making process has additionally created social spaces that for some residents amounted to the experience of community. As facilities that drew Asian and Muslim people into a locality, this had created for Jarin a perception that everyone was known to one another. As I walked down the high street with the migrant participants, they sensed the popularity of Longsight with Asian and Muslim people based on the amount of Asian shops and halal butchers locally:

> Ruma: "Longsight market too, that is popular

> Imen: Yes, with Muslim people especially, and Asian people like living here in Longsight, because of Asian shops

> Ruma: And halal food

> *Imen: Halal food, yeah, everything is available. So, it is popular with Asians, especially Muslims, they prefer to live in Longsight, and also because of the mosques too*

> *Imen: Living in the Longsight area, we feel like we live in Pakistan, no difference".*

Although the participants would indicate that they shopped and prayed in local retail and cultural facilities, Imen's comments that spaces and places of the neighbourhood created a feeling that living in Longsight was not much different to living in Pakistani can be read in a different light; in context with the analysis in the last chapter. In a sense, Imen might be interpreting here how Longsight was popular place for Asian people but how this excluded the broader needs of other groups that constituted, in her mind, a community. Indeed, not all participants articulated wholly positive views about the retail and cultural facilities located in Longsight, particularly those with longer residences. Mani had a generally negative perception on Asian retail and cultural facilities in the area, framing them as emerging through in place of the older and 'better' 'English' shops and businesses:

> *Mani: "There's been so much change here in the last I don't know, twenty, thirty years, it's become more of a Curry Mile, so I would compare it to Wilmslow Road, definitely…there used to be pubs, butchers, bakers, greengrocer, but now you don't see that, you see one shop that sells everything, so it's definitely changed, not necessarily for the better, because we never had these clothes shops".*

Instead of there being a diversity to retail and leisure places as there seemingly once had, Mani perceived Longsight high street as changed through Asian immigration and becoming comparatively less diverse than it once was. Mani makes her opinions about these changes explicit in stating that they were *"not necessarily for the better"*, and given that she had previously suggested that she tended to avoid local restaurants (*"and kebabs, me and my husband have eaten kebabs here, but then you're like oh no, they tend to be a bit hit and miss"*), the comparison of Longsight high street to the nearby 'Curry Mile' area of Rusholme can be read in a negative light. In addition, whilst pointing to an Asian fabric shop, and remarking that *"we never had these clothes shops"*, Mani seems to imply a feeling of uneasiness about place making processes that had imprinted new cultural and national identities onto place. Indeed, whilst the physical and conceptual markers of South Asian

groups provided feelings of inclusion and unity for some, for others they provoked feelings of alienation and exclusion. Theresa, who had lived in the area since the 1950s, talked explicitly about no longer using the shops on the high street, suggesting conversely that these retail places no longer had any uses:

> Dillon: "Are there any places in Longsight you tend not to go?
>
> Theresa: I mean, we don't go on Stockport Road anymore because we haven't got a shop there. From one time, at Ardwick Green, right up to Levenshulme, you could buy a nail to a flaming elephant, and now in Levenshulme, that's gone as bad, Levenshulme wasn't too bad until a few years ago, and now it's worse than ever. And the council keep letting them open these takeaways and everything you know, it's just beyond a joke, just beyond a joke".

Theresa suggested that she no longer visited the high street because shops did not sell what she needed. This view is conveyed by Theresa through a recollection of her local retail practices. The retail space along Longsight's high street was depicted as forming a centrepiece to a much larger strip of shops that stretched the length of Stockport Road, and encompassed the neighbouring Ardwick Green area to the north, and the Levenshulme neighbourhood to the south. The breadth to this local retail space, depicted in the extract in colloquial terms as providing an extensive range of goods, suggested that the area once provided Theresa items and goods, no matter how big or small. However, this is depicted as changed, with shops in Levenshulme perceived as experiencing a decline similar to Longsight through being described as now "*worse than ever*". Similar to Longsight, Levenshulme has experienced population changes partly as a result of international migration (Bullen, 2015). Some of the migrant participants in this research indicated that they had briefly lived in the neighbouring ward before moving into Longsight itself. Hence, Theresa's depiction that Levenshulme was now worse than ever, tied to her view that "*we haven't got a shop*" in Longsight, seems to imply that the South Asian shops perceived as 'replacing' previous retail facilities were both impractical and alienating. Theresa's suggestion that "*we*" no longer have shops, coupled with her view the local authority was to blame for allowing "*them'* to open restaurants she perceived pejoratively as fast food businesses, could be read as viewing groups in terms of symbolic ethnic boundaries, as opposed to seeing groups as mutual and together in a shared place. Here, there seems to be

parallels with Dench et al.'s (2006) study of the changing Bethnal Green neighbourhood in east London, in which hostility and community divisions were seen as related to questions about fairness and entitlement, in which the local authority was attributed as blameworthy by white residents for neglecting their perceived concerns. However, going further than provoking feelings of alienation and exclusion, Frank, who moved to the area in the 1970s, suggested that the high street was actively avoided by prejudiced white neighbours on his estate:

> Frank: "If people on the estate want the [green]grocers now, they go into town [Manchester City Centre].
>
> Dillon: There's a few green grocers on Stockport Road isn't there?
>
> Frank: Yeah, but they're all foreign, and a lot of people, a lot of people don't like that, they prefer English. Don't ask me why. I don't mind
>
> Dillon: Why, do you shop there yourself?
>
> Frank: Yeah. As far as I'm concerned, I don't care what kind of shop you're using, if it's run by a Pakistani, if its run by a Muslim, or whoever it's run by. If they've got something I want, that will do me. Why should I have to run to town. But you've got a lot of people who are prejudiced. They won't tell you to your face they're prejudiced, but they're prejudiced. And they're only used to certain shops. 'Oh I don't like that shop', 'why?', 'oh it's run by a Pakistani'".

Valentine (2008) has pointed out the paradoxical gap between professed values and actual practices in the social relations of difference, in that people who appear outwardly hospitable and friendly might simultaneously harbour deep-rooted prejudices. This seems to resonate with Frank's account. Although not explicitly stated, Frank seemed to imply mainstream social norms that govern expressions of racism had forced his neighbours to conceal their prejudiced views and attitudes about the high street shopping areas. Whilst there was little to support Frank's view that white residents self-segregated, Theresa briefly touched on perceived issues with greengrocers, which she linked to the opening of a halal butchers in place of what was locally known as Harold's butchers:

Theresa: "I don't know what's happening here, this shop used to be a grocers till a few weeks ago, and we had a wonderful butchers there, and now it's a Halal butchers

Dillon: The Halal butchers is where you get your meat from?

Theresa: Yeah but it wasn't Halal butchers when we went. It was Harold's butchers, and he was a marvellous butcher, but he had to go because you know, it was mainly halal they want round here

Dillon: So, when did he leave?

Theresa: Oh, about ten years now. It was a fantastic place to live, there's no doubt about it".

Conjured by the memory of the row of shops we were stood outside in one of Longsight's residential areas, this extract captures the cultural dynamic underpinning Theresa's perception that her neighbourhood had 'declined' through processes of migrant place making. It begins with her reflecting on the shops and mentioning fleetingly a greengrocer which is said to have recently closed down. This is depicted as following a similar fate to Harold's butchers, with Harold the butcher recounted fondly but suggested as having to leave the area because of changes to consumption practices of local residents. This in turn is linked to a perceived decline of the neighbourhood, with the connotations of Halal meat with Muslim groups seemingly complicating Theresa's ability to continue using the butchers. Culture has been commented on as a 'struggle' for meaning (Fiske, 1987), whilst Mier (2013) found that established inhabitants of neighbourhoods sometimes struggle to keep up with cultural changes and new cultural practices of place. Thus, whilst retail and culture facilities seemed to provide resources and belonging for some participants and residents, for others they were the focus of anger, division and despair about the changing neighbourhood and the feeling of losing ownership over place. There was clearly a division in the perceptions and experiences of the participants, with the impact this had on senses of community emanating most clearly in views and attitudes about local community centres.

Local community centres and conflicting 'community' meanings

Taking a broader view, it was apparent that Longsight's places and spaces were quite contested in their uses and meanings, with the differing experiences of them examined in the last section reflecting the participants' quite differing experiences of local residential life. Although there were complexities and ambiguities to perceptions of local retail facilities, throughout the last section, it seemed that ethnicity and culture was a key factor in feeling spatially included or excluded from them. As Brubaker (2004) has argued, ethnicity and cultures provide perspectives on the world, rather than something in the world, meaning the markers of ethnic groups can be powerful stimulators of inclusion and belonging or exclusion and non-belonging. How these views related to notions of community is addressed in this section, in which I argue that local community centres functioned as key constructors to the participants' conflicting notions of community. As Hoekstra and Pinkster (2019) have shown, community centres can be particularly contentious places in diverse neighbourhoods when different groups make competing claims on them. Whilst local community centres undoubtedly functioned as key resources for migrant and ethnic minority groups, for others they were the focus of ethnic and community-based concerns about whether these places were only accessible to certain religious and ethnic groups that lived in Longsight.

As explored in Chapter Two, fostering a shared sense of belonging in diverse neighbourhoods has long been a concern of governments in the UK. In line with the cohesion agenda, strategies have been devised in which community centres at neighbourhood levels have acted as sites for formalised events aiming to bringing together populations in order to increase contact and mixing across lines of perceived difference (for example, Slatcher, 2017). This is premised on the idea that greater contact and interaction can engender shared feelings of belonging across diverse populations, something I examine in detail in the next chapter. However, unlike top-down interventionist strategies elsewhere that have gone as far as opening up centres in diverse and often low-income places to provide neighbourhood spaces for mixing and interaction (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019), Longsight contained a number of longstanding 'identity specific' community centres (Kersten et al., 2013) that were established by migrants who had settled in the area and had sought to provide collective representation and resources for settling Asian groups. As

Mohammed, one of the founders of a local community centre explained, the centre was established by migrants to help overcome initial challenges with integration:

> "The centre was initiated in 1985, it started running as an organisation to provide support for the Bangladeshi community, those who were in need in terms of linguistic support, in terms of social support and everything. So they needed that because most of the people who came to this country [from Bangladesh], they're either from the sheep farms, you know they used to work with sheep herds, and they used to work in labouring factories, cottons, steel, and that sort of work. So, they were quite deprived, and we felt advantages could be had from providing them with knowledge and proper education, which they were deprived of. So because of that, some people thought we needed a place where they can support these people and that's how we set it up, so [founder of centre] along with many others bought this building. So, a few elderly people, they got together and secured this building, and since then it's developed in many ways".

Hence, as this extract suggests, local ethnic minority community centres appear to have grown from the bottom up, as migrant elders who assumed leadership roles sought to represent and empower fellow nationals who faced linguistic, social and educational barriers to integration associated with the largely rural and peasant backgrounds of the post-1945 Bangladeshi migrants. Mohammed's allusion to how the centre had since developed in different ways might reflect budget and funding concerns which seemed to alarm managers and staff I spoke with at other centres. Nonetheless, these centres were discussed by the staff as providing a range of important services for migrants and ethnic minorities in the locality that were otherwise not provided by public authorities. The participants seemed to concur with this, discussing the community centres in positive terms by recognising them as helping them personally and perceiving them more broadly as alleviating the problems of the various ethnic minority groups that lived in the neighbourhood:

> Imen: "The community centres help their people with any problem

> *Ruma: Yeah, when we receive a letter from the council, sometimes we couldn't understand how we can read the letter, but they help us. Yeah, the community centres they help us*

> *Imen: And every community has their own centre just like the [community centre A], [community centre B], everyone in the community has their own centre".*

In this exchange, local Asian community centres were suggested by Imen as helping minority groups in the area. Based on Ruma's account of seeking advice from one of these centres after receiving a letter from the local authority, it seems Imen, drawing on the anonymised groups in the names of the centres, interpreted these places as helping local Asian people of various national origins that lived in the neighbourhood (*"the community centres help their people with any problem"*). However, despite the depiction that centres helped 'their people', and thus the feeling that migrant and Asian groups had a form of representation in them, she then depicts local Asian groups living in the area as collectively forming a broader Asian community of place (*"And every community has their own centre…everyone in the community has their own centre"*). Thus, Imen seems to have alluded to a double meaning of community, in which she draws on both place and group meanings associated with the concept by suggesting that migrant groups in the area represented individual 'communities' based on common nationality and backgrounds, whilst at the same time seeing local people in Longsight as living in a 'community' based on shared common residence. As discussed, the meaning of community is often elusive as demonstrated by Hillary's (1955) list of fifty-five definitions of the concept, with the only common thread being that they dealt with people. Consequently, Crow and Allen (1994) have argued that a proliferation of lay and academic usages of community have created a lack of clarity and precision about what community means. Although community can concurrently denote common residence, common interests and a common identity, the authors argue that the relationships between these various types of communities are frequently left unexplored with dynamic interconnections often overlooked.

However, whilst Imen's construction of community might suggest a local inter-Asian community, this construction of community seemed to differ from people who had lived locally for some time. Perhaps because the experience of migration and identifying with a different national background did not feature as prominently in their lives, participants with

longer residencies did not interpret 'community' as denoting migrant groups of people but rather denoting longstanding connection to place. Mani's understanding of community was based on shared residence, so she felt the number of identity specific community centres in the neighbourhood reflected ethnic group boundaries that ultimately hindered a shared community of place:

> Mani: *"There's a lot of mistrust in the area, you know, people are quite racist towards each other, so a lot of Pakistanis will call Bangladeshis and Bangladeshis will say things about Pakistanis, Indians will say things about other groups. It's a lack of understanding because there's no communication*, and *I think having places like the [name of ethnic minority community centre] don't help. I personally don't believe in segregating people and I think having those titles does, and if I was white, I'd say things like, 'where's my centre?'"*.

Asian participants tended to describe Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian groups as the 'Asian community'. This suggested that shared residential neighbourhood and identification with shared cultural and regional ties superseded perceived national differences leading to the creation of important community ties. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the formation of urban concentrations of ethnic minority populations has been driven historically by social and racial exclusion in housing policy and provision. This has led some to suggest minority groups form solidarities as a means of representation, protection and security in a wider context of exclusion (Baumann, 1996). Mani, however, seems to dispute this, suggesting the local South Asian group was far from harmonious and instead divided between national group boundaries. In the extract, Mani felt Asian groups were divided because community centres prevented a lack of mixing. Whilst limited socio-economic resources have been found to affect intra-ethnic relations (Hudson et al., 2007; Hickman et al., 2012), Mani seemed to base this perception on her interpretation of the ethnic minority name in the title of the centre that was quite visible to the public and therefore perceived the centre as exclusively representing a national group of South Asian origin. Thus, rather than attributing inter-migrant tensions to socio-economic factors, she appears instead to see the centre with its ethnic minority group name as symbolically denoting the boundaries of local ethnic groups, boundaries that 'segregated' the local population across ethnic lines. Her suggestion that ethnic minority community centres were excluding and ultimately antagonising white

groups had parallels with Theresa's experience of trying to mix with Asian groups in one of the centres:

> Theresa: "Well the thing is, at the [community centre], where we go for coffee morning now, we could get money from the council, if the Asians could come and join us, but they won't. And if we try to join them, they don't want us in, they don't want to know us, so that's why they want this area, and they have got it, which is bad".

Contrary to what she otherwise implied during the interview, Theresa suggested that she had attempted to interact with local Asian groups through invitations to a coffee morning at a local community centre. Although this centre branded itself as a 'neighbourhood centre' and was not perceived by the participants as representative of a South Asian group, she suggested that the coffee morning had since ended after reduced attendance had resulted in the local authority no longer funding the group. This suggested outcome is construed as a consequence of local Asian people not wanting to join, with Theresa suggesting her attempts to join local Asian groups elsewhere had been met with rejection by a group implied as tight knit, closed and self-segregating. This is in turn was construed as Asian groups 'taking over the area', as though this behaviour was perceived as excluding and pushing out longer standing residents from the neighbourhood that she identified with. Thus, it seems a further contention about place and community centres stemmed from claims about them representing the 'community' when community appeared to have different meanings for different participants. In the following extract, Frank builds on these sentiments, suggesting secular and identity-specific community centres in Longsight were dividing people along ethnic and class lines and ultimately hindering the formation of his desired community of place:

> Frank: "And the community centres, there's nothing, there's no community centres as you can see. On that estate, on that posh estate right, you got a community centre on there, but there's nothing on this side, there's nothing on our working-class estate. And it's not fair, why can't they just build one big community centre and let everybody use it, what's the difference between an [ethnic minority group] community centre, and an English community centre? There's no difference, there should be one big community centre that everybody can use, and you get to know

> *everybody, know what I mean, it's not, 'alright, this is only for [ethnic minority*
>
> *group], this is only for Muslims, this is only for so and so'. It shouldn't be like that".*

Frank opens this extract by commenting on a new-build housing development adjacent to his own estate. Labelling it "*that posh estate*", he spent much of the interview showing me around the residential space to raise concerns about the perceived neglect of his own estate by public authorities perceived as having greater concern for the wellbeing of incoming residents he perceived as wealthier. However, through his awareness that the new-build estate had a community centre built as part of it, he similarly articulated views about a divided local community based on the presence of a community centre. In this case, he seemingly views the centre in terms of the favouritism of public authorities for newer groups perceived as more affluent and therefore more important. Indeed, Frank seemed to view this centre as accessible only for the 'posh people' moving into the estate and ultimately inaccessible to 'working-class people' on his residential estate with whom he identified.

With this as a context, and whilst physically stood with an ethnic minority centre in our view, Frank perceived community centres as representative of different social groups living in the locality, with the centres in turn representing the group boundaries between different social groups perceived as hindering the formation of a shared community of place. Moreover, as Mani had envisaged, deduced from the name of an ethnic minority group in the community centre, Frank perceived the centre as inaccessible to him as a white person and to other white residents similarly. Thus, Frank appears to perceive the centre as preventing conversation and interactions between him and different people, ultimately preventing residents from "*getting to know each other"* and limiting opportunities for bridging between different social groups. However, Frank does not appear to lay the blame at ethnic minorities but instead directs attention at public authorities (*why can't they just build one big community centre and let everybody use it)*. For Frank, community centres are imagined as providing a space to socialise and potentially build relationships with local people across lines of class and ethnic difference, with these spaces imbued with local community connotations because of the perception that they were spaces where relationships and commonality with other residents could develop. What is apparent then is that Frank's grievances were not based exclusively on perceived ethnic and cultural

differences with Asian groups who had moved into the neighbourhood. This reflects how population change was one facet to the broader experiences of neighbourhood change experienced by participants with particularly bleak outlooks on Longsight.

