# The importance of super-diverse places in shaping residential mobility patterns

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## Abstract

Increasing attention is being placed on the impact of new migration flows, and especially on the respective ‘capacities’ of different places to accommodate new immigrants. But there is little discussion over the importance of different characteristics of places in shaping such patterns of movement – both for old and new immigrants and for indigenous populations. Through a focus on two super-diverse neighbourhoods, the research explores the links between residential mobility and place, and the importance of different characteristics of place on shaping individuals' lifestyles, patterns of mobility or fixity, feelings of attachment and belonging and the ‘activity’ spaces of individuals.

## Keywords

Residential mobility, super-diverse neighbourhoods

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## Executive Summary

- Individuals residing in the super-diverse neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood had significant 'agency' in terms of decisions to move into each neighbourhood. However, a significant minority – and particularly new migrants – had less control and were dependant upon social housing allocations.
- Contextual features of super-diverse neighbourhoods, such as the connections of the neighbourhood to other places and the availability of particular shops / services were influential in shaping individuals decisions to move in and stay within such areas.
- Compositional features of super-diverse neighbourhoods, such as the presence of family were also important in shaping residential mobility decisions, although the importance of family as a reason to move in and stay may not be as important in super-diverse neighbourhoods as ethnic neighbourhoods.
- Individuals' resources and dispositions strongly underpin residential mobility decisions. There were gender and ethnic-specific differences in terms of the way such characteristics intersected with super-diverse neighbourhood features in shaping mobility. For some minority ethnic groups, the collective features of super-diverse neighbourhoods such as the availability of cultural and religious facilities were important in shaping reasons to move in and stay (and especially in Handsworth). Compositional and contextual features of the neighbourhood, such as family and the availability of work were of relevance in shaping the inward movement and retention of new migrants. For old migrants, housing, cultural and medical facilities and educational facilities were important reasons for moving in and remaining *insitu*, whilst family and friends, the availability of shops / services and cheap housing were important for non-migrants.
- An increase in individuals' own resources, coupled with the presence of family elsewhere; the presence of shared identities elsewhere, congestion and overcrowding and the perceived attractiveness of other areas (with lower levels of crime) were identified as key reasons to leave super-diverse neighbourhoods. Indeed, both contextual and collective features of super-diverse neighbourhoods can influence decisions of those less familiar with visible diversity to leave super-diverse neighbourhoods.
- In general, there was little evidence of individuals wishing to leave super-diverse neighbourhoods to live in less diverse areas, although there were some exceptions for a small number of (white) Eastern European EU8 migrants and white working class residents. Moreover – and in contrast to existing perspectives - many other EU8 migrants – and who are

relatively ‘invisible’ - settled in super-diverse neighbourhoods once they became accustomed to visible difference.

- Eastern European EU8 migrants were also attracted by the visible diversity of super-diverse neighbourhoods due to issues of discrimination by the host white community in other parts of the city and / or due to intra-migrant tensions with others in Eastern European enclaves beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood. This highlights new forms of ‘minority white flight’ on a ‘majority white community’. It also challenges existing arguments that discuss the ‘minority white flight’ of such individuals away from super-diverse areas (Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014). Furthermore, it additionally contests work that asserts that the ‘whiteness’ and relative invisibility of Eastern European migrants provides them with wider residential choices than those who are more visible.
- Ethnicity and the presence of ethnic enclaves remains a central feature of super-diverse neighbourhoods and can inform decisions to move in or out of such areas.
- Whilst diversity was increasingly common in the neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood, it was not necessarily leading to conviviality or integration.
- Conviviality was largely absent, especially in Ladywood and did not extend even as far as migrant populations for most, and regardless of whether people were in ‘public’ or ‘parochial’ space.
- Language was cited as a key barrier to integration and networking between different groups in each neighbourhood.
- The continuing predominance of particular ethnic groups was noted as undermining conviviality in Ladywood, and to a lesser extent in Handsworth.
- The insularity of Ladywood was a key reason why many Eastern European migrants had moved into the neighbourhood, and in turn this was promulgating ‘commonplace insularity’.
- In Handsworth, some interviewees identified how religious and cultural festivals associated with particular ethnic and / or faith groups were also leading to temporal segregation.
- ‘Anchor points’ for conviviality were either absent or limited to specific ethnic or faith groups.
- Discrimination according to ethnicity, age, gender and ‘newness’ was also reported. Whilst such incidences of discrimination were not necessarily generalizable to either of the neighbourhoods as a whole, the overall sense was that there was a lack of deep relations between different groups in each area.