Local regeneration and the loss of 'favourite places'

There is a well-established body of work documenting how neighbourhoods experience change, transition, growth and decline (Jacobs, 1961; McKenzie et al., 1967; Skogan, 1990). This body of work has influenced newer research accounting how the pace of change in contemporary society, what Bauman (2000) has termed 'liquid modernity', can produce for some people insecurity and feeling 'out of place' in their neighbourhoods as these places change (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005; Mee, 2007; Watt, 2006). A number of structural processes have been found to underpin people's feelings of 'change' in neighbourhoods (Murie, 1997; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Martin, 2005). In this research, the changing ethnic profiles of Longsight, following decades of immigration and the collective power of settling migrants to 'make place', produced insecurity and negative feelings of change for some local residents, as suggested in particular by the experience of older white participants.

However, it is important to emphasise that older white participants did not couch their views about neighbourhood change and decline entirely in negative discourses about settling Asian groups. Notions about the 'loss of community' were also derived from unwelcomed and unwanted neighbourhood change associated with 'failed' regeneration projects that had involved the demolition of retail and leisure places that were associated with the memories of community. As the first section to this chapter explored, the activity of shopping in Longsight was as much an opportunity to socialise with 'people like us' as it was an activity necessary for the consumption of resources and goods. Frank suggested that there had once been a variety of shopping facilities in multiple areas within Longsight, and that they were not all confined to the high street and market area. However, when we encountered one former site during the walking interview, he described how the shops he had once routinely visited there had been demolished to make way for a new-build housing estate, the 'posh estate' touched on in the last section:

> *Frank: "You had a greengrocer, a butcher, a pub, a chemist, you've still got a chemist, everything that you needed was right there. Then about five years ago they knocked them down with the estate on the other side and rebuilt it and give them two shops [laughs], two shops. Council's idea, know what I mean? 'Oh we'll knock the estate down, we'll build a new estate, which is on the other side of the road, right, and it's not for you'".*

Frank was discussing here an empty space close to his estate recollected as once being the site of a range of shops and businesses. It was suggested as being useful and meaningful to Frank because it was local and therefore convenient. However, as part of the development of a new housing estate, Frank suggested that the shops had been demolished. Moreover, the new shops were perceived as 'off-limits' because they were located in the posh estate which he felt represented the favouritism of new people and were therefore not available to him. This view here reflects a key topic in the interviews with Theresa and Frank, being the sense that regeneration had involved the demolition of local places they seemed to identify with, leading to articulations of nostalgia for ultimately lost community places. Many commentators have identified the feelings of insecurity, conflict and community loss that stem from experiences of neighbourhood change (Andersen & Munck, 1999; Wood & Vamplew, 1999; Blokland, 2003; Watt, 2006). These experiences are often contrasted with the previous 'golden age' of the neighbourhood and local community itself (Ravetz, 2001; Watt, 2006) which is perceived as now 'lost' and therefore creating adverse residential situations which Martin (2005, p. 86) has referred to as "a constellation of material issues that residents perceive as impeding their day to day existence". These processes of change are often reported as being perceived by residents as beyond their spheres of influence (Fiejten & van Ham, 2008), with a strong correlation reported between feeling the loss of control over the neighbourhood change and subjective perceptions of powerlessness (Geis & Ross, 1998; Warr, Tacticos, Kelaher, Klein, 2007). This seems to contextualise Frank's perception that he was powerless to the actions of the local authority and housing developers who through processes of time had demolished his 'favourite places':

> *Dillon: "Do you have any favourite places in Longsight?*
>
> *Frank: No. There is nowhere that you can call a favourite place in Longsight because like I said before, all the favourite places in Longsight that used to be in Longsight,*

they knocked down. And there's nothing at all now in Longsight. You can't go anywhere in Longsight. The only place they got left now in Longsight is the Apollo [concert venue] where people can go. Used to be picture houses, knocked them down. Picture house there, knocked it down. There were eight picture houses on this road, knocked them all down. And there's nowhere for anywhere to go for a night out".

It seems evening and leisure sites were favoured by Frank since they provided spatial opportunities to socialise with others. As noted earlier in the chapter, a number of Asian participants had these spaces, primarily in the form of retail and shopping sites. However, for Frank, it seems local places he valued and associated with socialising had been demolished by the local authority. In response to the same question, Theresa recollected the local cricket club as her favourite place. Bearing parallels with Frank's account of cinemas and pubs being demolished to make way for new a housing estate, the cricket club had been closed and similarly razed after the land had been sold to a housing association:

Dillon: "So, do you have any favourite places in Longsight?

Theresa: No. No. Nowhere to go. The cricket club we loved but now they built houses on that, so we haven't got that. They built houses on the cricket club; they sold the cricket club. That cricket club was there from the 1800's when Longsight was a village, and that was the village cricket club, and it was Mary and I worked fourteen years doing the cricket teas. Anyway, a couple of years ago, they sold the old club when they sold the land, and there's houses on it now. [Housing association], they bought the land, which is sad".

Theresa depicted the cricket club as a local place where she once socialised, and as somewhere that seemed to imbue her with a sense of status and purpose because it had involved making cups of tea for the cricketers. In presenting the cricket club in terms of history ("*that cricket club was there from the 1800's when Longsight was a village*"), Theresa seems to construct the club in terms of heritage, as though to imply that the place had historical significance and was thus important to the area itself. Neglected local heritage has been identified elsewhere with narratives of loss and neighbourhood decline (Andersen & Munck, 1999; Wood & Vamplew, 1999). It therefore seemed that Theresa perceived the

closure of the cricket club both as a loss for the neighbourhood and her personally, compounded by a perception that she no longer had a local place to socialise and thus no longer had a place associated with the experience of community. Moreover, whilst Frank talked about how *'they'* knocked down the picture houses, and Theresa suggested the closure of the club was preceded by a housing association buying the land, a sense of grievance and a feeling that their favourite local places had been unfairly lost through regeneration can be detected here. In the following extract, Frank suggests the perceived failures of local regeneration could have been averted if developers and public authorities had properly consulted local people beforehand:

> Frank: "And I've often wondered when they build these estates, why don't they ask the people, before they build the estate, why don't the council or whoever's gonna build it, 'right, what would you like on the estate?'. You know, 'what kind of shops would you like?'. 'What would you, what would you like on the estate?'. You know? And that's where designers, and governments and people who build these kinds of things make mistakes. Alright, let's have a shop, let's have a shop built there, let's have a community centre for somewhere where the children can go, know what I mean? You know, all they think about is, 'right, now, I'm gonna build an estate, what can I put on the estate?', 'I know, we'll put two shops on the estate right, and we'll put them on the corner'. The mentality of builders and the council and stuff like that, they ruin the place, absolutely ruin the place".

As Fiejten and van Ham (2008) have noted, residents who live in urban regeneration areas generally expect positive change. This view seems to chime with Frank's hopes and dreams for redevelopment schemes in Longsight. Alongside a range of facilities and resources he suggested were needed locally, he again seems to desire a community centre, depicted here in somewhat emotive terms as a space that could be used by local children. Frank seems to portray himself in this extract as confronting powerful but ultimately uninterested organisations, acting out a dialogue with the consortium of bodies responsible for the construction, and asking rhetorical questions he seemingly would like to have been asked as part of his desired consultation prior to construction. However, his idealised requests are depicted as going unheard, with subsequent changes in the area falling short of what people wanted, and therefore perceived as representing unwanted change that had ruined the

place. However, as researchers have pointed out, negative experiences of neighbourhood regeneration can also be linked to the disruption of local networks (Forrest & Kearns, 1999; Cattel & Evans, 1999; Allen, 2008). This is echoed in the following extract, in which Frank attributed regeneration of social housing and subsequent changes to social housing allocation policies as breaking up his community:

> Frank: "When I first come here, all the houses round here, it doesn't matter what avenue you lived in or the area you lived in, you could walk past any house and people were friendly, and you knew everybody. In the street where I live when I first moved here, I knew all my neighbours, I knew everybody, right, then it all changed. And that's the problem because you ruin the area, you broke the community up, you moved people out of houses, and built new houses, and put your students in, and the people that lived here all their lives, are living up in Oldham in the middle of nowhere!".

In the above extract, Frank constructs a notion of local community, based on the memory of knowing his former neighbours on the estate, and generalising local people across Longsight as friendly, sociable and known to one another. His account has similarities with narratives of place decline and community loss recorded in Watt's (2006) research, in which a remembered past was characterised by communal solidarity between residents based on interactions, reciprocity and equalities in housing and income conditions. However, this is depicted as having *"all changed"*, with the dynamics of change ultimately breaking up the community through relocating former residents to the Oldham area of Greater Manchester where he claimed he was once offered a socially rented let. In this account, the physical restructuring of local housing and the local environment accompanied by changes to the population, involving the dispersal of previous social networks and the arrival of ethnically 'different' residents, had led to a breakdown in interaction and the feeling community was now missing. Frank's feeling that community was now lost in Longsight therefore involve the process of people he identified with moving on, and people he did not identify with moving in, a process exacerbated by the loss of places he associated with the experience and memory of socialising in the locality. In the following extract, Theresa touched on similar sentiments, and attributed the housing association homes built on the site of the former cricket club as to blame for enabling the arrival and settlement of newcomers depicted as

"bad people":

> Theresa: "But now we've got houses on them [cricket club site], and [housing association] have caused a lot of trouble around here. They have brought all these people in from different areas, you know, bad people. But they're not only foreigners, we've got some really bad English people that have moved in this area, you know?".

The arrival of 'strangers' and 'outsiders' and tensions between 'established' and 'outsiders' has been discussed elsewhere as pivotal elements in the feeling that neighbourhood and community has declined (Elias and Scotson, 1965; Wood & Vamplew, 1999). Individuals are often averse to neighbours they view as deviating from what they perceive as local norms and values (Harris, 1999), with Elias and Scotson's (1965) research famously showing how presence of 'low status' newcomers were viewed as threatening 'respectable' locals. This literature seems to bear parallels with Theresa's account here, in which undesirable newcomers located as living on the former site of Theresa's favourite place are described as "bad people". On one level, the extract encapsulates Theresa's construction of neighbourhood decline as triggered by the demolition and loss of local places associated with the memories of socialising that once took place in the neighbourhood. However, this was compounded further by the arrival of new people, configured as bad people perhaps because they lived on the site of former places of which Theresa had grievances about losing.

In addition, similar to Frank in the previous extract, this account suggests that Theresa's negative perception of newcomers was not necessarily racialised, in that Theresa refers to both incoming 'foreigners' and English newcomers as 'bad people'. It is therefore apparent that Theresa and Frank's negative perceptions of neighbourhood and local people were more complex and nuanced than their articulations of sometimes explicitly racist comments might imply. Their experience of neighbourhood change and the negative trajectory the neighbourhood was perceived as moving through were rooted in both changes to the physical environment and changes to the local population, that had an isolating and alienating effect. This was compounded further by the new neighbourhood places that had emerged through Asian place making processes feeling exclusionary and catering for people 'not like us', with the perceived negative trajectory of the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore the participants' perceptions and experiences of place and local spaces and how they relate to ideas of community. Although the walking method might have overstated the local, this chapter has found that local places and spaces situated in the neighbourhood were heavily associated with notions of community, with the experience of change often framed in terms of community. This chapter thus contributes to renewed but sometimes challenged focuses on local neighbourhoods as sites of community (for example, Wright, 2015; Swann & Hughes, 2016; Crow, 2018), and how community is imagined by people who feel they are part of certain groups (Anderson, 1991).

However, more specifically, this chapter has examined the participants different perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood places and spaces. Longsight seemed to represent what Keith and Pile (1993) discuss as a 'competing spatiality' in which changes to the neighbourhood landscapes had greater resonance with some individuals than others. For some participants, retail and cultural facilities located in Longsight provided essential resources which allowed for the retaining and enacting of South Asian and Muslim identities in a transnational context. This appeared to make Longsight a popular locality for people of Pakistani/Bangladeshi backgrounds, as people were drawn to the area because of the range of retail facilities available, with the vibrant social spaces that emerged as an outcome creating inclusive and important sources of belonging for people who identified with the Asian/Muslim community. However, participants with longer residencies articulated views that suggested feeling unsettled, alienated or excluded from these settings. This went beyond questions of whether retail and consumption sites were convenient, and instead seemed to delve into the complexities of identity and feelings of belonging to a place that was experienced as 'changed'. This was clearest in the clashing of views on local community centres. These were interpreted as helping the community. However, community evidently had different meanings for different people.

Participants with the experience of migrations and identifications with Asian national and ethnic groups felt these centres adequately represented the Asian 'community' who have historically faced entrenched forms of racial and social exclusion from British society. However, participants with more rooted experiences of place and without the experience of migration and mobility felt that community centres represented symbolic boundaries

between local groups that hindered the development of a community of 'place'. This chapter therefore contributes to commentary on migrant place-making (Amith, 2005; Castles & Davidson, 2009). Specifically, it makes a more critical contribution to place-making research (see also, Gill, 2010; Pemberton & Phillimore, 2018) by illustrating the constructive and destructive consequences of place-making when it involves marginalised minorities seeking representation and solidarity in a wider landscape of exclusion and marginalisation.

Having said that, this chapter has attempted to stress the nuances and complexities to the participants' contrasting experiences of neighbourhood places and spaces. Primarily, differences to the participants' views about place making outcomes seemed to supersede the simplistic white/Asian racial divisions associated with the narrative of 'parallel lives'. Mani seemed aware of the concerns of white residents about certain changes in the area and might even have sympathised with the views of Frank and Theresa. In addition, Theresa felt that 'foreigners' as well as 'English' newcomers were responsible for the perceived negative changes to place, whilst other people with relatively newer residencies were unaware of the alienating effects of place making processes on some, including Louise and the newer migrants from Italy.

Consequently, the complex question of time and temporality in shaping the experiences of residential neighbourhood have emerged, in that participants with longer residencies were uncomfortable about the changes to their neighbourhood, whilst those without the perspective or experience of time and local change were unaware. This last point seems to chime with Frank and Theresa's experiences of regeneration which had amounted to neighbourhood decline because it had involved the loss of favourite places. I am referring here to a certain narrative of neighbourhood change in Longsight, in which Frank and Theresa's experience of Longsight seems to have taken place over a period of time as it had moved through different stages and towards perceived decline. Ultimately, they viewed themselves as powerless to prevent changes that had negatively impacted them. These changes were rooted as much in the actions of public authorities as the emergence of new retail, cultural and neighbourhood facilities established by newcomers of South Asian origins. Hence, the ability and power of Asian groups to make place seems to have been in tension with the perceived subjective powerlessness of longer standing residents who had lost place. Although Frank and Theresa would sometimes articulate negative views about

South Asian groups in what I perceived in racialised terms, it is important to contextualise these with their wider experience of place change. As Back (1996) has argued, racism is a resource white groups can utilise when under pressure from social change. Indeed, the sort of anti-outsider hostility indicated above, rather than being rooted in 'supremacy' might have been rooted in feelings of uncertainty and insecurity about wider neighbourhood change that were entirely unrelated to immigration. This is a theme I explore further in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven – Social Capitals and Neighbourhood Relations

As noted earlier, social capital (bonding and bridging) have long been recognised in government policy as the basis of good community relations in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods (Putnam, 2000; Cantle, 2001). Although the language of community cohesion has now largely receded from recent policy documents, projects aiming to instil bridging and bonding capital in diverse neighbourhoods through promoting greater contact and dialogue have remained endorsed (Phillips et al. 2014). This is premised on the idea that relationship building between different residents and groups can overcome fears and misunderstandings, can produce more fruitful social relationships with beneficial outcomes and can strengthen the social fabrics of neighbourhoods that are conceptualised as ethnically divided or having the potential to divide. However, stemming from critical examinations of contact (Vertovec, 2007; Valentine, 2008), and a greater awareness of the material contexts to places that both underpin the need for 'strong' ethnic communities (Phillips, 2006) whilst sowing the seeds for hostility (Hudson et al., 2007; Hickman et al., 2012), concerns have emerged about whether the aims of policy overlook the specificities of places and the networks that are embedded in the everyday dynamics of diverse neighbourhoods (Cheong et al., 2007; Hudson et al., 2007).

Although it is analytically difficult to separate place from networks, since place was the context in which the participants' networks had formed, this chapter focuses in detail on the participants' responses to questions about networks in order to contribute to these debates. This chapter examines the participants' understanding of their local networks, seeking to make sense of the ties with people and communities they felt they belonged to.

I begin by examining the Asian participants' perceptions of strong local Asian networks, contextualising this analysis with a discussion of ethnic minority residential clustering. Against a policy narrative that has pathologised British Muslim/Asian networks and residential places, I explore, conversely, Asian participants' positive articulations of the wellbeing, support, trust, care and exchange relationships of both social and financial nature seen as embedded in relations with Asian residents in Longsight. Secondly, seeking to contextualise the particularly bleak outlooks of older white participants that were explored in the last chapter, I examine their experience of aging in a place that has undergone

significant population change. Drawing on the concept of 'body capital' (Antoninetti & Garrett, 2012), I explore the challenge of retaining neighbourhood social capital in older age, exploring how decreased mobility in older age appeared to hinder their desired formation of new social ties with neighbours because of the limited scope for contact, interaction and sociability in the social spaces of the neighbourhood.

With the structural barriers that might limit sustained engagement between different residents and groups at hand, I then turn to looking at the participants' experiences of encountering and mixing with people perceived as different in local spaces and places. Noting a near consensus in the participants' calls for greater cross-community dialogue in the form of structured events, lastly, examining constructions of norms of good neighbourliness, and highlighting their shared concern of poor environmental quality, I reflect on the possibility of developing mutuality and potentially bridging neighbourhood groups through dialogue and interaction around tacking shared neighbourhood issues.

Residential clustering and inter-Asian bonds

As discussed previously, British Asian inner-city clustering has received sustained attention for a number of decades. However, following research that has highlighted the diversity and difference to the experience of British South Asians (Alexander, 2000; Nayak, 2003; Modood, 2005; Hussain and Bagguley, 2005), alongside the trend towards Indian suburbanisation evident over a number of decades (Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Bowes and Sim, 2002; Phillips et al., 2007), British Asian residential clustering is now largely associated with families of Pakistani, Kashmiri and Bangladeshi origins. Thus, departing from earlier discourses that sought to tackle the entrenched inner-city poverty of the British Asian group (Sibley, 1995), in a post-2001 context, the cohesion agenda inclusion of a security dynamic has led previously constructed 'Asian' areas to be negatively reconstructed as 'Muslim' urban spaces (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). As critiqued in the literature review chapter, neighbourhoods that act as residential spaces for British Muslims of South Asian origin have been in turn portrayed by policy discourses as endangering the order, security and identity of (White) British society. In 2001 they were seen as sites of potential riots and in 2020 they are viewed as places of potential radicalisation.

However, as Phillips (2006) argues, within the heat and furore of these discourses there is often very little acknowledgement of the positive attributes of residential clustering for British Muslims of South Asian origin. On the one hand, residential clustering of Asian groups for the large part is reflective of the legacies of discriminatory housing policy and provision (Henderson and Karn, 1987). In addition, household mobility of Asian families away from traditional inner-city neighbourhoods is known to be limited by financial limitations and the fear of harassment and Islamophobia elsewhere (Phillips, 2007). However, chiming with longstanding calls for a more nuanced recognition of ethnic residential clustering (Peach, 1996; Ratcliffe et al., 1998), living in an inner-city 'community' area was articulated positively by the majority of Asian residents I interviewed. Residential clustering afforded spatially proximate relationships with similar people of South Asian origins, with these relationships in turn associated with personal wellbeing and support. This was reflected in Mohammed's account of the community activities of local Bangladeshis. The suggestion was that close spatial proximity as an outcome of residential clustering granted Mohammed opportunities to participate in community activities and rituals:

> Mohammed: "Well in Longsight actually are my community people, mostly my community people are here. You see them in mosques, you see them in various community activities, so it's part of the people I've mingled with all my life, along with my professional work, you know the association and things. But these are my people, I know them from back home, I know their families and friends, I went to their funeral prayers, we celebrate various social activities and festivals, and they are part of me. Mostly they live in this area, Rusholme too, but Longsight is where we all come together".

In response to a question about his social networks, Mohammed talked about his connections and involvements with two different groups, his "*community people*" and his "*professional work*". The passing mention given to his work contacts, associated momentarily with the community centre, suggested weaker forms of professional ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1983). Conversely, the connections with Bangladeshis, articulated as an embodied feeling of belonging ("*they are part of me*") suggested that Mohammed had closer and more meaningful ties with a circle of local people of shared national origins who are framed quite generally as his "community people". Community is therefore quite

apparent to Mohammed in the consciousness of interactions and connections with these people. In turn, Mohammed connects his community people of Bangladeshis, suggested as having transnational links through instigation "*back home*", with participation in shared religious and cultural events that took place locally because Bangladeshis were predominantly living in the area ("*this is where we all come together*"). Mohammed could therefore be perceived as valuing the clustering of Bangladeshis in Longsight for reasons of culture, tradition, familiarity and identity. Mohammed later depicted the residential predominance of Bangladeshis in Longsight as changing, however, after Pakistanis had begun moving into the area:

> Mohammed: "*They used to be, you know the Pakistani community, they lived on Wilmslow Road, the Curry Mile it used to be known as. But now this has changed, a lot of Middle Eastern people started settling there, and they're taking it over and they're pushing those Pakistani people along this way. So Longsight now is becoming more of an Asian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, you know, South Asian sort of concentration*".

Mohammed suggested South Asian clustering in Longsight had formed following the perceived uprooting of Pakistani households from the Wilmslow Road area of nearby Rusholme. This was attributed to the settlement of new Middle Eastern migrants described as "*taking it [Rusholme] over*". His language is interesting here, because it seems to denote a perception that newer Pakistani households had been unfairly uprooted from a residential space formally associated with an Asian presence as signified by its colloquial title the 'Curry Mile'. Consequently, Mohammed could be interpreted as suggesting a new form of (minority) white flight was underpinning clustering processes in Longsight, as Pakistanis were opting to live alongside people of Asian backgrounds rather than people of Middle Eastern origin. This touches on a sense of inter-Asian commonality that was discussed throughout the interviews by Asian participants. The frequent reference to the 'Asian community' by participants of South Asian backgrounds denoted an identification with culturally and regionally similar people living in a shared diaspora space. Alongside the importance of social connections with compatriots, participants of South Asian origins were keen to emphasise the tight knit inter-national bonds between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

These bonds between South Asians were articulated in Ruma's comments that were prompted by asking whether she had support networks of friends living in the area:

> Ruma: "When the Asian family is together, they can be from any Asian country. Pakistani, Bangladeshi, same, same".

It is noteworthy that Ruma's positive perception of solidarity between South Asian residents is often drowned out by negative discourses on Asian residential clustering. As commentators have pointed out, these discourses have framed Asian urban neighbourhoods as 'problems' because they are perceived as representing the failures of cohesion and potential security concerns (Phillips, 2006; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). However, Ruma paints a different picture, one that suggests a general perception of inter Asian commonality between Asian residents otherwise silenced by the dominance of cohesion and security discourses. As Ahmed (2019) argues, these have come to define British Muslims of South Asian origin through their religious, as opposed to regional, identities. However, Ruma in the extract above perceives shared Asian heritage as central to the bonds between residents of Bangladeshi/Pakistani origins, suggesting bonds based on identification of common culture and regional backgrounds superseded community bonds of shared faith. Without suggesting that individuality or agency is repressed by family, an awareness of personhood in South Asian culture is often interlocked with family loyalty and group solidarity (Horque, 2019). Thus, it is worth highlighting Ruma's depiction of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis as an 'Asian family' because it denotes a strength to her perception of the bonds between South Asian residents. After the interview Mohammed returned to the topic of the 'concentration' of South Asians in the area, and suggested it was natural for Asian people with shared culture and faiths to 'stick together' and help each other out:

> "He says [South Asians] are concentrated here. I ask why [he thinks] they are concentrated here, and he gives the example of Pakistanis, being Muslims, hearing about job opportunities through Bangladeshi bosses, "shared faith, shared culture" of other Muslim employers. He says, "it's natural instinct for human beings to stick with people you know and have similarities with" (Field note, 16 January 2017).

Thus, Mohammed seemed to suggest that tight knit connections between South Asian residents were formed through people choosing to locate and live alongside people of

shared faith and shared culture. This was implied as leading to the formation of bonding social capital central to local South Asians securing employment opportunities for one another. Although the security and quality of work was not discussed, this touches on research in the US that found ethnic residential clustering can enable the growth of ethnic minority businesses, and that, although spatially clustered and less integrated than others, ethnic minorities tend to do better in these areas than those attempting to secure employment in the mainstream economy (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Portes and Manning, 1986). Thus, as Phillips (2006) states, British Muslims of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin can choose to locate and remain in urban areas because of the social capital invested in them. That is, as well as the belonging and emotional support derived from close spatial proximity with other South Asians, Asian groups often value the trust, care and exchange relationships of both social and financial nature that are embedded in spaces of British Asian neighbourhoods. This seems to contextualise Jarin's view, in which she uses a figurative example of an old lady depicted as living in Longsight to claim that local residents generally cared and looked out for one another:

> Jarin: "You know they look out for you, if you've got an old lady it doesn't matter where in Longsight she's living, everyone will be asking, 'how is the lady, is she eating, has she got everything she needs, has she been to the doctors, does she need a lift?'. You know sometimes bringing food for her, and if nobody's seen her, they'll ask, 'where has this lady gone', you know? 'Has she been ill, has anybody seen her?'. This is the one community feeling, look after each other".

Because of her vulnerability, the old lady depicted in Jarin's account is positioned at the centre of local networks of care facilitated by local people concerned about her wellbeing and comfort. Although it is not clear from the account who the figurative old lady might represent, Jarin's portrayal here might denote the hierarchical respect for 'elders' in South Asian culture (Hoque, 2019). Moreover, older migrants who live in inner-city urban areas have been found to face multiple forms of exclusion, especially in terms of basic comfort and safety (Becker, 2003; Naegle, 2008; Buffell et al., 2013). This suggests that Jarin might be referring here to the communal care for an Asian elder. Jarin was later quite adamant that trust in the local area was strong and used the practice of reciprocal informal money lending between local residents to exemplify it. However, this was refined by Sabrina as

trust between particularly close networks of friends and relatives that lived in the area, as opposed to trust and money sharing between all residents:

> Jarin: "And it's like another thing, it's like, a lot of people I know on benefits, like if they haven't got their benefits through, they could borrow money from each other, you know, where can you go and ask your neighbours, 'can you borrow me some money, I haven't got my benefits?' But they will do that.

> Sabrina: Like you know, obviously they're friends or relations".

Jarin's portrayal of local residents lending money when welfare payments were not received seems to echo with what Williams (1983, p. 76) has called the "warmly persuasive" notions of community. This involves people harking back to imagined times in which community was formed through people with shared economic adversities living in a common place of residence. Despite criticism for perpetuating a perceived myth of "proletarian bonhomie in the face of hardship" (Wallace, 2010, p. 57), neighbourhood solidarities that facilitated acts of mutual aid described by Jarin can to some extent emerge from the necessity of living in shared urban deprivation (Young and Willmott, 2013). However, what might have been initially suggested as mutual financial aid between all residents of the neighbourhood was refined by Sabrina's interjection as a practice that occurred locally but between particularly tight circles of friends and relatives. Hinted at in Jarin's suggestion that financial aid was needed for Asian residents receiving benefit payments, the deprivation and hardships of Asian residents was later expanded by Jarin to include housing problems. However, these were described as being alleviated by the happiness of Asian people collectively living in a shared residential place:

> Jarin: "I think it's [Longsight] one place you can say, although it's a bit deprived, people probably not got the best money or the best housing, yet they're very happy".

Consistent evidence of poor housing has marked the experiences of ethnic minority groups in the UK, especially British Asians living in inner-city areas who have been historically restricted to the lower parts of the privately rented sector (Harrison, Law & Phillips, 2005). Asian participants were keen to emphasise the cost of rent, overcrowded accommodation, poor landlord relationships and poor quality of dwellings as housing problems experienced by local Asian people. However, as highlighted elsewhere, such 'downsides' to life in urban

residential places can be masked by residents (Portes, 1998), perhaps more so in urban places which are constructed in terms of 'community' by local inhabitants. This might be a particularly problematic when it comes to engaging the inequalities of 'communities' with policy solutions. This seems to echo in Jarin's comments above, in which she perceived the deprivation of Asian residents as alleviated by the wellbeing and support derived from close spatial proximity with residents of South Asian origin. This was also flagged by a staff member at a local community centre, who suggested that tight networks of bonding capital grouping together South Asian residents were necessary because of the deprivation and poverty of the area:

> "It's a deprived area...the South Asian community look after each other...strong networks...people help each other out" (Field note, 04 January 2017).

As noted in Chapter Two, the areas of British Asian residencies largely coincide with the places of greatest urban deprivation. These include localities like Longsight, which ranks amongst the more deprived areas in Manchester in the Index of Multiple Deprivation (CDRC, 2020), and where just over half of local children were recognised as living in poverty in the period prior to fieldwork (GMPA, 2020). Yet such persistent social deprivation is arguably not recognised in a distinctive ethnic minority space like Longsight. As Brah (1996) has pointed out, there is a long history in the UK of pathologising Black and Asian cultures, with commentators critiquing the racialised discourses used to negatively depict urban residential areas of high Black and Asian concentration (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). As argued in the more scathing analyses of the community cohesion agenda (Simpson, 2004; Phillips, 2006; Kalra & Kapoor, 2009), when it comes to British Asian urban neighbourhoods, these have come to be viewed as requiring cultural rather than material solutions. However, as the above quote from a staff member in an ethnic minority community centre suggested, tight knit bonds between South Asian residents were formed not out of some form of perceived cultural exclusivity, but rather as a perceived solution to the deprivation and poverty of the area that at least in part required Asian residents to group together and assist one another because of shared economic hardships.

This seems to go to the heart of social capital debates. Despite theorists agreeing on the basic premise of social capital as the involvement in social life that has positive

consequences for people and groups, some see it as an consequence of social and ethnic inequalities (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Portes, 1998), whereas others see it as a solution to social problems (Putnam, 2000, 2007). As Cheong et al. (2007, p. 28) suggested, "a focus on social capital [in the cohesion agenda] assumes that everyone counts the same as everyone else without regard for the diversity of social context and economic inequalities". In other words, because economic inequality is often ignored or forgotten about in social capital debates (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009), the issue of material deprivation has arguably been side-lined by policymakers vexed about cultural rather than material differences of groups at the neighbourhood level, the arguably "less costly non-economic solutions to social problems" (Portes, 1998, p. 3).

Letki (2005, p. 24) makes a key argument about policy solutions in this area, in that potential "efforts to revive social cohesion through…inter-community relations are misplaced if they under-emphasise material deprivation". This draws questions around the effectiveness of particular theories of social capital as policy tools for achieving shared values and a sense of common identity, when close-knit Asian neighbourhood networks can be perceived and experienced as sources of wellbeing and support, and as solutions rather than problems by the marginalised minorities who are socially invested in them. Before examining the participants' practices and prospects for greater contact and bridging across difference, it is worth further questioning the promotion and instilment of particular theories of social capital in diverse neighbourhoods, when neighbourhood groups might perhaps face structural barriers to increased social participation and mixing than the policy agenda considers.

Loss of social capital and obstacles to social contact(s) in older age

As examined in the previous chapter, older white participants had particularly bleak interpretations of neighbourhood change. In addition, these participants seemed largely pessimistic about the possibility of good community relations between different neighbourhood groups and would sometimes articulate their negativity in racialised forms directed at religious and ethnic minorities. However, to avoid perhaps promulgating an essentialist depiction of the negative attitudes of these longer-standing white residents, it is important to state that what could be perceived as prejudiced thought and insecurity about

ethnic and cultural difference might have been structured by the wider challenges of ageing in place experienced by older participants.

There is a plethora of research acknowledging the negative implications of a lack of local interactions and familiarity with neighbours. The loss of social contacts and ties (that I refer to here as social capital) is known to increase vulnerability, loneliness and social exclusion (Victor, Scambler, Bowling, Bond, 2005; Heylen, 2010). This might be particularly true in the case of older people, in which the neighbourhood can be an especially important space because of relative immobility and the need for permanent residence in a locality in older age (Buffel, Phillipson, Scharf, 2013; Lager et al., 2015). As noted in Chapter Three, older people are therefore one cohort of people who tend to value the neighbourhood in older age, because in older age local social contacts can be particularly important resources for receiving social and instrumental forms of support. Although later depicting her neighbours as trustworthy and generally looking out for one another, an awareness of the need for local friends in older age was made clear by Louise when she reflected on moving to the area after deciding to live with her partner:

> Dillon: "Did you know anything about Longsight before you moved here?
>
> Louise: Not really, I heard bits and bobs from my partner. I was a bit worried, always been in [different borough of Manchester], I knew everyone, and then just to move to a totally different place, I thought, 'wow, you know I'm not young anymore and maybe I won't make friends as easy'. And now he'll say, 'you know what, you know so many more friends now than I do', and he's grown up here [laughs], he's been here most of his life [laughs]".

When recollecting the experience of moving to Longsight, it seemed Louise feared not being able to make new friends in the area she was moving to because of a perception of her older age. This fear was heightened by the feeling that she *"knew everyone"* in her old area, accumulated through the amount of time she had lived there. The importance of having friends locally is stated explicitly, with Louise appearing to use first person to mimic an anxious dialogue she might have once had with herself ("*I thought, 'wow', you know, 'I'm not young anymore and maybe I won't make friends as easy'").* Thus, Louise outlines an anxiety about her age, and the perception that older age would function as a barrier to

forming important local friendships she felt would be lost with the decision to move away from family. As Buffell (2013) outlines, in recent times, friends and neighbours have taken a more prominent place in the social networks of older adults which used to be dominated by the social ties of family. Phillipson, Bernard, Phillips and Ogg (2001, p. 253) argue this shift towards "personal communities" suggests that "relationships ha[ve] to be managed in old age" resulting from recognition that family ties traditionally associated with the household and neighbourhood could no longer be relied upon in an age of increased geographical mobility. In light of this, Theresa and Mary talked about no longer having family in the household or in the local area and suggested this had created social isolation and loneliness on their part. At points during the interview, we crossed paths with people who they appeared to know. When I asked who they were, they talked about a group of older local residents described as friends and said to be collectively 'suffering' in a context of older age and isolation:

> Theresa: "All our age group, we all know each other, we all know each other because we've been here years, and we all suffer, we're all suffering, it's no good saying we're not, we are".

Having social capital in the manner of local social contacts is known to impact the wellbeing of older adults because it is a key means of receiving support and thus counteracting loneliness (Walker and Hiller, 2007; Windle, Francis, Coomber, 2011; Lager et al., 2015). Gray (2009) found that the quantity of neighbourhood contacts outweighed factors such as partnership status or children in shaping older respondents' perceptions of feeling supported. In addition, Sharf and De Jong Gierveld (2008) concluded that older adults with wider neighbourhood networks (that involved participation in the local area and having local ties with family, friends and neighbours) were less likely to feel lonely than older adults with smaller and more privately restricted networks. These findings seem to contextualise Theresa's portrayal in the extract of a small group of local elderly people 'suffering' because of old age and their now diminished network of social ties to rely on. Theresa's portrayal seems to imply identification with a group of older residents who had lived locally for a significant amount of time; however, with friends dying and family moving away, their social capital was implied as decreased, thus creating a situation of 'suffering' in which there were now limited opportunities to call on contacts for social and physical support. The mental

decline and death of partners and friends, and personal declines in health and mobility can make it difficult for adults in older age to develop and maintain social capital (Gilroy, 2008; Nyqvist, Cattan, Andersson, Forsman, Gustafson, 2013). In particular, they portrayed the moving away of family and the subsequent loss of family ties as creating the 'survival situation' in which they now perceived themselves as living:

> Mary: "Bringing your family up, going to work, coming home, it was good. But it's gone. Once your family go away, you're on your own, and you've got to survive
>
> Theresa: Yeah, we've got to try and survive, and it's not all that easy".