- 'Brexit' had not impinged markedly on issues of conviviality or discrimination, or explicitly on mobility intentions except for those considering longer-term (international) migration.
- The diversity of Handsworth was seen as its main identity and which was reflected in wide-ranging retail and cultural facilities. However, the importance of ethnicity remains and this shapes the perceptions of individuals in respect of the dominance of particular ethnic groups.
- The identity of Ladywood was generally absent; at most it related to transiency and churn, poverty and crime and one or two ethnic groups.
- Individuals identified that they had multiple forms of place belonging, and generally commencing with belonging to home, followed by family, the neighbourhood (to a much lesser extent in Ladywood) and different 'communities of interest'.
- Autobiographical influences and childhood memories / past family experiences – both for parents and children – were extremely important in shaping belonging to the home.
- A 'politics of belonging' based around 'newness' was apparent in both neighbourhoods, and which can be related to the numbers of new migrants arriving in each neighbourhood. However, ethnicity was still an important feature in shaping belonging in each neighbourhood and with mixed perceptions of the city centre - as an alternative space – within which individuals could feel more 'in' or 'out' of place.
- Whilst there were differences between individuals in terms of how they came to 'know the neighbourhood' and also in respect of the key modes of transport that were utilised to facilitate mobility, individuals did not highlight discriminatory practices by others in general, or indeed a lack of resources *per se,* as impacting upon their overall mobility and / or the activity spaces that they used.
- Established areas of super-diversity (such as Handsworth) are more likely to provide a number of key activity spaces for local residents compared to areas of emergent super-diversity (such as Ladywood). This may be dependant upon a number of issues, such as the presence or absence of meeting places, perceptions of safety in the neighbourhood and / or the extent to which particular spaces or places are associated with (dominant) ethnic groups.
- Work and social relations, combined with the presence or absence of particular services or facilities shaped individuals' activity spaces towards the neighbourhood or city: the importance of the home as a key activity space was less discussed.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

Much attention has focused on the impact of new migration flows and the respective 'capacities' of different places to accommodate inflows of in migrants (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). However, whilst many studies have focused on the influences shaping patterns of movement for both migrant and non-migrant populations, there has been virtually no research conducted on the importance of the differing characteristics of place on shaping residential settlement patterns. This research responds to this gap in knowledge. It clarifies the links between residential mobility and a focus on place. This is important given that the varying and evolving characteristics of place may serve to shape individuals' lifestyles, patterns of mobility or fixity, feelings of belonging and relative attachment to particular places.

Place has been shown to play an important role in social organization, reflecting social and cultural variation and providing a territorial focus for shaping or reinforcing identity (Valentine, 2001). Recent work has illustrated how residential mobility is a subtle and complex process involving the interplay of resources; identity and dispositions; residential perceptions and interpretations and notions of place (Hickman et al. 2007, p.1). However, we know little about how these features are influenced or mediated by the different features of places. Indeed, Robinson (2010) notes that in the UK much analysis of the impacts of new migration has been placeless, offering insufficient consideration of the ways in which different characteristics of place may inform, and indeed be impacted upon, by such mobility (Robinson 2010, p.2459).

In the last decade many cities have become more diverse than ever (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014), and especially as a result of new patterns of immigration (Vertovec, 2007). Many new migrants are now residing in cities of 'super-diversity' and in particular can be found within 'super-diverse neighbourhoods'. In such places, diversity is frequently the norm, and with 'new' migrants living alongside 'old' migrants as well as with the indigenous (non-migrant) population (Vertovec, 2007; 2011).

A focus on super-diversity highlights the complex set of variables and interplays that are of relevance in shaping lifestyles and patterns of mobility or fixity in the context of particular types of places. In relation to migrants, such variables can include country of origin, migration channel, legal status, migrants' human capital, access to employment, locality and patterns of spatial distribution, and the degree / extent of transnationalism (Vertovec, 2007). Nevertheless, research on super-diversity has been criticised for overly focusing on immigrant communities – old and new - at the expense of indigenous non-migrant populations (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). There has also been little focus on how - and to what extent - the specific characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods inform residential settlement patterns for all residents, including feelings of belonging and attachment to place - and especially in the context of the increasing complexity of individuals' lifestyles and associated patterns of mobility and / or fixity.

Hence the intention of this study is to develop a better understanding of how the differing dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods interconnect and shape individuals' lifestyles, patterns of movement / activity spaces and attachment to place. For example, some individuals may have extensive spaces of activity and mobility - for example, at the scale of the city or even beyond, whilst others may be relatively more fixed and localized, such as a focus on the park, street or home (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). But it is the way that the differing dimensions of the neighbourhood shape such patterns and activities which is crucial and which has not been considered to date.

### *1.1 Overall Aim*

To provide a critical insight into the ways in which the varying characteristics of super-diverse places inform residential mobility patterns.

### *1.2. Research Objectives*

Research Objective 1: To explore how - and in what ways - compositional, contextual and collective characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods are important in shaping residential mobility patterns as opposed to influences 'beyond the neighbourhood';

Research Objective 2: To explore how the differing characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods inter-relate to shape the everyday lifestyles of those living in such areas, and lead to some individuals having more locally based 'activity' spaces (for example, home, work, leisure) than others;

Research Objective 3: To consider which dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods may generate new processes or practices of relative attachment or dis-attachment to a particular place(s); and

Research Objective 4: To assess the implications for the importance of place in shaping patterns of mobility or fixity and how 'super-diverse' neighbourhoods may inform patterns of future population movement.

The research was undertaken in two neighbourhoods - Lozells and East Handsworth and Ladywood – located within the super-diverse city of Birmingham (UK). The former is a traditional reception area for immigrants and where old immigrants (those who arrived more than ten years ago) outnumber new migrants. Nearly half the population was born outside of the UK. Ladywood - on the other hand, received the highest numbers of new immigrants (those who arrived in the last ten years) compared to any other part of the city and where nearly two-thirds of the population was born in the UK.

The overall outcomes of the research focus on how the key dimensions of place shape movement or fixity in differing super-diverse neighbourhoods, as well as a critical examination of the relationship between individuals' lifestyles and patterns of mobility, feelings of belonging and attachment to place.

# Chapter 2: Literature review

## *2.1 Introduction*

> "*We've pretty much come to the end of a time when you can have a space that is 'yours only' – just for people you want to be there….we've finished with that kind of isolating. There is no hiding place. There is nowhere you can go and only be with people who are like you. It's over. Give it up*" (Reagon, 1981, p.357).

As far back as 1981, Reagon pointed towards the increasing scale, complexity, heterogeneity, fragmentation and speed and spread of change of urban societies. However, in the last decade many cities have become more diverse than ever (Tsan-Kok et al., 2014), and especially as a result of new patterns of immigration (Vertovec, 2007). Consequently, the first section of the literature review discusses the concept of 'super-diversity' and its application in comparative studies and in respect of its use as a descriptive tool to understand population complexity; as a methodological tool; and in terms of policy implications and / or responses (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015). Critically, it is highlighted how super-diversity moves beyond traditional approaches that have reified the idea of multicultural communities consisting of a small number of ethnic groups with similar origins and frequently living in close proximity to each other as distinct diaspora.

The second part of the literature review subsequently explores mobility and place. The discussion draws attention to the importance of ethnicity in respect of discussions focused around residential mobility; ethnic-based patterns of residential segregation and / or assimilation; place making within ethnic communities; and the impacts of place itself on ethnic residential mobility.

The implications of utilising the concept of super-diversity to explore the importance of place in shaping patterns of residential mobility in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods is developed in the third section of the literature review. The intention is to identify key themes and / or issues to explore through empirical research in two different super-diverse neighbourhoods, and to consider the broader implications arising for understanding residential mobility and population change.

## *2.2 Super-diversity*

Post-World War II labour or 'elite' migration to areas such as Europe was conceived as relatively orderly and transparent given immigration originated from a limited number of countries (Fincher and Iveson 2008, pp.3-4). As a result, Hall (2000, p.29) identifies how the diversity following post-war migration was 'governed and managed as a multiculturalist constellation of regimented ethno-cultural segments'. Under multiculturalism, there was a particular focus on ethnic, religious and / or cultural differences. However, the concept of multiculturalism has been criticised as characterising and legitimising 'a retreat into culturally and physically separate minority communities'

(Vertovec 2010, p.90). As such, it can essentialise and reify differences between ethnic or cultural groups and stress cultural difference without dealing with intercultural communication (Baumann, 1996; Kymlicka, 2010; Amin, 2002).