Mary's account in the extract was motivated by asking them what memories they had of the residential area we were walking through. The particular street we were traversing was where they had been residents for nearly fifty years, and in the extract, they appear to contrast the memory of living locally at earlier stages in their lives to their current situations. Seemingly nostalgic memories of going to work and raising family bring into focus their perceived sense of adversity, with them converging around the word 'survive', as though in agreement of the experience of shared hardships central to older age that involved the loss of family ties for support, and perhaps the loss of mobility and routine in the form of going to work. They would later touch on their widowed status and family that now lived in different parts of Manchester and the UK. The distance from family and their now limited mobility was discussed as making it difficult to potentially visit children and grandchildren, let alone rely upon them for support.

Bodily dispositions have been identified as playing a role in the challenge of retaining social capital in older age. The physical and cognitive capabilities of the body have been referred to as 'body capital' by Antoninetti and Garrett (2012). Body capital has the capacity to either facilitate or hinder social capital, and in a study of how older adults experience independence and mobility, Schwanen, Banister, Bowling (2012) found that self-reliance and unassisted functioning were valued because they affected mobility of daily routines and thus opportunities for daily social contact. In addition to limited family support and a reduced set of social ties that could be relied upon, limited body capital might also have been a factor in their limited opportunity to participate locally and potentially develop social relationships through contact, interaction and sociability in neighbourhood spaces. It

seemed noteworthy that Theresa walked with the assistance of a mobility device whilst Mary, after cutting short her participation in the walking interview, was described by Theresa as "*not very good on her legs at the moment*". Thus, their limited mobility might have hampered desired opportunities to meet people in the social spaces of the neighbourhood, particularly younger people as suggested by their longing for younger families to return to the area. However, the settlement of younger families was not seen as realistic because of the perceived lack of neighbourhood liveability. This was suggested by their perception that streets in their neighbourhood were now made up of mainly empty houses:

> Theresa: "*It's very sad indeed because there's lots of young people trying to get on the housing ladder, and these little terraced houses were the ideal situation for them. We had a lot of younger families living in them once, but they're empty now and we've no one to help us*".

Ziegler (2012) and Lager et al. (2013) have shown how older adults with limited mobility can experience a lack of liveability in their neighbourhood that can create a perception of there being few opportunities for socialising with other people in their local area. This seems to echo in Theresa's perception that houses in her neighbourhood were empty because younger adults had moved away, suggesting that Theresa perceived her residential neighbourhood as providing important (but ultimately limited) opportunities to socialise with others. Bourdieu (1986) has stressed that social capital takes time to accrue and comes into being through the exchange of sociability. Hence, the implication of Theresa's desire for social interaction with younger neighbours might have been perceived as a way of potentially building relationships of support with younger people with greater body capital she otherwise lacked. The opportunities for sociability and the subsequent support might in turn have provided Theresa with feelings of street safety, in terms of the collective social control exerted by the presence of knowing people who live in the same residential area. Jacobs (1961, p. 35) has suggested the benefits of having "eyes upon the street" is that people can feel safe and secure in neighbourhoods perceived as thriving with social activity between people who are known. However, the feeling that houses were empty in the area might have meant that for Theresa, there was a lack of 'eyes upon the street', meaning there were few people who she felt were mutually known and thus few people able to look

out for her. Consequently, whereas at one time Theresa perceived Longsight as safe, it was now constructed as a "very dangerous area":

> *Theresa: "When the kids were on summer holidays, we used to take them to that park, and leave them in the park, come home and pick them up and give them their dinner. Couldn't leave a child in there now, there'd be too many attacks. Too many children have been attacked, too many people have been attacked in the park, it's a very dangerous area".*

Feelings of safety are highlighted as a key factor in the experience of neighbourhood exclusion in older age (De Donder, 2011). Thus, in line with research addressing how the experience of crime and insecurity can shape and structure older people's perceptions of their locality (Buffel et al., 2013), Theresa seemed to perceive the local park as dangerous, consequently shaping her broader perception that the area itself was unsafe. While Frank's suggestion that he visited Manchester City Centre might have implied that he was comparatively more mobile than Theresa and Mary, he also had quite negative views about place decline and community relations often articulated in racialised forms. It was noteworthy that he similarly felt that Longsight had become dangerous through an apparent rise in crime. The following extract captured his fear of certain walking routes that went too close to certain neighbourhood spaces he was fearful of:

> *Frank: "I wouldn't walk down here at night-time, because you got lights here, but it's not lit enough*
>
> *Dillon: You wouldn't ordinarily walk through here? So, you're pointing down the ginnel at the side?*
>
> *Frank: It's what I mean, it's not a good idea mate, you're walking down here like this our kid, right, got your back turned, they'll come out and jump on you".*

Previous studies have shown that older adults who feel insecure can often refer to experiences of crime (Buffel et al., 2013). Frank had previously talked about crime on his estate and portrayed it as at the centre of drug gang activity between groups vying for its control. This belief appeared to have had a severe impact on the quality of his daily life,

which, as suggested in the extract above, had led to him purposefully avoiding particular walking routes through spaces of the neighbourhood for fear of being attacked again.

Oh and Kim (2009) have identified links between fear of crime and vulnerability that can create higher feelings of insecurity amongst older adults. They found that older people who have experienced crime can take physical limits to avoid spaces associated with crime, can be affected physically and mentally after an attack, and can perceive themselves as being at higher risk and having lesser capability of control when fearing potential future attacks. The space of the alleyway in the extract above is described as shadowy ("*it's not lit enough*") and physically dangerous ("*you got your back turned, they'll come out and jump on you*)". Frank's sense of his own declining body capital might have resulted in him feeling vulnerable to attacks in certain spaces and areas associated with crime which, as a consequence, might have created further insecurity, and shaped decisions to stay indoors in evenings which might have restricted the availability of opportunities to interact and make contact with other local residents. Moreover, Mary linked crime and the perceived lack of residential liveability to the decision of her children to move away, thus linking the various challenges of ageing in place identified in this section:

> Mary: "*They just move away your family you see because you couldn't leave your car outside, it would get broken into, they just moved away because they just want a bit of peace and quiet and not getting broken into, but that makes it hard for us really*".

Naughton (2013, p. 16) has called for researchers to theorise social capital as a "set of social relations, processes, practices and subjectivities that affect, and are affected by, the contexts and spaces in which they operate". Against this backdrop, the feelings of insecurity about ethnic diversity expressed by older white participants might have reflected their inability to cope with the social, spatial and personal changes to their own social connections and relationships with other local people. As Mary suggests in the extract, her family had moved away because of perceived crime associated with the area, thus leaving Mary with few strong ties to rely upon, a situation which was personally hard for it had created loneliness, isolation and limited forms of social support. Thus, reflective of the older white participants' experiences, Mary had experienced personal, social and spatial changes to her social relationships, the loss of which are more important in contexts of older age and having limited body capital.

As a consequence, the lived experience of older age seemed to have created a situation in which older participants had certain perceptions and careful routines that presented a limited scope for the formation of new ties in social spaces of the neighbourhood. This might have made it difficult to develop and build personal forms of localised bonding and bridging capital, with their limited social relationships in the neighbourhood perhaps providing an important backdrop to their feeling of insecurity about neighbourhood change and the arrival of culturally and ethnically 'different' residents in shared residential areas. The implication of limited interactions and contact with difference has on prejudiced thought has occupied significant attention in policy and research (Robinson, 2005; Valentine, 2008; Mayblin et al., 2016; Slatcher, 2016). With the experience of losing social capital in older age at hand, and with the structural factors shaping the participants individual and group networks in mind, I turn to examining the participants views and experiences of mixing and contact across lines of perceived difference.

Contact and mixing across difference: practices, experiences and prospects

The government strategy for integration (HM Government, 2018, p. 12) makes a clear commitment to "meaningful social mixing" in diverse spaces including the neighbourhood, on the premise that it "breaks down mistrust and suspicion between groups". As Robinson (2005) highlights, a belief in the transformative effects of social mixing is a key pillar on which the cohesion agenda was built. If the potential challenges identified in this chapter could be overcome, concerning the challenge of aging in place and the need for inter-Asian bonds in contexts of urban deprivation, the agenda assumes the benefits of increased social mixing would follow, as neighbourhood spaces become sites for greater social interactions across lines of difference.

As discussed in Chapter Two, this logic draws on contact theory (Allport, 1954) and concepts of bonding and bridging capital (Putnam, 2000, 2007). Stemming from the seminal work of Allport (1954), contact theory posits that under the right conditions, it is possible that contact between different groups can reduce negative intergroup stereotypes and lead to more positive attitudes about difference. Drawing on Putnam (2000), it is also suggested that multi-ethnic ties formed through factors including shared neighbourhood residency can foster mutual understandings that ease tensions and create better relations (bridging capital), increasing in turn social support and the sharing of resources (bonding capital).

Consequently, meaningful social mixing and bonding and bridging capital have been treated as key goals by policymakers tasked with cohesion work. For multi-ethnic populations living in diverse neighbourhoods, mixing and social capital are envisaged as developing greater cooperation and trust, norms of reciprocity, a reduction in isolation and the breaking down of exclusion, and increased employment, health and life opportunities (Requena, 2003; Lindsay, 2010; Kim, 2020)

As a consequence, contact and mixing have occupied a great deal of research attention (Valentine, 2008; Mayblin et al., 2016; Slatcher, 2016). This informed the decision to ask participants about their experiences of encounter and contact with strangers they perceived as different, and whether they felt Longsight was a place where people of different backgrounds mixed and were known to one another. The participants recounted quite different experiences and views on contact and mixing that had parallels with perspectives and arguments in the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. Mohammed interpreted a social interaction we were observing in the street as an example of the transformative effect of 'mingling' between different strangers in the public spaces of the neighbourhood:

> Dillon: *"Do you ever try and greet and acknowledge people you might think of as different when you're walking around?*
>
> Mohammed: *Oh yeah. Yeah, there are many people, if you know them, talk with them, if you know people, talk with them, English people, say 'hello', this is mingling. You see that, look at this, this English guy, talking to a person, they have different backgrounds, different ways".*

In a neighbourhood setting, positive casual encounters such as that interpreted by Mohammed can be derived from what Massey (2005, p. 181) has termed the "throwntogetherness of place". This refers to the moment where the daily routes and routines of individuals overlap with others and manifest as the "low-level and quotidian rubbing together" of different people (Gidley, 2013). As discussed in Chapter Three, the commonplace fact of everyday interactions with people perceived as different, or 'mingling' as Mohammed terms it in the extract, was at one point at the centre of praise by researchers (for example, Isin, 2000; Staeheli, 2003). Thift (2005) framed it as a 'politics of hope' in which the routine friendliness of interactions with 'different' people in public

spaces was viewed as achievements of the pluralism and tolerance in contemporary British society. The conversation with Mohammed continues:

> Dillon: "Those people there?
>
> Mohammed: Yes, they are mingling with each other, they like it, this is a socially diverse place, and they like each other, they like to stay together, there's a big strong bond around it. They're nice people, living together nicely so they understand each other better, their problem is similar to each other, so it all comes together, and that's how Longsight is unique. They're living side by side, it's nice, I mean, this is a cohesive community, it's very good, very good".

Amin (2002, p. 1012) has referred to micro-scale everyday public encounters between different people, such as what Mohammed was observing, as "small achievements in the good city". In the extract, the apparently friendly interaction in the street between two people he perceived as different was portrayed as the way the diverse population of Longsight was living together harmoniously. This harmony was based on the manner of the civility between the two strangers. The way they were acknowledging one another and apparently sharing space in a friendly way was upheld by Mohammed as the basis to the formation of mutuality and shared understanding, which was scaled up by Mohammed and taken as representative of the successful cohesion of different groups as a functioning local community.

However, more recent examinations casts doubt on the potentially transformative effect of amicable encounters in public spaces, not least because of the somewhat simplistic notion that prejudices can be uprooted by a greater quantity of contact with difference. As Valentine (2008) showed, public proximity does not necessarily uproot negative attitudes about difference, with negative attitudes capable of persisting and being expressed in private spaces despite outwardly friendly dispositions and attitudes. In addition, it remains unclear how the moment of positive encounter could be harnessed or scaled up (ibid). This suggests that it might be unrealistic to argue that brief contact and fleeting forms of mixing in public spaces can transform the social relations of diverse populations for the better. When reflecting on her everyday brief encounters with strangers in the neighbourhood spaces that her daily routine involved, Louise seemed hesitant to claim her attempts to

instigate positive interactions with strangers had significance beyond the moment of encounter:

> Louise: "Because I'm out and about, and I'm always an upbeat person, so even if I don't know someone, I'll just smile and say 'hello'. I'm not sure, but I think just trying to mix can break the ice with people who are different around here".

Louise could be read as feeling less certain than Mohammed about whether rubbing together in the social spaces of the neighbourhood has transformative effects. It appears she attempted to instigate conversations to "break the ice" and perhaps overcome perceived tensions that can often strain everyday encounters with difference (Neal et al., 2017). Her hesitancy here about the effectiveness of rubbing together in social spaces resonates with more critical perspectives in the literature that have questioned whether fleeting unintended encounters equate with meaningful social contact (Wessel, 2009; Valentine and Sadgrove, 2012). As Slatcher (2018) points out, the desired outcomes of encounters such as Louise's attempts to converse with "*people who are different*" can only ever be promoted or nurtured and never entirely guaranteed. Some have suggested that encounters in institutional spaces where diversity and difference is accepted provide possible solutions to this (Robinson, 2005; Phillips et al., 2014). Louise later suggested that helping newcomers who spoke very little English in her workplace was another way in which she positively interacted with difference:

> Louise: "Some people come in [workplace], they can't speak any English whatsoever, but through just listening and trying to understand, and a lot of it is the actions, if you walk over to [appliance], it's all 'wow I don't know what I'm doing', and it's our job to help them, and understand, and make them feel comfortable that they can come in and know absolutely nothing about how to use the [appliance], but they won't feel like 'oh I don't really want to ask'".

Neal et al. (2017) have argued the semi-public workplaces can provide spaces for positive forms of contact and mixing. The authors suggest these environments act as a potential proxy settings for managing positive interactions because they are known as familiar settings whose openness and usefulness can attract a diverse range of people. This bears parallels with Louise's account of helping settling migrants use the appliances associated

with her work. In the extract, she portrays herself as using hand gestures as instructions, and suggests that she sought to reassure newcomers to make them feel comfortable when in the workplace and return to use the associated appliances in the future. Louise suggested that part of the reason for doing this was to ensure positive customer feedback and the reputation of her workplace:

> Louise: "And the feedback in the [workplace], we have feedback cards, just to say, you know, is there anything you're not happy with, and touch wood, we've never ever had a bad review. And they said 'it's the people in there, like myself and my colleagues that make it', and to us, we feel proud of that, we're just doing our job, and that makes us go a little bit above and beyond, we might top someone's phone up if they don't understand how to do it and things like that, it's the little things".

Dixon and Durrheim (2003) argue that contact and encounter can be fruitful when it is situated in places that institutionally recognise or accept diversity and tolerance. This seems to contextualise Louise's account in the extract, in which helping newcomers and minorities was accepted as a part of Louise's job because it ensured positive business feedback that Louise and her colleagues valued. This positive feedback seemed to encourage Louise and her colleagues to help customers overcome further tasks that can be difficult when lacking language skills, such as topping up mobile phones. Hence, because ensuring positive interactions with minority customers was viewed as central to maintaining the reputation of the business, diversity and tolerance was institutionally accepted by Louise and her colleagues, creating a situation in which she valued helping people in her workplace and perhaps elsewhere.

Similar to Phillips et al. (2014), Wilson (2013a, p. 613) has suggested that "institutionalised meeting places" where "some prior common ground has already been established" can be key sites for positive contact and meaningful mixing. This points to the value of structured forms of contact in the form of neighbourhood events or forums perhaps over fleeting and everyday contact experienced in the throwntogetherness of place. However, as Askins (2015) has suggested, desired outcomes of contact and mixing in structured events can be realised only with significant amounts of willingness and motivation on the part of individuals to engage and stay committed. This might be especially difficult to nurture, a challenge reflected in Mani's account:

Mani: "*There's a lot of people, and I'm quite guilty of it myself, once you're in the house, you close the door and that's it, there's no contact with the outside world. There's no mixing, and there's, you know, no sort of street parties or anything, and there's attempts to bring all that back with various initiatives like the Jo Cox Foundation, but people have got to want to do it*".

Mani's view that very little mixing went on locally seems to have been attributed to a perception that local people were apathetic about prolonged contact and engagement with difference. This is configured as a wrongdoing she perceives herself as "*quite guilty of*". Hence, her somewhat bleak view about the unwillingness of others seems to be derived from her own preference of home space and family life over public space and contact. However, what is explicit in her feelings of guilt and the perception that local people were unwilling to mix, is an awareness of initiatives and national programmes that might be providing opportunities for interactions between different ethnic and religious people. She indicates a potential warming to the idea of formal occasions organised through top-down initiatives. The literature provides evaluations of attempts to 'engineer' meaningful social mixing using structured events with only limited evidence of success (for example, Mayblin et al., 2016, Slatcher, 2018). After recognising a person during the walking interview who participated alongside Sabrina and Jarin in a local inter-faith group, Sabrina recollected positive experiences derived from her willingness to participate:

Sabrina: "*This English lady, she probably didn't recognise me, but we have a faith group, there are some Christians, there are some Muslims, we are all together trying to bring the community together, so we have a faith group, and we meet like once a month or once every six, seven weeks so we can see each other. Like we meet at the library, we meet at church, we meet at mosques as well. And last Ramadan we invited them to mosque, they came and we had like, in Ramadan you know we fast all day, and in the evening after sunset we break our fast, which is called Iftar, so they had Iftar with us, which was quite nice*".