Hence what has been witnessed over the last decade has been the gradual demise of multiculturalism as both a public policy and as a political discourse (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Indeed, the critique of multiculturalism has given way to a "broader expression and recognition of different kinds of differences…..and resulting largely from new migration that has transformed the demographic profile of urban areas…." (Berg and Sigona 2013, p.348).

One way this has been considered has been through an emphasis on 'interculturality', and which stresses cultural dialogue and identities as being dynamic and transitory (Nathan, 2011). However, interculturality does not necessarily focus on how cultural interchange can be motivated, nor does it focus on the multilayered characteristics of individuals that may impinge on their identities (Tasan-Kok et al. 2014, pp.15-16). Others have adopted an 'intersectional' approach to capturing differences in populations, and which seeks to explore how multiple social identities and relationships mutually influence each other (Anthias, 2013). Intersectionality considers issues such as gender and class in order to capture diversity and difference, and explores how these may contribute to systematic social inequalities of particular individuals and groups (Anthias, 2013). Thus it is a useful term to understand the complexity of intertwined identities, and which can be incorporated within broader approaches that consider the spatial implications of such variables on the distribution, experiences and contact of different groups within urban areas.

This leads into a discussion of super-diversity. Super-diversity acknowledges that since the 1980s, there have been profound quantitative and qualitative changes to global flows of people (Arnaut, 2012, p.3). Mobility and movement have become an increasingly integral element of everyday life and culture and with the patterning of immigrants changing from many migrants moving to a few places to fewer migrants moving to many places (Vertovec, 2007; Phillimore, 2013). Consequently, migrants with complex 'new diversity' traits are now residing in cities alongside individuals from previous 'old' diversity waves, as well as the indigenous non-migrant population (Vertovec, 2011). This requires new approaches to the study of populations that move beyond assimilation or multicultural models, and which have often reified socio-economic, ethnic, religious and / or cultural differences (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Indeed, multicultural models have often depicted communities as being bounded and consisting of a small number of ethnic groups with similar origins and frequently living in close proximity to each other as distinct diaspora. As such, super-diversity moves beyond 'us' and 'them' categories of traditional multicultural approaches. Super-diversity espouses the idea of communities being so diverse that there are no dominant ethnic groups. Super-diversity therefore extends Logan and Zhang's (2010) idea of global communities focused around mixed race neighbourhoods.

There is a need to acknowledge the increasing intricacy and complexity of 'super-diversity', including the entwining of lifestyle differences, class differences, socio-economic and linguistic differences, as well as differences in legal status (Vertovec, 2007; 2011). As such, societies may be fluid, hybrid and relational, and with cross-fertilization and trans-nationalism also being important (Vertovec, 2007). There is therefore a need to consider lifestyle, household and consumption differences; class-based differences; socio-economic, cultural, religious and linguistic differences; and the implications of differences in the legal status of individuals (Vertovec 2007; 2011). The latter comes to the fore through a super-diversity analysis. However, super-diversity is about more than simply adding new variables of difference. Rather, it is more about how such variables may inter-relate and interact with each other to shape the composition of communities, their needs and their future direction (Vertovec, 2007; 2010).

Super-diverse neighbourhoods are frequently fast changing and termed by Robinson (2010) as "arrival zones" – housing those who are newly arrived to a city or country in the initial period during which they find their way. As such, no tipping-point between being a multicultural neighbourhood and becoming a super-diverse neighbourhood has yet been identified. However, it is widely recognised that the scale, complexity, heterogeneity, fragmentation of populations and speed and spread of change exceeds anything previously experienced (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015), and outpacing attempts to understand new and evolving representations of place (Massey, 2013).

Meissner and Vertovec (2015) have developed a three-fold identification of super-diversity as: i) *population complexity* – encapsulating increasing complexity in demographic status arising from population reconfiguration; ii) as a *method*, involving the re-orientation of a focus away from ethnicity-based approaches; and iii) as a *policy,* including a focus on the significance of locality and the implications of super-diversity for the nature of policy approaches.

Nevertheless, as a conceptual work in progress (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015), super-diversity needs to be problematized. Despite highlighting how different variables of difference may inter-relate and interact with each other, many utilizing the term have referred only to 'more ethnicities' (ibid.). In addition, others have criticized super-diversity for overly focusing on immigrant communities – old and new - at the expense of non-migrant populations (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). In addition, there are also on-going debates about the prevalence of super-diversity in many cities and whether ethnic concentrations / ethnicity is still the key influence of shaping everyday lives, and in terms of how ethnicity intersects with other dimensions of diversity. Indeed, super-diversity may apply to a relatively small number of cities or neighbourhoods and the importance of ethnicity and ethno-specific provision may continue to be important elsewhere. Thus Williams and Soydan (2005) argue that there is a need to continue to raise the question of *when* and *how* ethnicity matters. Furthermore, the 'newness and novelty' of super-diversity (Phillimore, 2015) has been challenged in various parts of the world outside of Western Europe (Meissner and Vertovec 2015). More fundamentally, super-diversity may create an ‘equivalence of differences’ (Vertovec, 2012, p.289) and conceal structural forms of inequality between groups through individualizing explanations for inequality, discrimination and labour market exploitation (Raco et al., 2014).

### *2.3 Mobility and place*

Having highlighted the importance of mobility in shaping the emergence of super-diverse neighbourhoods, there are several strands of research concerned with residential mobility and place that are of relevance to the focus of this research. It is important to differentiate between each in order to identify the specific contribution that this study makes over and above existing analyses.

#### *2.3.1 Residential mobility and influences therein*

First, there are long-standing interests in relation to ***influences on residential mobility***. Indeed, population researchers have long sought to understand why people make residential moves (Coulter and Scott, 2015). Traditional perspectives suggested that residential movement occurred either as a result of problems of the urban environment – the urban pathology approach - or the importance of economic rationalities. Individuals were seen as rational decision-makers who adopted a cost-benefit approach and acted in some kind of discrete economic maximising bubble (Wallace, 2004). Such approaches relied upon a series of normative assumptions about settlement preferences and aspirations and with individuals perceived as “resourceful actors who select from sets of alternatives, while constraints and opportunity structures impose restrictions on their choice” (Haug 2008, p.586).

However, a number of studies looked beyond normative assumptions (Massey et al., 1987; Boyd, 1989). Indeed, as far back as 1955, Rossi suggested that individuals moved residence in order to adjust their residence and neighbourhood aspirations which emerge as they move through the family life cycle (Geist and McManus, 2008). Indeed, much of the residential mobility literature since has focused on residential stress caused by demographic changes in the household that lead to the need for more (or less) space (Lee et al., 1994; Clark et al., 2006). Such insights have therefore underpinned residential mobility research: in essence, it is claimed that people move to adapt to their changing life course trajectories and new needs and preferences (Coulter and Scott 2015, p.354).

More recent work in relation to life course theories has emphasised the contextual, temporal and relational dynamism of individual lives (and those of others), and with unexpected life course events disrupting and altering residential mobility decision-making (Coulter et al., 2013, p.2; Coulter and Scott 2015, p.357). Indeed, the linking of people’s lives through space and time means that moving decisions and mobility behaviours in the context of place are relational and recursive, as moving affects a person’s interaction with others (Smart, 2011). Residential moves and periods of residential stability can tie people into social networks and which can create different forms of mobility. For example, Sage et al. (2013) note how many young people now move repeatedly in and out of the parental home during the transition into adulthood.

Critically, the interplay between people and places through residential mobility cannot be divorced from power relations and wider structural forces operating across space-time (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; Bailey, 2009). For example, Coulter et al. (2015, pp.2-3) note that at the level of the neighbourhood, mortgage providers, employers, landlords and local government can all affect the supply and demand for particular types of housing in particular locations. In addition, they note, "while residential moves configure and are affected by the socio-economic and ethnic micro-geographies of neighbourhoods, gendered family migration processes can be linked to the broader (re)production of patriarchy" (ibid., pp.2-3). Individuals may therefore have distinct health or housing or career pathways, rather than these being shared (Warnes, 1992), and with residential mobility informed by the biographies of individuals, including past experiences and future aspirations (Kley and Mulder, 2010).

Consequently, residential mobility and settlement patterns may be better understood as being informed by a complex interplay of a number of key factors, such as resources; identity and dispositions; residential perceptions and interpretations and notions of place (Hickman et al. 2007, p.1). An individual's differing cultural and social identity, whether formed consciously or unconsciously, draws attention to how they may attach differing meanings to 'place', and may be 'disposed' to view their worlds in different ways. Some of these values, identities, beliefs, aspirations and dispositions can be shared and are shaped by class, cultural experiences, education, gender, history etc. (Hickman et al. 2007, p.2). Moreover, beyond financial resources (such as capital and income), cognitive resources - including awareness of the local housing market, key agents and institutions and the rules and regulations within which they operate - can also prove a critical determinant of mobility patterns. In addition, social resources (which may be inherent within personal networks) and political resources (for example, those tied to legal status and associated rights and resources) may also be of relevance for mobility (Hickman et al. 2007, pp.26-27).