Sabrina's comments here might suggest the perception that meaningful social mixing did not always come easily in Longsight, since it seemed there was a need for an inter-faith group that was "trying to bring the community together" through social and religious bridge-building events in various local religious institutions. Although it is not clear whether

the group was established at a grassroot or top-down level, it is noteworthy that interfaith groups seeking to facilitate greater contact across group boundaries have been suggested as having greater impact than secular equivalents (Mayblin et al., 2016). This is because participants attending these groups are interacting with people who also take faith and religion seriously. In the case of the group described by Sabrina, despite clear differences between Islam and Christianity, both are Abrahamic religions with considerable theological overlaps. Islam and Christianity centre on holy books and are celebrated by religious festivals and rituals. A mutual appreciation and respect for these events might therefore have been the basis for some residents to become involved and maintain a commitment with the activities of the group, as suggested by Sabrina's account of local Christians participating in Iftar at a local mosque during Ramadan. However, Sabrina went onto to suggest this inter-faith forum was ultimately limited because it was only attracting the 'right people' who were already tolerant:

> Sabrina: "But the problem is, I think we're realising the people who are coming to the group, they're not the people we need to bring in, we need to bring in people who are not engaging like younger people
>
> Jarin: They're not engaging!
>
> Sabrina: The people who are already tolerant, they're the ones who are coming".

Hence, despite the suggestion that Sabrina's inter-faith group might have been providing bridge-building opportunities for local residents, it seems they were aware the group was bringing in people who already respected religion and faith, and was failing to attract younger people perceived by Jarin as not engaging and therefore intolerant. The challenge of motivating people to begin and maintain a commitment to meaningful contact and mixing is discussed widely in the literature. Wilson (2013a) accounts how participants in her research attended diversity training because it was set as a minimum requirement by their employers to be familiar with diversity and inclusion in the workplace. Conversely, rather than framed as an opportunity to understand difference, Askins and Pain (2011) noted that younger people were drawn to their participatory arts project as it became known within circles as a fun activity. In the same vein, Mayblin et al. (2016) suggested that younger people taking the first steps towards meaningful contact are not necessarily driven by desire

to encounter difference but through personal interests in sports and activities that involve sociability between younger people with different faiths. Hence, whereas mutual appreciation of religion and faith might have been the shared basis for participation in Sabrina and Jarin's local inter-faith forum, the event might not have been perceived as relatable to younger people perhaps explaining their suggested lack of engagement with the group.

What is apparent then is the participants' awareness of the value of contact and mixing with difference and the need to bridge across group boundaries. However, there was a feeling of undecidedness about how this could be achieved. Hence, the issue with contact and mixing is clear: whilst it is unclear how interactions in public spaces could be scaled up, greater support for cross-community contact in the form of structured events were viewed with doubt about willingness, and undecidedness about what basis could successfully bring people to engagement with them.

Cleaning up the streets, bridging neighbourhood groups?

Despite the suggested happiness and wellbeing of Asian participants as an outcome of close residential proximity, this chapter might have painted a particularly bleak picture. On the one hand, genuine material disadvantages (housing, financial and the need for group forms of social support) seemed to have created a situation in which strong inter-Asian networks of solidarity were perceived as necessary by some Asian residents. In addition, significant age related barriers appeared to have prevented older white participants from engaging in the neighbourhood, a lack of contact and interaction in social spaces that might have contributed to feelings of insecurity about immigration related changes to the area, whilst at the same time reinforcing their inability to develop beneficial social relationships that are required in older age. Moreover, after examining the participants' experiences and practices of encountering and mixing with difference in Longsight, whilst there was some support for greater cross-community dialogue and relations in the form of structured events and forums, there seemed to be doubt about whether such events could achieve their aims, or whether the success of programmes could be realised through the willingness of residents to participate.

However, Phillips et al., (2014) provide some evidence of the prospects of positive

encounter and multi-ethnic bonds when dialogue between neighbourhood groups is centred on shared residential issues. Although careful to not overstate their findings, Phillips et al. (2014) suggested that social contact and dialogue around social and environmental concerns in the neighbourhood produced new awareness of the experiences of the 'other' ethnic group, that may have at least partly reduced inter-ethnic tensions between Pakistani and Roma groups in Bradford. Indeed, as Hudson et al. (2008) points out, residents of diverse localities can hold similar concerns for their neighbourhood and share the same desires for their local 'community'. This seemed to chime with Frank's view, who despite feeling that people and groups in Longsight did not mix, felt the idea of a local forum aimed at alleviating shared neighbourhood problems could be a key way of bridging across difference whilst creating positive social change on the residential estate:

> Frank: "And like I said though, people just do not mix, and that's where you get your problems. It doesn't matter where you come from or what religion you are, we're all the same. If he cuts himself, he's going to bleed red blood not green blood. You're not a Martian. Alright, they speak a different language, I'm not denying that. But if everyone mixed together and said alright, let's get together, let's get everyone together, and let's start talking about what we want on the estate, and everyone got together. Doesn't matter if they're Muslims, Pakistanis, Indian, Jewish or whatever they are. And everybody got together and agreed and said alright we'll do this we'll do that, and everyone got together, as one community, right, you watch the change on this estate. But they won't do that.
>
> Dillon: Why wouldn't they do that?
>
> Frank: The Muslims won't mix with the white people, because they don't think alike".

As the discussion in the last section explored, positive interactions with difference can be made possible when engagement is intimate, cooperative and oriented towards a shared goal between equal partners in an environment where diversity accepted (Dixon and Durnhiem, 2003). This contextualises Wenger's (1998) research that found contact and collaboration around improving neighbourhood quality facilitated the emergence of harmonious 'communities of practice' that centred on diverse residents striving for shared neighbourhood outcomes. This literature contextualises what Frank seems to desire in the

extract: multi-ethnic dialogue aimed at exerting collective control that could stimulate social change and improve the residential quality of his estate. However, although there is some recognition of the socially constructed nature of group boundaries, in that he appears to recognise in a somewhat humanistic ways the similarities to people despite individual ethnic and religious identifications, he appears ultimately pessimistic about the prospects of such a community forum. This is based on the perception that white and Muslim residents would fail to engage and ultimately enter into dialogue and exchange. This seems to have been partly attributed to the perceived difficulties of overcoming language barriers in the event of a potential forum (*"alright they speak a different language").* However, it seems predominantly to have been rooted in his essentialist perception of Muslim and white groups being fundamentally different, derived from Frank's suggested view that neighbourhood groups lived, worked, socialised and ultimately 'thought' in different ways, a notion very much echoing the tone of parallel lives that was examined in Chapter Two.

However, despite the significant challenge of overcoming perceived lines of difference, there are noteworthy examples elsewhere where diverse groups do seem to have come together to discuss neighbourhood issues of shared concern. For example, Phillips et al's (2014) research in diverse neighbourhoods of Bradford recounted partial and contingent progress brought by bringing people together to discuss shared concerns and tensions in places inhabited by newcomer and established groups. Drawing on the participants' tensions and anxieties of 'other' cultures and groups, this section seeks to end the findings chapter on a relatively positive note, by highlighting the possibility of bridge-building activity around concrete neighbourhood concerns that would involve multi-ethnic contact and dialogue and might perhaps lead to more harmonious social relationships. A common neighbourhood concern in this research was the environmental issue of litter. It was commented on recurrently by the participants with the suggestion that it was problem experienced by all local people. Sabrina talked about the subsequent issues with vermin that had stemmed from local littering:

> Sabrina: *"It's quite unclean, and that is a big issue here, there is a problem with rats in the area, lots of people are talking about that".*

In addition, participants would often make calls for public authority to help alleviate the problem. This was reflected in Mohammed's comments below:

> Mohammed: *"The administrations, city councils, all need to come together to do and make something happen and make it cleaner for people".*

As has been observed elsewhere, concerns about the quality of the neighbourhood environment in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods can centre on litter and the perceived causing of litter by 'other' groups that can be expressed as racialised resentment of newcomers and ethnic minorities (Hudson et al., 2007). This literature provides a backdrop to Theresa's quite blunt perception that local litter problems stemmed from the practices of her Asian neighbours and the Asian group more generally:

> Theresa: *"They come out and dump a load of rice, we've got rats, they just open the door and do it. There's one opposite me, just opens the front door and dumps it all in the streets. And you can't say anything to them because if you do, you're racist, and the police don't want to know us".*

In the extract, Theresa appears to attribute the cause of litter problems in the area to Asian groups, based on her perception that a nearby Asian household were responsible for litter problems in her residential street based on her apparent witnessing of a neighbour littering. This is subsequently attributed to the wider environmental issue of vermin, with the extract capturing how perceived individual faults of members of minority groups can be quickly scaled up and taken as representative of 'problems' with ethnic groups more generally. The apparent concern for Theresa was that her actions (and what can be assumed as the actions of other white residents through her use of 'us') would be perceived as racist if it had involved confronting individuals or contacting the authorities. Hence, her concerns about environmental quality are bound up in much bigger concerns about the fear of being labelled racist despite articulating a blame that can be interpreted as an 'othering'. This suggests the shared experience of poor neighbourhood quality can serve to reinforce socially constructed perceptions of difference. However, what was interesting was that Theresa later retreated from her more scathing views by striking a conciliatory tone:

> Theresa: *"I mean I'm not against anybody, I couldn't care less where people come from, couldn't care less what religion they are, and I don't care what colour they are, but if they all lived a decent life, it would be fine, you know. I mean, you don't want your neighbours dumping rubbish outside your front door".*

Evidence from Hudson et al.'s (2007) research suggested that in British urban areas of recent migrant settlement, despite social tensions, residents of diverse backgrounds held common visions for their neighbourhood, shared many of the same concerns about place, and expressed mutual desires and aspirations for a local 'community'. As I have been arguing, the potential for building bridges between individuals that can foster trust through shared collaborative ventures is growing, one that goes beyond culinary and cultural exchanges, by entering into dialogue around perceived tensions and shared neighbourhood concerns whilst seeking to identify solutions and possible grounds of mutual understanding. The above extract from Theresa reflects the possibilities of collaborative action for creating mutuality. Despite being articulated in an uncomfortably racist manner, with the onus apparently placed on ethnic minorities to adhere to her understandings of norms and construction of a "decent life", Theresa could be read as suggesting that inter-ethnic tensions could be alleviated and concerns about difference nullified if all groups adhered to properly disposing of litter and rubbish. This is significant because it suggests hope, in that Theresa did not see the retreat from the neighbourhood as a realistic option, and still aspired for the improving the quality of place and the social relationships associated with it. Even if she only made limited reference to the possibility of bridging across what she perceived as local social divides, it nonetheless provides some direction for which to begin to search for progress.

Conclusion

Against a growing awareness of how the nuances and specificities of particular localities shape or undermine the dynamics of multi-ethnic neighbourhood relations (Hudson et al., 2007; Hickman and Mai, 2015; Phillips and Robinson, 2015), this chapter sought to examine the participants' constructions of local networks, the place-based dynamics that shape them and how these were configured in the communities people felt they belonged to.

This chapter has covered significant ground. The analysis here overwhelmingly suggests local people and networks were important to the participants. Firstly, this chapter found that living in close proximity to people of Asian origins was articulated positively by a number of Asian residents. Following previous insights on Asian residential clustering that sought to challenge the negative discourse that British Asians wish to live 'parallel lives' (Phillips, 2006), clustering in Longsight's residential areas was articulated positively by Asian

participants because of the trust, care, wellbeing and support of social and financial natures viewed as embedded in the networks of residential place. Alongside more positive reasons of culture, tradition and familiarity that were quite loosely referred to as 'community', living with people of similar ethnic and national backgrounds was therefore articulated as necessary for alleviating the challenges associated with life in a deprived urban area. This insight on the perceived necessity of Asian bonding networks amounts as a challenge to negative portrayals of British Asian residential areas. Indeed, the integration agendas reframing of places like Longsight, as 'Muslim' rather than 'Asian', could be read as denoting these areas as requiring some kind of cultural rather than material solution (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). The evidence here suggests otherwise: some residents of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origins felt grouping together in a vibrant 'community' space was based not on a sense of cultural supremacy, nor the desire for self-segregation, but as a perceived solution to material deprivations of British Pakistanis and British Bangladeshis in an inner-city area, as part of the entrenched social exclusion of ethnic minorities in Britain.

As discussed in this chapter, particular theories of social capital could be criticised for being devoid of context and perhaps assuming everyone counts as equals (Putnam, 2000, 2007). However, as examined here, there appeared to be genuine differences and inequalities to the social capitals of the participants, with Asian participants appearing to alleviate the material difficulties of places through inter-Asian bonding, whilst older white participants had experienced the loss of local social relationships that were required particularly in older age. As examined in the second section, population changes had involved the settlement of incoming migrants at the same time as the moving on of family and friends for older participants. The loss of social contacts seemed to have contributed to insecurity about local change, intensified by the challenges of older age that compounded their ability to develop new social capital and neighbourhood relationships. As suggested by Theresa and Mary, participation in the social spaces of the neighbourhood was viewed as a key way in which to form new relationships they felt would be beneficial. However, their limited body capital presented very limited opportunities for social contact, which perhaps intensified their feelings of alienation which in turn structured insecurity that could be interpreted in their sometimes-prejudiced views on newer Asian groups. This has further implications for the policy framework as addressed, as it suggests a need to include the complexities of ageing in

place when it comes to thinking about potential challenges of bridging different neighbourhood groups. Moreover, it suggests the need to think about the experience of aging in place and the challenges of older age itself when examining socially constructed group boundaries and articulations of racialised understandings of 'others' that often underpin animosities towards culturally and ethnically 'different' newcomers in neighbourhoods.

However, despite the social ties and communities people felt they either had or lacked, what was clear across the board was a desire for a community of place. In the second half of this chapter, particular instances of positive encounters and mixing with 'different' people in in the area were examined, and it was noteworthy that participants saw the value of greater mixing and bridging across 'difference' in the form of structured neighbourhood events. These were often framed in terms of 'bringing the community together' which suggests that people had shared visions for a local community. What was problematic, however, was pessimism about the potentials of current and future programmes that could bridge and potentially bring people together, with the doubts about willingness and motivation and confusion about what could stimulate this movement apparent in the extracts. This finding echoes the challenges documented elsewhere in the literature about 'engineering' positive contact, mixing and bridging through structured events (Phillips et al., 2014; Mayblin et al., 2015; Slatcher, 2017). Nonetheless, as noted towards the end of this chapter, there appears to be clear everyday local issues affecting diverse populations that could hold promise for building bridges, despite how unrealistic it might seem for the residents to enter into multi-ethnic neighbourhood dialogue and potentially begin collaboration.

Chapter Eight – Conclusion

The aim of this research was to understand lived experiences of Longsight and how residents experienced a diverse neighbourhood in terms of 'community'. In Chapter Two I presented a comprehensive and wide-ranging review of the symbiotic relationship between policy and research. I charted and surveyed the main trends in research and examined how events in 2001 instigated the return to place-based research in light of government concerns about ethnically diverse neighbourhoods and the perceived segregation of British Muslims of South Asian origin. In Chapter Three I related this to the concept of community, noting the meaning of community that was invoked in government policy documents. Despite the criticism and move away from community as a social and analytical concept for researching migration, place and diversity, I argued the enduring salience of community in the everyday justify a social research project that has 'community' as its conceptual centre. Through developing a methodology particularly suited to the exploration of the lived experience of place, neighbourhood and sociality, I then discussed findings from the fieldwork around the broad themes of belonging, place and networks. I found a complex and dynamic picture that complicates discourses about separation, segregation and parallel lives, and challenges assumptions about the experience of change in areas of immigration. I also showed how community was shaped by interpretations of neighbourhood places, experiences ascribed to local space and the social relationships and ties embedded in these contexts. I have therefore shown how with the use of particular methods, neighbourhood and place can transpire and come to be appreciated as significant contexts for people's thoughts about community.

In this chapter I draw the thesis to a conclusion. The discussion below works through the main epistemological/methodological, policy, empirical and theoretical implications for (and contributions to) knowledge this research makes. This is oriented around answering the following research questions introduced at the end of Chapter Three:

1. Does immigration shape local residents' experiences of change in Longsight?
2. How do experiences and interpretations of local spaces and places contribute to people's constructions of community?

3. What factors shape social ties and how are networks configured in the community/ies people feel they belong to?

4. How is 'community' constructed, articulated and understood by local residents?

Walking, talking and sensing: reflections on the walking method

Chapter Four engaged with epistemological questions about 'knowing' and 'truth', reflected on my approach to sampling and reported the ethical procedures I adhered to when carrying out my fieldwork. The centrepiece of this chapter was a discussion of the walking method that was developed in the course of this research. The decision to develop and use a walking interview as the primary method of data collection was situated within the 'mobilities turn' in qualitative research literature, and the 'return to place' as the terrain of study in policy and research discussed in Chapter Two. Although field notes were taken and drawn on throughout the data analysis (and, in the case of Chapter Five, relied on extensively), the walking method I developed could be considered a relatively innovative tool for collecting interview data. I therefore turn to reflecting on the contributions afforded by the method and discuss the practicalities and methodological implications of the method itself.

As the interview extracts in the previous three chapters demonstrate, the walking interview seems to generate a certain type of qualitative data. Through being in place, data generated by walking and talking was an interweaving of personal biography and lived experiences with histories, memories and daily practices embedded in the spatial contexts of Longsight. The method might therefore be particularly useful for researchers seeking understandings of how neighbourhoods and places more generally are inhabited, experienced and constructed by the people who are associated with them or reside within them. Far from abstracting places from their wider spatial landscapes, the walking method can afford researchers an understanding of how places are constructed relative to other places and people's connections with them. In this research, an example of this seems to be way in which Longsight was implicated with far wider networks and other locations. Moreover, far from being interview conversations being contained within the neighbourhood itself, the walking interview elicited moments in which narratives and conversations stretched far

beyond Longsight itself, as participants envisaged past, future and alternatives to their lived realities of local neighbourhood life.

Although the walking method might have valorised or perhaps even overstated the local, the research presented in this thesis challenges claims about the significance of local community to people's lives. As I showed in the previous chapters, constructions of community were overwhelmingly deduced from people's interpretations and experiences of local places and spaces. A 'sense of community' seemed to be deduced most vividly from local shops, housing estates, neighbourhood facilities and similar places of interest often as we were stood by or within them. A sense of community seemed to be elicited further by the sounds, smells and subjectivities of people talking, socialising and ultimately congregating in the neighbourhood's social spaces. I am not seeking here to revive debates about gemeinschaft community or to claim that neighbourhood is indeed *the* primary site of community after all. I am instead highlighting that with particular methodologies and methods that are focussed conceptually exploring constructions of community, the physical/symbolic features of neighbourhood places (and the social experiences and feelings associated within them) can come to be appreciated by researchers as one of the many contexts for people's understanding of 'community'. This is a point which has implications for arguments which have questioned the relevance of neighbourhood and place as contexts for community.

In addition, a number of practical lessons can be drawn from my experience of the walking interview. The first is the practicality of walking of talking, and the issues that come with encouraging participants to conduct interviews on foot as opposed to in rooms. One resident who had previously expressed an interest in participating in the research suggested that we do the interview in her workplace as opposed to outdoors, citing the particularly bad winter weather salient at the beginning of the fieldwork in January 2018. In addition, the interview with Mohammed was cut short by a hailstorm in which he naturally did not want to be outside anymore, a decision that effectively terminated the interview and led to a more casual (but nonetheless useful) conversation indoors. It is of course impossible to know for certain whether being outside and on foot deterred other residents from participating in the research. However, upon reflection there is a sense that walking

interviews might have been perceived by some as an inconvenience who perhaps might have participated if they had the option of a sedentary interview.

The second lesson relates to ethical issues around the walking interview occasion. It was evidently not possible to maintain the confidentiality of the participants involved in the research given the potential to be seen in the company of a researcher. In many interviews I encountered people the participants recognised and who wanted to know what the participant and myself were doing. In some interviews, this had little impact other than leading myself to remind the participant the interview was being recorded and they therefore needed to remain attentive to not unwittingly revealing names or identifying details of the people we had bumped into and who had not formally consented to participation. Reflecting on these experiences, researchers interested in walking interviews must consider practical strategies for moments in which participants encounter inquisitive members of the public and who might unknowingly become recorded in the interview.

However, issues around the lack of confidentiality involved with participating in a walking interview extended far beyond ethical concerns for some Asian residents. Fear of being seen in public with a white male who was not a family member or spouse was enough to deter some women from participation in the research. This was a reoccurring challenge when it came to attempts to interview some Asian and newly arrived migrant women, and in these instances, it was suggested by gatekeepers that I conduct the interview inside a local community centre or that I find another woman who could mediate the interview on our behalf. In some instances, I ended up recruiting staff members of community centres who were residents of Longsight instead of migrant women. Whilst this furthered data collection on some fronts, the sample evidently became skewed towards the inclusion of longer-term residents at the expense of recently arrived newcomers. Through providing the option of group walks, I was eventually able to recruit migrant women in an ethical and informed manner despite their initial concerns and apprehensions. However, this took many weeks of repeated interactions and rapport-building and was ultimately costly in terms of the time I had available for fieldwork and data collection. Therefore, a third lesson that can be drawn from the walking interviews is to be mindful of the potential barriers posed by positionalities and who the researcher is seeking to do walking interviews with. Although it is difficult to envisage how researchers will be positioned by the people and groups they

intend to research, some forethought and prudence about how participants will feel about being interviewed in public is necessary. Moreover, the amount of time it can take to set up walking interviews should not be underestimated by researchers.

The underlying point here is not to underestimate the challenges that come with walking interviews. Whilst walking interviews can be an incredibly insightful and discerning approach to interviewing in place-based research, they also come with a number of barriers and challenges which cannot easily be envisaged beforehand. This is perhaps compounded by the relatively recent inception of walking interviews as a qualitative method and the relative dearth of literature and information available to researchers interested in developing their own walking methods (for informative literature on the practicalities of walking interviews, see Pink, 2007; Clark and Emmel, 2010; Evans and Jones, 2011).

Ultimately, the challenges I encountered when undertaking walking interviews impacted on the size and diversity of the sample. Whilst it would have been desirable to have interviewed a greater number of residents of different backgrounds, the labour and effort that preceded recruitment of participants and a commitment to do a walking interview took considerable time from the very limited period for fieldwork. In hindsight, I should have allowed more time for data collection to counteract the initial months that were focussed on rapport building with Asian and minority groups. Given my field notes formed more of a secondary form of data collection, perhaps the walking interview could have been supplemented with another method that draws similarly on the visual and which could have been offered to participants who were wary or rejected being interviewed in public. Clark (2015) has written about triangulation of methods as a means of comparing the same phenomenon but from different perspectives. As Clark (ibid) explains, there is considerable debate about how to combine data across samples in order to make claims about cross-sample experiences. Nonetheless, perhaps photographic methods (Durose et. al, 2012) focussed on understanding visions and constructions of local community, or participatory mapping aimed at understanding the extent to which community networks were situated locally could have been employed alongside a walking interview. Moreover, perhaps the allotted time for fieldwork could simply have been extended. It is likely that either or a combination of these approaches would have allowed more data to be collected, the sample to be larger and perhaps the impact and scope of the research to be extended.

A challenge to the discourses and policies of cohesion and integration

At the end of Chapter Two I reviewed recent research that provides a counter-argument to the parallel lives narrative of social relations in diverse neighbourhoods. This body of literature exploring the broad places of diversity has found that difference is managed and lived in largely unproblematic ways. This counterbalances the tone of policy discourses. Through sitting alongside comparative analyses of Census data that showed ethnic minority households had begun to gradually move away from traditional inner-city arrival zones throughout the 1990s, this discourse and picture of segregation and ghettoization at the heart of government policy appears to be significantly undermined.

However, this has not stopped the perpetuation of what Neal (2017) has referred to as the 'crisis-segregation' discourse in British social policy, with the relatively recent publication of the Casey Review into Opportunity and Integration (2016) appearing to reaffirm much of the now contested local and national reports that responded to the 2001 urban disturbances (Cantle, 2001; Ouseley, 2001; Ritchie, 2001). It is therefore apparent that policy discourses which assume social relations in diverse areas are inherently problematic have persisted, particularly places with large clusters of British Pakistani and British Bangladeshi populations (for example, see Casey, 2016, p. 5). This reiterates the importance of research question three which sought to examine the factors shaping social ties and how networks are configured in particular communities. This question has two parts, with the first seeking to understand the place-based contextual factor shaping people's social ties in contexts of material places, and the second seeking to understand how these networks subsequently informed people's feelings of belonging to groups and community.

Firstly, my research has found that contrary to the policy framing of the 'strong' ties of British Asian residential clusters, these clusters were experienced and constructed by many Asian residents as supportive opposed to being problematic. The perceived bonds between Asian residents embedded in the social relationships of place were sources of identity, wellbeing and security that were in turn associated quite heavily with belonging to an 'Asian community' or the 'Asian family' associated with Longsight. In the heat and furore of the crisis-segregation discourse, it is very difficult to hear about the positive attributes of Asian

clustering from the perspectives of British Pakistanis and British Bangladeshis themselves. My research has continued to shed light on this (see also, Phillips, 2006).

In addition, what is important to note is that close relationships with other Asian residents were seen as necessary, if not essential, in the context of a deprived urban area. Alongside the more positive attributes discussed above, the feeling of needing to group with people of similar national and ethnic origins was found equally to be shaped by material and financial disadvantages experienced by British Asian residents and discussed by staff at organisations seeking to help local people. Over fifty years have passed since Rex and Moore's (1967) first examined the plight and material hardships faced by ethnic minorities based on where they live. What is startling many respects is that early scholarship continues to echo with ethnic minority neighbourhoods in places like Longsight. Thus, as much as the strong ties of Asian community were sources of comfort, culture, familiarity and belonging, they were also seen as necessary for alleviating the hardships of poor housing and financial disadvantages that shaped the life of migrants and settled Asian residents.

This finding is at odds with the aims and assumptions of cohesion policy. As Arneil (2006, p. 49) remarked on the challenges facing the implementation of a government cohesion programme in Canada, "the challenge will not simply be to build up some networks but also to break down or challenge other kinds of associations". This view arguably extends to a British context, which has framed British Asian clusters as 'problems' that need to be broken down with greater integration strategies based on mixing, bridging and bonding. However, within these aims there appears to be an alarming lack of understanding about the socio-economic factors that underpin the need for British Pakistanis and British Bangladeshis to group together in inner-city residential spaces. Indeed, this might confound cohesion practitioners and policymakers when these ties and networks are articulated by Asian residents in the positive terms of culture, identity and belonging to community. Regardless, this thesis shows the need for a better focus on social and material solutions in the cohesion agenda, even if the current focus on cultural solutions are the "less costly non-economic solutions to social problems" (Portes, 1998, p. 3). Although Putnam's (2000) manifestation of social capital might be highly useful in achieving outcomes in some contexts, it is possible they could be misguided or perhaps even harmful elsewhere.

In addition, this thesis has found evidence that raises questions about whether the integration agenda is having damaging effects. I am referring here to the suspicion I seemed to generate in certain associational and religious spaces in Longsight that were viewed as 'safe' for British Muslim to exert their religious identities. The suspicion my outsider presence garnered amongst some British born Muslims was related directly to policy and media discourses that have extended beyond 'parallel lives' through an intensification and problematisation of British Muslims in a post 7/7 and 'War on Terror' context. This suggests these policies have had an insidious effect of reducing, for some, a perception of commonality with British non-Muslims. In this context, the impact of the Prevent agenda combined with the framing of British Asians in cohesion policy, might have the potential to garner perceptions of injustices and grievances amongst people who identify with both Muslim and Asian communities. Such perceptions of grievances are central to the narratives of jihadist groups that seek to portray Muslim populations as victims of western injustices to legitimise terrorism that is perceived as proportionate. If the government seeks to achieve its overarching aim of instilling a shared sense of belonging and commonality in which Muslim populations can feel included, this is perhaps much more likely to be achieved if policy discourses place better emphasis on British Muslim commonality as opposed to British Muslim difference. In place of the recent policy directions that have adopted a marked and clear securitisation dynamic, a repositioning on commonality alongside a focussed attentiveness to deprivation and social exclusion is now much needed.

The thesis has shown how experiences on the ground are much more complex than policy suggests. The lack of awareness to material factors that shape the close ties between British Pakistani and British Bangladeshis alongside the Prevent agenda reflect a fixation on ethnic and cultural religion as the salient markers of division. This is working to exclude awareness and debates of other social inequalities such as age. The challenge of maintaining and increasing social ties in older age was found to be central to the lived experience of older white residents. In contrast to the bonds and 'strong' ties of community that Asian residents were discussing in certain pockets of Longsight, often only a matter of streets away, older residents were lamenting the loss of contacts and ties that appeared to contribute to feelings of alienation and sometimes racialised notions about 'other' groups. The current

policy framing is therefore too narrow and must be broadened to include thinking about other causes of social division.

However, despite the significance of the challenges at hand, what was noteworthy were the calls across the board for a stronger community of place. The general pessimism on the part of the residents about the possibility of local people coming together echoed with challenges discussed in the literature about increasing and maintaining bridging and contact (Phillips et al., 2014; Mayblin et al., 2016). However, it seems significant that older white residents did not see a withdrawal from the neighbourhood as a realistic option, settling migrants from Italy indicated a want of greater contact with 'different' national and ethnic groups, whilst established British Asians talked about their own attempts to bring people together through inter-faith programmes. This finding runs contrary to doubts about the importance of communities of place in diverse neighbourhoods given the multiple, shifting and unbounded identities and range of attachments people can form (Hudson et al., 2007; Robinson, 2008). However, perhaps a lot of this depends on whom this claim is being made by with inclusive communities of place perhaps more important to certain types of people such as adults in older age, people guided by religion and faith, or settling migrants yearning for security.

Complicating 'lost through diversity'

What is marked in this research is the relative absence of overt xenophobia and racism. Whilst tensions and challenges are likely to emerge in neighbourhoods that are deprived and/or have little history of migration and diversity (Phillips & Robinson, 2015), when it did manifest in Longsight it was only ever on the fringes of wider discussions. Moreover, these manifested in different ways for different groups, with the broader assumption that it is only white groups who feel the effects of immigration challenged by this finding. What was often the case was attentiveness to diversity as dynamic in Longsight, and recognition that diversity was an ongoing process in terms of the arrival of recent third country nationals. Participants broadly suggested having positive perceptions of difference. This helps explain the relative lack of racism in the accounts, a finding that can be drawn out further through a reflection on Rex and Moore's (1967) analysis.

It was apparent in Longsight that a particular pattern of diversity was shaped by decades of white household mobility away from Longsight and the broader emergence of a British Asian group. As discussed in Chapter Two, a key argument of Rex and Moore's (1967) study of Sparkbrook was that patterns of ethnic segregation within British cities in the 1960s were shaped by the racialised natures of urban housing markets. Although slightly outside the scope of the research, it is likely that Longsight underwent a similar process. Older white residents' narratives of friends and families that had moved away were probably part of the processes that Rex and Moore (1967) outlined: the broader historic shift to owner-occupation and council housing on the fringes of the city for white working classes, juxtaposed with the limited accessibility of decent social and owner-occupied housing for poorer postcolonial migrants and the subsequent limits on choice. Through processes of clustering and chain migration, these factors underpinned the emergence of an Asian group and the development of a particular manifestation of ethnic diversity in Longsight.

What is therefore important to recognise is experiences of change were recognised by white participants as not entirely rooted in local migration to Longsight. As explored in Chapter Three, a pertinent narrative is the apparent 'loss of community' in places impacted by immigration and shaped by ethnic diversity. This stems from the notion that original inhabitants following the arrival of newcomers tend to "hunker down" (Putnam, 2007, p. 149). It follows that bonding networks of trust that come from knowing local people are eroded with the arrival and settlement of strangers, an outcome that impacts the quality of residential life and can shape experiences of local change around perceptions of decline. In my research, this was found to be one facet to their broader experience of neighbourhood change, with other changes occurring alongside these processes and recognised as separate from Asian immigration itself. As well as the movement away of white households through the opening up of housing choices, I am referring here to the experience of 'losing place' discussed in Chapter Six, in which older residents explained in great detail that local regeneration schemes were perceived as failures because they have involved the demolition of the places associated with community. What is critical is this was understood as the fault of organisations and agencies seen in contempt of what local people wanted, and not of incoming and settling Asian migrants. Indeed, overarching processes of neighbourhood regeneration were acknowledged as an issue entirely separate from the settlement of Asian

groups. Moreover, these multiple changes and the way in which they impacted the different lived experience of local residents resonate with Massey's (1994, p. 154) notion about the possibility of multiple experiences of the same place, and that places are not bounded geographical areas but "articulated moments" in local global dynamic "networks of social relations and understandings".

This finding builds on Massey's (1991) argument that place is a useful context for studying how invisible global processes 'touch down' in localities. In this context, the empirical findings from this place-based study have potential to inform understandings of other neighbourhoods. Far from being abstracted and removed from the national and international landscape, there is a long and valuable history of comparative approaches of places in the social sciences (Wacquant, 2007; Robinson, 2010; Neal et al., 2016). The interiors and particularities of Longsight are useful in terms of how "one site now poses questions of another" (Roy, 2003, p. 466), and through such comparison and dialogue it becomes possible to identify broad themes and factors that shape particular experiences of immigration and diversity across a range of localities (Phillips & Robinson, 2015). Even if this thesis did not explore extensive debates about comparative analysis, it is worth reflecting on Massey and Denton's (1993) resolve that place is not simply a container of social relationships because place itself is constantly made, remade and continuously defined through social relationships. This involves a recognition of the extent to which places are part of a much bigger process in which discourses on diversity in urban areas are constructed (Massey, 1991). Whilst the empirical findings have stressed a focus on the interiors and particularities of Longsight, and I have gone to great lengths to highlight how my research of Longsight is original, this does not ignore much larger invisible processes (Massey, 2005). A concern with Longsight's uniqueness puts research in much bigger context, in that it reveals that underlying features of place are shaped by much bigger processes of migration and structural change, processes that inform particular experiences of local change in diverse areas that are more nuanced and complicated than certain narratives on diversity suggest.

Time and temporarily as mediating experiences of community

In many ways this research has been an examination of community at policy and everyday levels. Throughout this thesis I have sought to engage with the sociological puzzle that is

community and I have shown, in answer to the fourth research question, the variety of meanings, understanding and experiences of community. The interest in community that runs throughout these pages appears at odds with mainstream social science research. Generally speaking, the ways in which community is evoked and articulated have created a consensus that community is a slippery, unstable and imprecise concept, something to be avoided in favour of an alternative term or new conceptual approaches. This perhaps underpins a trend in academic literature to either attack or defend the community concept. As I showed in Chapter Three, researchers working in fields of immigration-related diversity have gone as far as to warn against using community for fear it essentialises minority groups, making difference 'objective' which ultimately facilitates the othering of migrants and minorities (Young, 1986, 1990). This extends from concerns that idealistic connotations loaded in community are at odds with (and can ultimately conceal) the realities of tension on the ground both within and between social groups (Amit, 2002; Alleyne, 2009).

As explored in Chapter Three, social science research tends to distil community to its key analytical dimensions of place, social networks and belonging. As discussed in the reviewed literature, an example of this was Hillery's (1955) widely-cited 'Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement' in which 55 definitions of community were interpreted from the first wave of community studies in the 1940 and 1950s. Although clearly unintended, such attempts to offer precise definitions perhaps confuse or frustrate future conceptualisations of community in social science research. These can be hampered further by the use of community as a 'spray on term' in the applied social sciences (Walkerdine and Studdert, 2012), which Studdert and Walkerdine (2016, p. 615) claim can be driven by "personal fantasies, state-driven programmes or funding applications"

However, as Hamilton (2003, p. 8) commented in the foreword to Cohen's *Symbolic Construction of Community*, "if people believe a thing to be real, then it has real consequences for them". This rephrasing of the Thomas Theorem neatly encapsulates the tension at the heart of debates about community, in that despite quite concerns about community in academic debate its use in the everyday is undeterred. This applies to the residents who participated in this research, who despite different articulations and experiences of community evidently believed in community as an ideal or a reality in the context of their lives in a diverse neighbourhood. What was apparent throughout my

fieldwork was the eminence of community and how it was inescapably applied to Longsight. Talk of the Asian community, the Muslim community, community that was said to be missing, the old community of Longsight as well as calls for a more inclusive community show the many 'imagined' and 'real' communities people can belong to or yearn for in particular localities. In addition, earlier chapters explored how UK governments have evoked their own idealised vision of community in policy. In this context, community is implied as a moral way of living operationalised with a focus on reciprocity, mutual responsibility and adhesion to particular values and attachments to place believed to provide the antidote to social ills of rioting and the perceived failure of ethnic segregation.