### *2.3.2 Ethnic minority / immigrant residential mobility, and issues of segregation or assimilation*

The latter point leads into a second body of literature that has more specifically considered the respective importance of factors such as language, identity and dispositions on ***ethnic minority residential mobility and issues of segregation or assimilation***. For example, the significance of language has been recognised by Rex and Moore (1967) and Peach (1996) as important in influencing the clustering of ethnic minorities in particular neighbourhoods, whilst the 'protective' effect of ethnic diversity against racism has also been an influence on residential mobility patterns (see Clark and Ledwith, 2006; Becares, 2012).

With reference to life course trajectories and their importance on the residential mobility of immigrants, a key challenge has been to identify the changes or triggers prompting migrant mobility and the push and pull factors of relevance to residential settlement patterns. Changes in household structure, economic gain and employment opportunities, as well as the prevalence or absence of social networks have commonly been pinpointed (Hickman et al. 2007, p.24; Boyd, 1989; Massey et al., 1987). The importance of migrants' personal characteristics, including ethnicity, gender and / or social class, have also been recognised as important in either facilitating or constraining mobility or shaping institutional responses to the provision of housing (see for example, Frey, 2001; Logan and Zhang, 2010; Massey et al., 1987).

However, the life-course literature has often ignored the alternative life course patterns and distinctive requirements that may be associated with differing subcultures and subgroups. In addition, Winstanley et al. (2002) note that the shifting preferences of migrants associated with increasing social and cultural diversity has also been neglected.

In relation to issues of segregation, this has been interpreted in a number of ways. First, *the preferences perspective* argues that ethnic minorities have preferences to live close to their own ethnic group and therefore select minority concentration neighbourhoods (Bolt et al., 2008; Phillips, 2007). In so doing, this may provide opportunities for employment, housing or care (Logan et al., 2002). More recently, Saunders (2011) has identified a similar patterning for new migrants, and who are attracted to specific places where migrant communities can already be found. Furthermore, he notes how despite their physical limitations and lack of infrastructure, such places allow diverse groups to socially and economically become part of the larger urban community.

Second, *the human capital perspective* states that differences in socio-economic status and other personal characteristics inform segregation patterns. Ethnic minority households have, on average, lower incomes than natives and therefore fewer opportunities in the housing market (Bolt, 2001). Third, *the stratification perspective* highlights how discrimination in housing markets can lead to residential sorting, as opportunities for ethnic minorities to move into more desirable neighbourhoods may be curtailed. Finally, *the discrimination perspective*, argues that ethnic minorities fear discrimination in majority concentration neighbourhoods, and that this can stop individuals from moving to better / 'whiter' neighbourhoods (Boschman and van Ham, 2013; Phillips et al., 2007).

With regards to models of spatial assimilation, there is an equally long tradition both in the U.S. and Europe (see Coulter et al. 2015 for a summary; also see Alba et al., 1997; Alba et al., 1999). Indeed, in the U.S., as far back as 1925, Park and Burgess described deprived inner city neighbourhoods as 'zones of transition' positioned on the initial rungs of a stepladder, which immigrants were expected to climb as they assimilated and moved through the city's zones (Schwirian, 1983). More recently, Logan and Zhang (2010) have charted the emergence of 'global neighbourhoods' in the U.S. wherein diversity is the norm and no majority group or groups are evident. Frey (2001) also analysed 102 of the most populous metropolitan areas in the U.S. and the emergence of 'melting pot' suburbs driven by new patterns of ethnic mobility, whilst Altman and Low (2002) have explored related issues of mobility, diversity and neighbourhood attachment. Similar work on 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1991; Robinson et al., 2007) or 'escalator areas' (Travers et al., 2007) in which newcomers first reside - and which includes the mobility patterns of ethnic minorities - has also been developed in a UK context (see Finney and Simpson, 2009; Catney and Simpson, 2010; Bowes et al., 2002; Peach, 1996; Rex and Moore, 1967). On the other hand, there is also a large body of research on 'white flight' and with people wanting to leave their neighbourhood when the share of ethnic minorities is high or increasing (Boschman and van Ham, 2013).