Social scientists have been searching for frameworks to help capture the complex stories of immigration in neighbourhoods, frameworks that can help others examine and understand the lived experiences of diversity. Reflecting on my research, what is striking is that perspectives of residents did not always align with their own ethnic or national backgrounds, with perspectives on place and subsequent experiences of community instead rooted in the amount of time they had spent in place itself. This relates to the different times at which people had migrated, moved to and settled in the neighbourhood, with important lines of differentiation forming not around ethnic or national identity but the differing amounts of time individual had lived in the area. Driven by the changing nature of place discussed in the previous section, this research has revealed the adaptable nature of community and the centrality of time to this process. Drawing on the argument that community can be a complex, dynamic and changing process (Crow and Allan, 1995) community can be defined from this research as a concept that mediates and is mediated by experiences of place and time. Whilst the three dimensions of community common to the literature have helped structure the findings chapters in this thesis (community as a sense of belonging, community as a place, and community as social groups) my analysis reveals this trichotomy to be useful, but at the same time limited, when it comes to fully understanding the variety of experiences and meanings associated with community and community life. Instead, time was found to be of fundamental significance in mediating ideas about belonging, place and groups, with ideas about community drawn from the distinctive temporalities that had developed from long-term and newer groups respectively. The point here is not to suggest that time and temporality is the only meaningful dimension of

community and community life. Instead, it is to suggest that time and temporality is a mediator of (and perhaps even an addition to) belonging, place and group dimensions of community, with time being central to the changing experiences of place, social groups and belonging. The empirical findings presented serve to illustrate the flexible and adaptable experiences of community that are rooted in the changing natures of places themselves.

This argument draws attention to our need to understand community as a dynamic concept that facilitates, and is facilitated by, experiences of place and time. This idea of community as a dynamic process echoes with widespread recognition that society is not static but instead a process constantly made and remade by the interplay of individual choices and structural changes (Giddens, 1991). As characterised by the advent of global technologies, a reoccurring criticism of community is that, as an apparent static and holistic entity confined within rigid either/or typologies, it cannot easily fit with the nature and pace of modern change. But whilst virtual communities reflect the ability of social ties to now extend beyond place and drive community formation in new ways, this clearly does not account for the experiences of place and community documented in this thesis. Experiences of community and community life in this research appeared to lie at the intersection of place, social groupings and sense of belonging and identity, with time appearing to be a key dynamic that mediated experiences of these.

This perspective on community is evidently different to how community has been applied in British and American research and social policy. Community is often discussed in formulaic terms as the "the community of X" or "the y community of x", a use of community that ran throughout the policy documents that were consulted throughout this research. Critics who argue that community essentialises ethnic groups are engaging with community in government and scholarly traditions where community is assumed to be fixed (Amit, 2002; Alleyne, 2002). In actuality, on the ground, community is much more fluid, plural and does not always represent fixed ethnic groups or places – what Asian residents thought of as a thriving 'Asian community' was different, for example, to what newer and settling Asian migrants who had lived in Italy perceived and interpreted as community. Each resident seemed to have their own idea of community, with a sense that distinctive temporalities and time spent in place were central to experiences of community itself. Rethinking community in this vein could potentially help us to rethink community beyond the rigid

either/or categories it been ascribed to – the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschafts, urban/rural, tradition/modernity, insider/outsider dichotomies the concept of community seems to orient around. The wide variety of meanings and experiences community seems to encompass in the lives of residents perhaps means community is too diverse a social concept to fit into these neat and ordered categories. Perhaps an advantage to rethinking community as a dynamic and changing process is that it would allow academic debate to move beyond the either/or categorisations and become more aligned with the experience of community in locales in everyday life.

Areas for future research

In making the above argument about the quality of social science conceptualisation of community, I am highlighting the need to develop work which amplifies and extends more intricate and nuanced understandings of what community is. This approach must go further than echoing certain policy terms such as the development, empowerment, participation and engagement of communities to investigate how community itself works in particular locations for residents and members. As I outline in the following section, it is of course important for policymakers to continue inquiring about what individuals think their community requires, and work which seeks to support people's communities in governance structures and decision-making that impact localities remains important and warranted. However, it seems especially important to pursue further conceptual and empirical research on what community means for local residents, and how it works in particular locations. This is perhaps in the long-term a much more productive approach for the social sciences, and policymakers and practitioners who seek to engage with the issues of 'communities' on the ground but who often do so with their own ideas and assumptions of community that can be at odds with local people.

In addition, the investigation of Longsight has highlighted a number of other areas for research. The first is the need to intensify research that seeks to unearth and magnify the local contexts which increase trust and cooperation between culturally and ethnically diverse groups. Whilst this research has presented a mixed picture on the quality of inter-ethnic social relations, it was apparent from all sides that some issues were shared and felt across the population regardless of individual identities. Environmental concerns around litter was raised broadly by the residents. Although only touched on in the pages of this

thesis, there were quite extreme perceptions from some participants that minority groups were to blame for litter issues. Conversely, other residents sometimes expressed views that majority white neighbourhoods of Longsight were cleaned more regularly by the local authority than neighbourhoods with majority Asian populations. Only a handful of residents articulated a more a nuanced view that businesses and individuals themselves could do more to alleviate noticeable litter problems. However, it was clear from these discussions that litter was a shared concern and an issue that could be discussed and mediated in the future inter-ethnic forums that some participants made clear calls for.

As explored by Phillips et al's (2014) research in neighbourhoods of Braford, it is possible to begin to resolve inter-ethnic tensions posed by shared neighbourhood issues through neighbourhood forums. Engaging with contact theory and underpinned by the skilled negotiation of research teams, in the context of their research localities, litter and the perceived ill-behaviour of children were key dividing lines between Roma and British Pakistani groups. In controlled neighbourhood forums, the researchers sought to mediate localised disputes through conversations aimed at establishing common ground and shared visions of neighbourhood and community. Although acknowledged as partial and perhaps lacking long-term sustainability, the team collected evidence to suggest an increase in mutual awareness and understanding of the desperate poverty that sometimes underpinned localised litter tensions, including the perceived tendency for Roma migrants to search for clothing in neighbourhood recycling bins. As Philips (ibid) explained, it is of course problematic to suggest that such mediated discussions and awareness-raising can replace tensions and disputes in areas given the wider factors which shape and inform the social relations of place. However, it seems possible that concentrated research efforts from multiple teams across a number of localities could in the long-term identify the broad contexts that might increase trust between different ethnic groups, which through magnification and extension in centralised programmes and initiatives might tackle common problems and build shared visions of neighbourhood and community. Given the clear calls for neighbourhood forums from residents who participated in this research, perhaps researchers should take inspiration from this in the future pursuit of building bridges in their own participatory research projects.

In addition, research would benefit from greater understanding about the possibilities for multi-ethnic community centres. This is of course complex to navigate. Whilst local centres were found in this research to provide key social spaces and resources for groups with a history of marginalisation and exclusion, they were simultaneously perceived as exacerbating tensions between local groups. Such perceptions were bound up in much larger debates about the closures of other centres, including a popular youth club, that were reliant on state funding, but they nonetheless had potential to underpin inaccurate and mistaken views on the part of some white residents that migrant and minorities centres had preferential access to funding streams. In this context, researchers must be mindful of the value of ethnic minority community centres and as I discuss in the next section, these local initiatives can play an important role in future policy. However, future research would benefit from exploring the scope and potential uses for inter-ethnic community centres that could be situated with and alongside the range of migrant and neighbourhood centres common in many multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Perhaps future research endeavours can start by learning the lessons from other national contexts. For example, Hoekstra and Pinkster (2017) provide a good account of the Dutch government's efforts to foster belonging through increased contact between groups in the spaces of new state-funded neighbourhood centres. However, although envisaged as a collective space in which contact and trust between diverse populations could flourish through participation in shared activities and events, the authors (ibid) highlight the failings of relevant authorities that can lead these diverse sites, like other diverse spaces, to become subjected to claims about group ownership based on place-specific residential histories of the people who use them.

However, in making these calls for future research, I am mindful of the context which social research looks set to operate in. It is unlikely that methods and approaches that involve face-to-face interaction can continue unimpeded in light of a possibly long-term global pandemic. At the time of writing, it seems an urgent requirement for social research to operate in a socially-distant manner, which has clear implications for any calls for future studies of communities, places and people. With this mind, there is the more immediate need to develop new approaches and methodological avenues for empirical studies of communities which maintain some degree of intimacy with people and places but respect the need for social distancing. Whilst the obvious response here is for greater use of

telephone interviews and online software that can facilitate face-to-face interviews, future research might also benefit from exploring the literature on the new horizons of 'beyond-text' approaches (Jones, 2006). This might include ethnographic research in the form of experimental film making (Ruby, 2000; Pink, 2006) that is guided, facilitated and collected by researchers working on behalf of people with particular lived experiences. This might help continue the important task of eliciting, exploring and examining people's experiences of place and subsequent sense of community.

Lessons for policymakers

Building on discussions earlier in this chapter about the comparative elements of this research, a number of transferable lessons for policymakers can be drawn from Longsight. The first and most obvious is the need for a neighbourhood focus in any future initiatives. Whilst research can afford understanding of community and neighbourhood change, the primary role of future policy is the implementation of neighbourhood initiatives that mediate and manage change and the tensions that can arise from them. In diverse areas, future neighbourhood policy should focus on forging and maintaining shared senses of community and purpose through initiatives that stress inclusivity and genuine involvement in the processes of change. The benefits of increased neighbourhood-based initiatives are that authorities and agencies are more immediate and attentive to the concerns of residents, with potential future results more apparent and tangible to people's everyday lives.

It is also important for policymakers not to underestimate the diversity of British Asian populations that might comprise other distinctive and well-known British Asian localities across the UK. Perhaps indicated by interchangeability of 'BAME' and 'BME', the language of institutional diversity suggests an overlooking of important lines of difference within British Asian populations. This is impacting understanding of the needs of British Asian communities which have in intricate histories of migration comprising of old and new movements. However, while Phillimore (2014) highlights the challenges posed by the newness and novelty of entirely different migration flows for effective welfare provision, it is important to recognise the complex levels of diversity *within* established minority groups like British Asians. When thinking about established groups such as British Bangladeshis and British Pakistanis, it is too easy to think about these groups and their presence in Britain as

stemming from particular periods of immigration in the twentieth century (Anwar, 1975; Werbner, 1984, 1988). On the contrary, policymakers must understand that needs posed by the ongoing arrival of new and superdiverse Asian migrants are entirely different and unlike the previous needs of pioneers and early Asian arrivals in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

In the case of Longsight, anecdotal and interview evidence was found time and again of the barriers to integration for newer migrants of Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds who had lived elsewhere in Europe. It was apparent that current service provision was not adequately prepared to address, for example, the requirements of people who speak Urdu and Spanish but have limited English language skills. Although appearing 'Asian' and capable of 'blending in' with more established British Asians, the arrival of new Asian migrants has essentially outpaced the capacities of service providers in terms of the support required to meet their welfare and integration needs. Policymakers should as a matter of immediacy begin to develop capacity to begin to confront the new barriers and challenges to integration for the changing composition of British Asians groups on the ground, through modifying service provision accordingly. The inability to do so will continue to put undue strain on grass-roots services that are provided informally by migrant and minority organisations which already feel the pressures of reduced budgets. Policymakers therefore need to become more attentive to the new forms of diversity that are emerging within established ethnic minority groups.

Perhaps one way that policymakers could become more attentive is to move towards greater involvement and partnership working with local organisations. This could be beneficial because local organisations know the local population and appreciate the specificities and needs that might be difficult to ascertain or otherwise grasp at policymaking levels. It is likely that working at a higher level involves an overreliance on limited datasets such as the Census, which are evidently limited in their value in terms of only providing a partial and often outdated picture of local populations. Working in partnership with local organisations, authorities could become more alert to the changing needs of populations and places. This partnership might involve representatives of populations working in close and regular contact with central and local authorities, with relevant practitioners working in a new mediating place-based agency outlined above.

This touches on a wider point. There must now be greater engagement and participation with the needs of all local residents on key issues that shape neighbourhood outcomes. Whilst previously I outlined the need for participatory research in the form of neighbourhood bridge-building research projects, there must be genuine attempts on the part of policymakers to involve residents in local place-based decision-making that relate to all aspect of neighbourhood change. Most saliently, this can involve genuine involvement of residents in housing and neighbourhood regeneration initiatives, a lack of which was found in Longsight to exacerbate negative perceptions of other local changes associated with immigration. Whilst this in itself can raise all kinds of issues around who is recognised, who is included and how they are engaged (Temple and Steele, 2004), perhaps now different forms of participation and engagement are more important in managing change. Perhaps specific mediating agencies could consult, work with and prepare local residents in advance of major changes to the local area often driven by overarching processes of neighbourhood regeneration and immigration. This might lead residents to perceive themselves as involved in the processes of change rather than subjected to it.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Confirmation of Ethical Approval

18 December 2017

Dear Dillon,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION–HSR1718-008–'Migration, Neighbourhood and Community: A Narrative Study of Longsight Manchester'.

Based on the information that you have provided, I am pleased to inform you that ethics application HSR1718-008 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/or its methodology, then please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting Health-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Sue McAndrew
Chair of the Research Ethics Panel

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

Working title of project: Migration, Neighbourhood and Community: A Narrative Study of Longsight Manchester

Name of researcher: Dillon Newton.

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study as part of my PhD. This research aims to explore your lived experiences of Longsight, your views about the migration of new people to the neighbourhood, and your thoughts about community in Longsight. I am looking to interview as many residents of Longsight as possible about this. You have every opportunity to ask me any questions about this study and taking part in it. Before you decide, please take the time to read the following information about this project carefully.

What is this study about?

This fieldwork forms an important part of my PhD thesis. My PhD is interested in the ways that new people move to Longsight and what this means for the residents' sense of community. I am interested in the stories of people who have moved here recently as well as the views of residents who have been settled for some time. If you are a new or a longer standing resident of Longsight, have connections with the people and area, and have memories and thoughts about living in the area, then I would like to hear from you.

Who is organising the research?

I am a PhD student from the University of Salford responsible for this research. I am the only person organising the project. I am guided by a supervisory team, however, and this research has been officially approved by the University of Salford's Ethics Research Panel.

Why have I been invited?

I have invited you because you have recently moved to Longsight, or you have lived here for some time. You have connections with local people and know what it's like to be a resident here, making you an interesting person to talk to about the neighbourhood and community locally.

What will I have to do?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked a few questions about what it's like to live here. This interview will be done whilst walking around Longsight, so that you can show me the places that are important to you, and tell me about the memories and experiences you associate with them. I am interested in what you think about Longsight, as well as where you decide to take me. I can prompt you and offer advice for answering questions, but I want you to use your own words as much as you can. I will ask you some questions about where we are going and the people and places you mention. I also will also digitally record our discussion so that I can listen to it afterwards. Since I have not planned a route around Longsight, I intend instead for you to show me the area in an authentic and natural way. This means that you can show me as little or as much of Longsight as you like, walking me through the routes that you take every day. This means that the walk can be as long as short as you like, depending on what else you have to do today.

That said, I request that we keep to Longsight and surrounding streets, since I am interested particularly in this area and what community means to you. And since the walking interview is being digitally recorded, I ask that you remain considerate of other people by not revealing their names or places associated with them, since they might not have agreed to take part in this research.

Will the information I give be kept confidential?

It is my responsibility to ensure that the information you give is kept confidential. Only I will listen to the digital recording of our walking interview, with the file of the recording stored only on password protected computers. I am required to create a word-by-word transcript of the interview that will help with my analysis of our discussion afterwards. This transcript will be viewed only by myself, and will be accessible as a password protected document on a secure computer. I may also be required to print a paper transcript. Should this be required, the paper transcripts will be stored throughout the study in a locked filing cabinet. The participant consent form, which I will introduce shortly, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, in a locked office within the University separate from the rest of your data.

I will ensure further that any names and personal details you give are fully anonymised in the final report. This will ensure that the stories you tell me cannot be traced to you by anyone reading the report. Before the interview, I will ask that you provide a fictitious name known only to us.

I intend to keep the anonymised digital recordings and interview transcripts for a maximum of three years after the course is completed in Summer 2020. I will store these on a personal password-protected external hard drive. This will help with future publications and presentations. It will also help with my intention to have the findings of the study published in appropriate academic journals and/or books. They will be destroyed permanently in September 2023

Finally, it is important to note that should you reveal information that amounts to criminal activity, harm to self, or harm to others, I am required to report this to the relevant authorities. This is the only occasion that your confidentiality will be breached. I am obliged by the University of Salford to act with ethical conduct in this way.

Do I have to take part?

No, taking part is entirely up to you. I am here to answer any questions you might have about the study, and if you are happy with my answers, then you will be asked to sign a consent form summarising your rights as a research participant. After this we can begin the walking interview, but signing the consent form doesn't, however, tie you to this research. If at any point during the walk, and up to two weeks after it, that you want to withdraw from the study, then you can do so. You don't have to give a reason for this, and any information you have given up to that point will be destroyed.

Are there any incentives or benefits of taking part?

I will issue a £10 Morrisons voucher to you at the end of the walk as a thank you for your time. Unfortunately, Asda do not issue supermarket vouchers, but there are two Morrisons supermarkets in the surrounding area,

one on Oxford Road and one on Ashton Old Road which I can provide directions to. The walking interview can be suited also to your daily routine, meaning you can visit the local shops or visit a bank, for example, if this convenient for you. Should these situations arise, I will pause the digital recording at the appropriate moment.

What if there is a problem?

If you become unhappy with my interview practice, you can request to stop the recording at any point, and discuss with me any problems you might have. If a problem persists throughout, or you are unhappy after the interview is completed, you can discuss this with my PhD supervisor: Professor Anya Ahmed – 0161 295 2185 | a.ahmed@salford.ac.uk. Should you remain unhappy and wish to make an official complaint in confidence about the research, you can contact the University of Salford's Chair of the Postgraduate Ethics Panel, Professor Sue McAndrew: c – 0161 295 2280 | s.mcandrew@salford.ac.uk. I also reserve the right to stop the interview at any point should I become uncomfortable during walking interview.

Further information:

In the event of a situation where I learn of your anguish or distress, I have been advised to provide you with the following details of agencies that are specialised in providing support and advice

Migrant Support (Manchester based)

Email: info@migrantsupport.org.uk

Office: 07847480421

Migrant Help UK (National)

Asylum helpline: 0808 8000 630

Head office: 01304 203 977

Email: info@migranthelpuk.org

TellMAMA (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks)

Helpline: 0800 456 1226.

Citizens Advice UK

National Helpline: 03444 111 444

Samaritans UK

National Helpline: 116 123

I will remind you of these should any situation arise. And should you want me to, I will also notify the community or faith centre where we met of the situation.

Contact details

You now have the opportunity to ask me any questions about participating in the study. You can ask me equally about the research as we go along. I also am happy for you to share this information sheet with people you know, who can make an enquiry about the study using the following email address:

Dillon Newton,

d.newton3@edu.salford.ac.uk,

University of Salford,

School of Health and Society,

C526, Allerton Building,

University of Salford, Salford M6 6PU.

Appendix 3: Research Participant Consent Form

Research Participant Consent Form

Working Title of Project: Migration, Neighbourhood and Community: A Narrative Study of Longsight, Manchester

Ethical Approval Ref No: HSR1718-008

Name of Researcher: Dillon Newton

Please complete and sign this form **after** you have read and understood the participant information sheet. Read the statements below and circle yes or no.

1.	I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information sheet Version 3 dated **11/12/2017**, for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions which have been answered satisfactorily.	Yes/No
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any point during the interview, and up to fourteen days after, without giving any reason, and without my rights being affected.	Yes/No
3.	If I do decide to withdraw I understand that the information I have given, up to the point of withdrawal, will be destroyed.	Yes/No
4.	I agree to participate in a digitally recorded walking interview around Longsight.	Yes/No
5.	I understand that my personal details will be kept confidential and will not be revealed to people other than Dillon Newton.	Yes/No
6.	I understand that my anonymised data may be used in Dillon Newton's thesis and will be stored until 01/09/2023 for publications and presentations.	Yes/No
7.	I understand that should any information I give amount to criminal activity or harm and/or harm to self or others, the researcher is obliged to inform the relevant authorities.	Yes/No
8.	I understand that a £10 Morrisons voucher will be issued to me after the interview is completed.	Yes/No
9.	I agree to take part in the study:	Yes/No

Name of participant   ………………………………………………………………………

Signature   ……………………………………………………………………….

Date   ……………………………….

Name of researcher taking consent   Dillon Newton

Researchers e-mail address   d.newton3@edu.salford.ac.uk

Appendix 4: Interview Topic Guide

Interview questions and prompts

1. <u>Could you tell me about yourself and how you came to live in Longsight?</u>

Prompts

When did you move here? Where did you move from? What memories do you have of arriving here? Did you know anything about Longsight before you moved here?

2. <u>Could you tell me about the neighbourhood?</u>

Prompts

Where do you go to meet people? Do you have any favourite places in Longsight? Do you ever shop or eat in any of these places? Are there any places you tend to avoid? Do you usually take this route? Are there any routes you don't take?

3. <u>Do you have many friends, family and contacts in Longsight?</u>

Prompts

Who lives here? Do you know any other people in this area? Do you know your neighbours? Do you get on with them? Have people you know moved away? Have you met people who have moved in? Do you ever try and greet or acknowledge people as your walking around? Do you ever try and mix with local people?
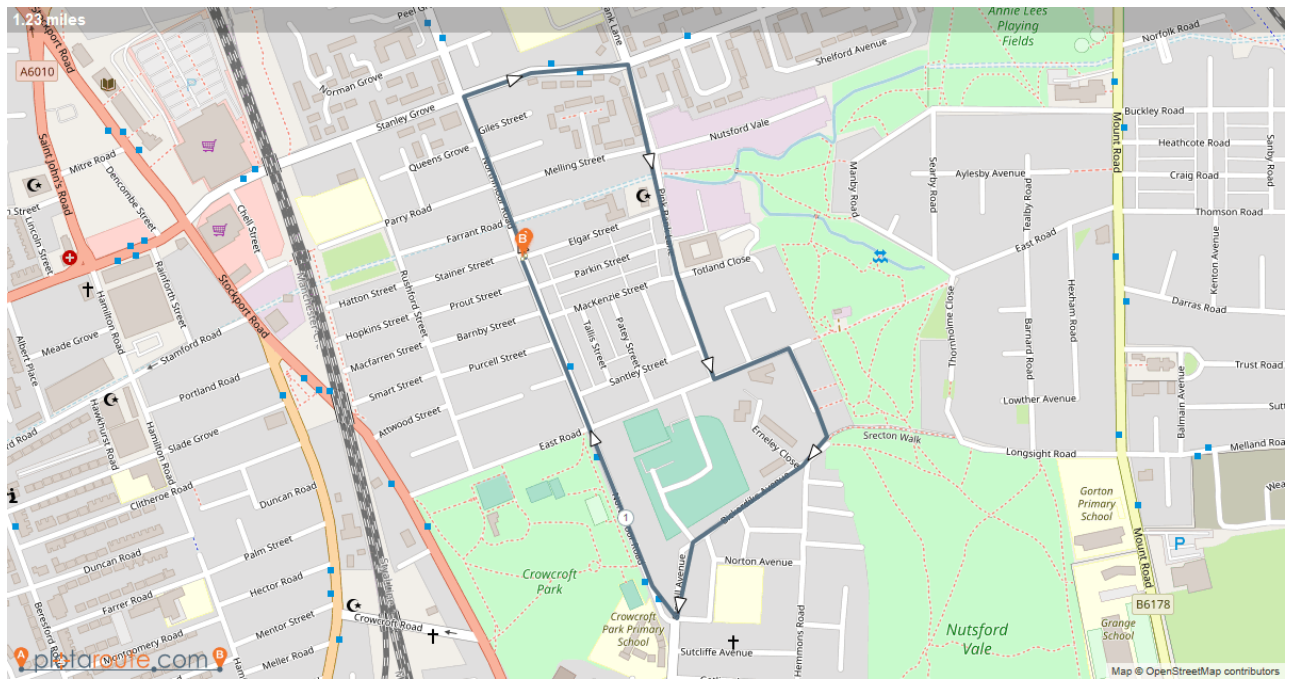
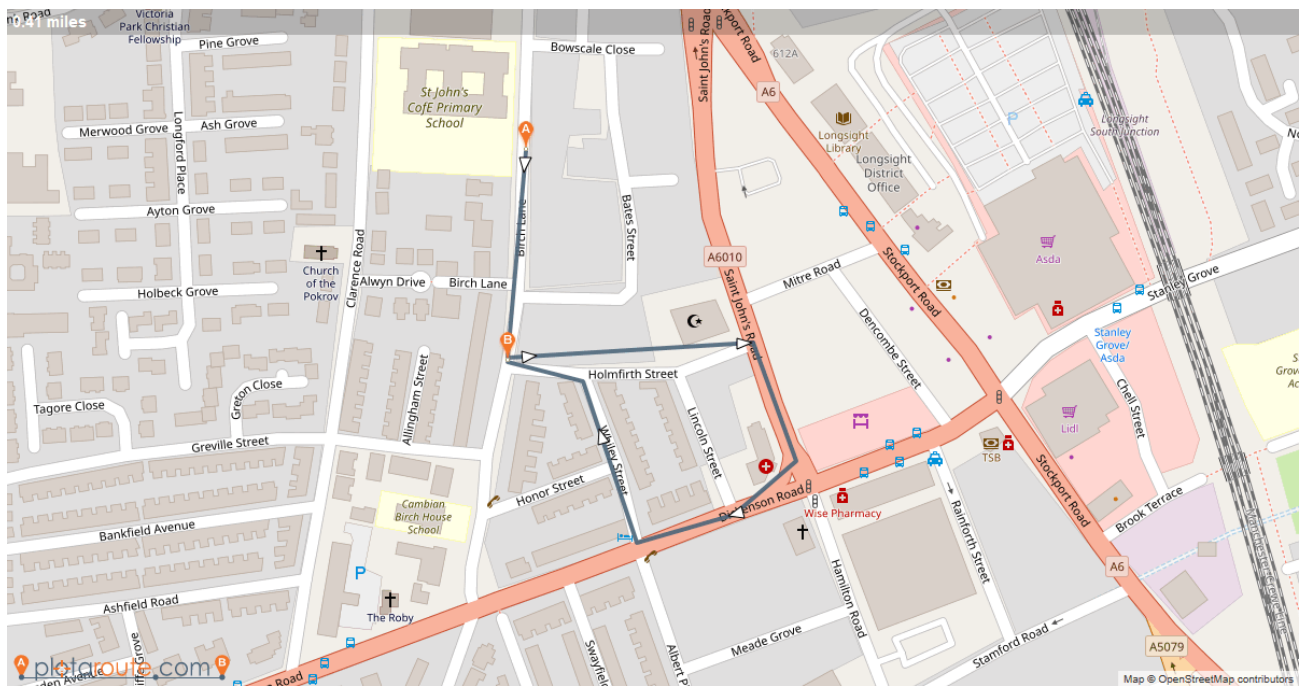4. <u>Do you like living in Longsight?</u>

Prompts

What memories do you have of Longsight? Are these good or bad memories? What the worst thing about living in Longsight? Have things changed in Longsight? Changed for better or worse?
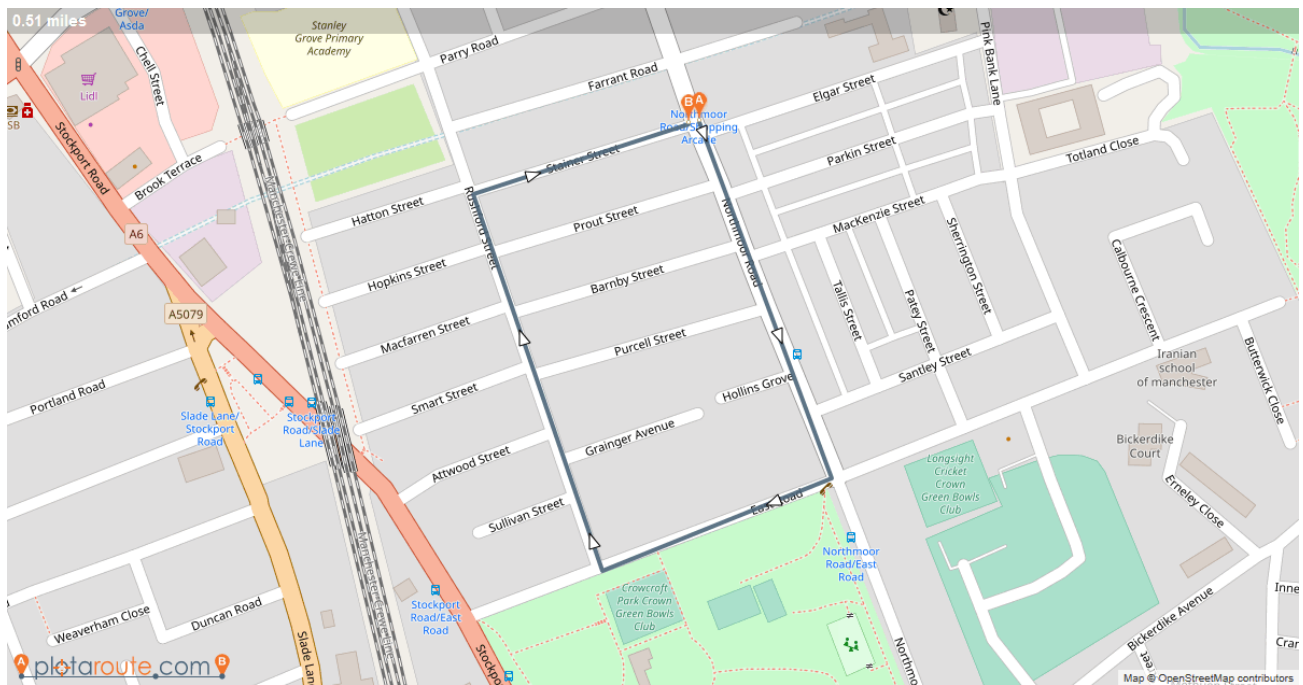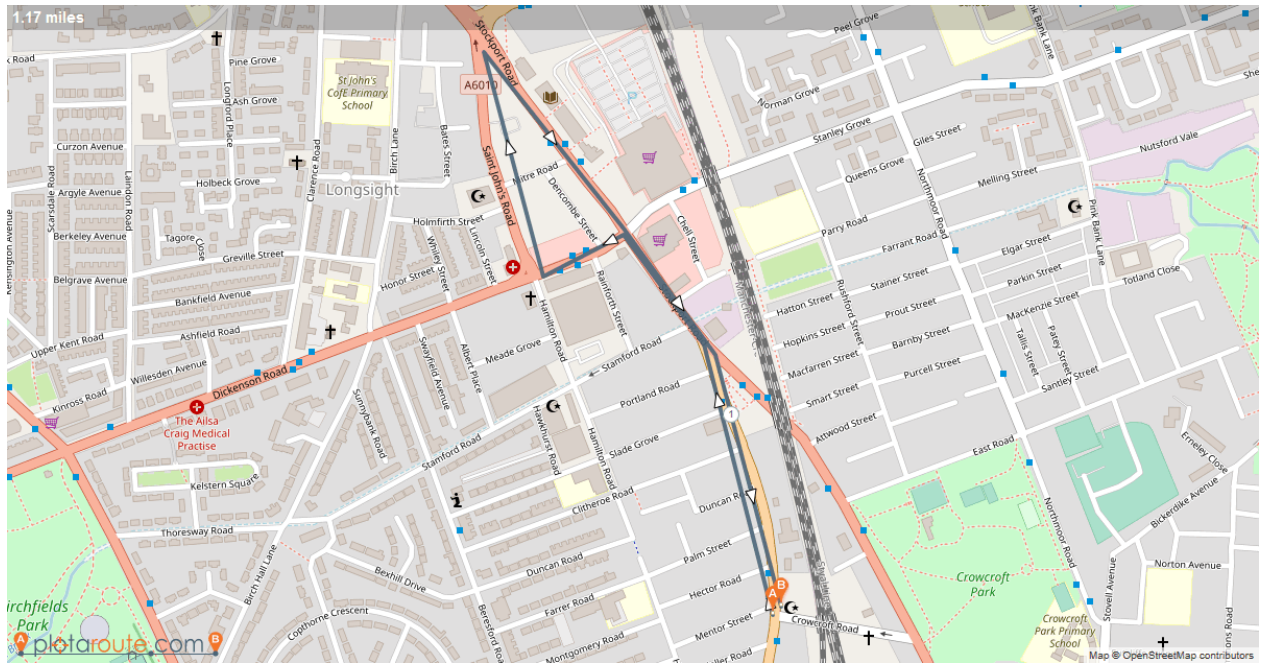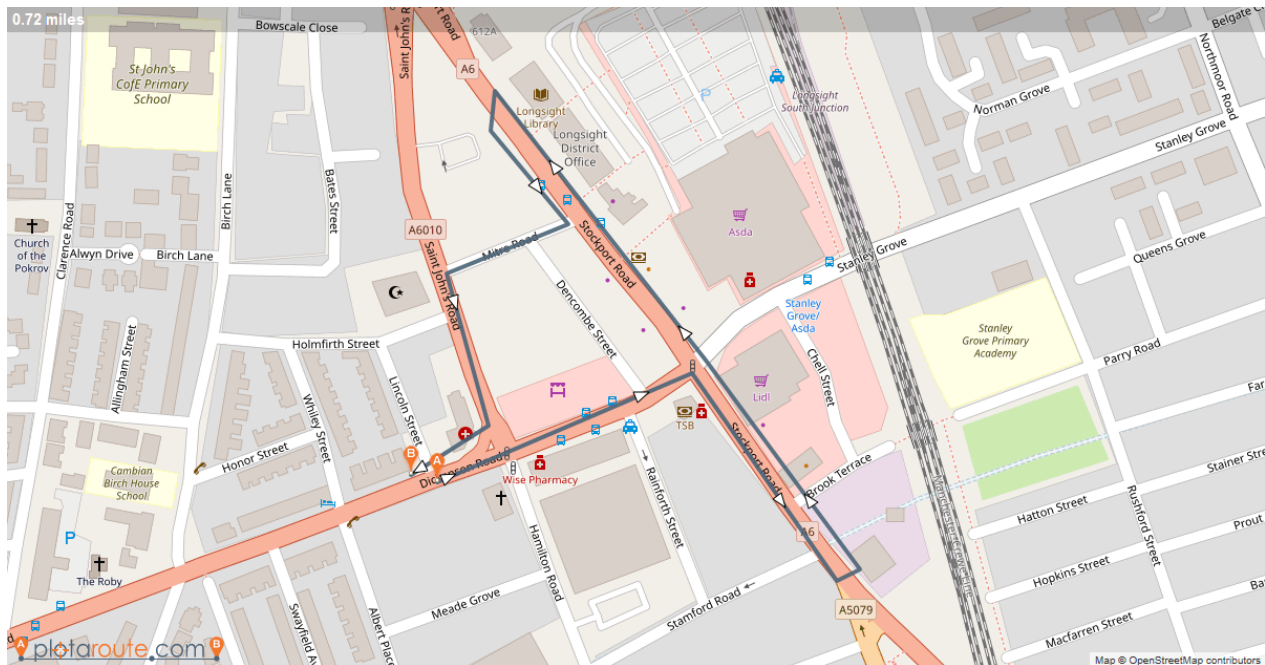
Appendix 5: Walking routes

Louise

Mohammed

Frank

Theresa and Mary

Mani

Jarin and Sabrina

Ruma, Imen and Siddika

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