### *2.3.3 Positive and negative 'pathologies' of place making*

As highlighted in the previous section, the assumption frequently made in the literature is that migrants eventually cohere in distinct ethnic communities within which a ***process of place making*** occurs (see Boschman and van Ham, 2013). Place making implies the development of a collective identity frequently expressed through national identity such as monument building and festivals (Edensor, 2002). Blommaert (2015) describes more subtle forms of place making, including linguistic landscaping which focuses on how place is expressed linguistically in signage. The predominance of shops and other facilities based around a dominant ethnicity – for example, the various 'Chinatowns' and 'Little Indias' of global cities - are clear indications of place making (Friedmann, 2010; Ip, 2005). Soja (1996) describes such places as 'third-spaces' – spaces on the edge of dominant culture where particular representations of ethnic difference are tolerated. Arguably in some places acceptance moves beyond tolerance as a certain kind of exoticised ethnicity is celebrated and promoted as part of a city's identity and as tourist attractions (Leary and McCarthy, 2013).

Whether or not we see such places as mainstream or marginal, the literature around place-making works on the assumption that place becomes an expression of a national identity (Edensor, 2002). Place making is argued to be simultaneously constructive and destructive (Freidmann, 2010). It reshapes or even obliterates what went before creating new iterations, and invariably is portrayed as a new migrant or minority identity replacing that of a former dominant population or minority (Massey and Denton, 1993). But what happens when those identities are layered upon one another as diversity increases? What emerges when rather than identities displacing one another they become more mixed and intermingled? (see Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016). Indeed, in this respect, work by individuals such as Wessendorf (2014), Neal et al. (2013) and Wise (2009) highlights how many neighbourhoods have become super-diverse housing mixed communities and diverse retail, economic and cultural facilities. However, new arrivals to such neighbourhoods may experience marginalisation and isolation from established minority and majority residents, lack social ties and experience isolation and marginalisation. Such issues may not be as relevant to groups forming a more critical mass. Hence some super-diverse neighbourhoods are more conducive to migrant place making (Pemberton and Phillimore 2016).

Gill (2010) maps out both 'ideal' and 'pathological' processes of place making. With regards to idealised place making, this is portrayed as a four-stage linear process which begins when migrants agree a common identity (stage 1) and endures when the identity is broad enough to enable new arrivals to feel affinity with place (stage 2). Stage 3 in the process assumes there is a coherent existing community, generally the dominant community, that is accepting of migrant place making. Such acceptance depends upon factors such as a history of cosmopolitanism in the area, an economy needing migrants, an ageing population or resistance to right wing moral panics (Gill, 2010). Official discourses around place can also shape ability to imagine place according to migrant identities (ibid.). Finally for stage 4 to occur successfully, migrant places become places at which migrants can interact even though they may not have met in their countries of origin. As such, an affinity with such places is generated that is sustained and supported by old and new migrants.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that many migrants may have little choice over expression of identity. Indeed, Veronis' (2010) idea of spatial essentialism implies that even when individuals are from the same ethnic group or country of origin there are power dynamics operating which constrain the ability of some individuals to shape place. Furthermore, the emergence of social networking sites may also reduce the importance of place, and particularly for younger people (Massey, 2013).

### *2.3.4 Neighbourhood effects and patterns of residential mobility*

What all of these perspectives implicitly highlight is the ***importance of differing characteristics of place on patterns of residential mobility***. As such places are the product of both 'roots' and 'routes' and can be the site of multiple identities and histories (Massey, 2005). But to what extent is the neighbourhood important in shaping individuals' experiences and identities, as well as patterns of residential mobility?

A further body of work concerned with neighbourhood effects has focused on the degree to which neighbourhood 'context' and neighbourhood 'composition' may shape spatial variations in individuals' experiences, identities and mobilities (MacIntyre et al., 2002). For example, Saunders (2011) highlights that the success and failure of individuals often relates to the physical form of such places - i.e. the layouts of streets and buildings and the transportation links to the economic and cultural core of the city etc.

Hence to explore how and why different dimensions of place are of relevance to shaping both old and new migrants, as well as non-migrants experiences in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods, it is possible to draw on a framework developed by Robinson (2010). This highlights three possible explanations for geographical variations in local experiences: i) *compositional explanations*; ii) *contextual explanations* and iii) *collective explanations*. Each overlaps and inter-relates, and with no one specific dimension being prioritized.

*Compositional* explanations are concerned with who lives in a place, including characteristics of the population – including old migrants and the indigenous population, and newcomer, populations. The socio-economic circumstances and personal resources of such individuals, their ethnic and cultural identities, and their legal status and associated rights, responsibilities and opportunities are all important in shaping individuals' identities, experiences and patterns of residential mobility.

*Contextual* explanations focus on the opportunity structures in the physical and social environment and different dimensions of place including levels of deprivation or affluence, violence, noise, traffic, litter, air quality and socio-economic advantage / disadvantage; availability of green space; the quality of housing; the availability and targeting of resources; patterns of mobility and demand within a wider urban setting; and opportunities for interaction and social networks. It also includes the actions of a range of actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors in facilitating, supporting and mediating the effects of newcomers.

Finally, *collective* explanations highlight the sociocultural and historical features of communities and includes the history of norms and values associated with shared identities; the history and accommodation of diversity and cultural difference; shared understandings and practices; the amount of contact and interaction between groups; the availability of community support networks, levels of social cohesion and participation; levels of social capital'; and recognized collectives, political representation and local discourses of migration (Robinson 2010, p.2461). For example, an 'ethnic density' effect has been identified as being important in shaping positive health outcomes for ethnic minorities, and which may be attributed to the buffering effect that enhanced social cohesion, mutual social support and a strong sense of community provide against the direct or indirect consequences of discrimination and racial harassment (Becares et al., 2009).

### *2.4 Implications – key themes for exploration in super-diverse neighbourhoods*

Having reviewed the literature concerned with super-diversity, mobility and place, the following three themes are used to discuss the key issues and questions of relevance to the study, and which are subsequently interrogated through a number of 'assertions' in the results section (Chapter 4). These themes also directly relate to the overall research objectives set out in the introductory chapter.

#### *2.4.1 Characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods and the impact of changing neighbourhood diversity on residential mobility*

First, it must be acknowledged that much empirical focus to date has been upon particular ethnic groups of new migrants rather than upon their neighbourhoods of residence. Relatively little is known about the differential challenges and residential aspirations of diverse groups of migrants in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods. Nor do we have any real understanding of how space itself shapes the unfolding of diversity on the ground (Berg and Sigona 2013, p.356) – and to what extent - the different dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods interconnect and inform subsequent decisions to stay or move (adapted from Coulter et al., 2015, pp.2-3).

The focus on the importance of 'contextual', 'compositional' and 'collective' aspects of place (Robinson, 2010) in shaping residential mobility is limited insofar as it refers to ideas from quantitative neighbourhood effects research, and which may be more difficult to ascertain in respect of their relative importance in a qualitative study. However, the framework – at the very least – draws attention to the importance of different features of place on influencing residential mobility decisions and intentions. Beyond, this, it is not only the current neighbourhood but also the neighbourhood history of an individual that may shape mobility. The length of exposure to particular influences may also inform decisions to move or to remain (Hedman et al., 2015). Transnational networks may additionally be of relevance in shaping patterns of movement and relate to transnational family and community strategies (van Liempt 2011). Furthermore, such connections illustrate how the mobility of individuals in and out of super-diverse neighbourhoods may be shaped through 'linked lives' and how resources and power may be distributed (unequally) within families, localities and beyond, and indeed can shape and re-shape mobility decisions and influences therein (adapted from Coulter and Scott, 2015). These influences therefore require further investigation in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods.

Second, super-diversity has drawn increasing attention to the notion of such neighbourhoods as places and spaces of change (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016; Vertovec, 2011). But little attention has been paid to date to the role of a changing neighbourhood as a factor influencing the residential choice process. Lee et al. (1994) have argued that the temporal dimension of neighbourhoods - neighbourhood change - is especially important in understanding moving wishes. Changes in the residential context are important in mobility decision models insofar as they are perceived, evaluated and experienced by residents (ibid.). Indeed, if a changing neighbourhood causes 'residential stress', often the only way to resolve such a situation is for individual's to leave and move elsewhere. Such 'stress' may accumulate over time and there may be a time lag between neighbourhood change and the development of a moving wish. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that moving wishes are a direct response to residential stress without taking into account individual's resources and restrictions or opportunities or constraints in the local housing market (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). The study therefore explores such wishes in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods.

Three aspects of neighbourhood change that have been identified as having the most influence on the wish to leave the neighbourhood: i) the effect of a change in the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood population; ii) a change in the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood population and; iii) a high population turnover in a neighbourhood (Feijten and van Ham 2009, p.2105). Hence there is a need to consider the respective importance of such influences and the importance of changing neighbourhood super-diversity on individuals' perceptions and experiences, and how this may shape decisions to remain or leave the neighbourhood.

Vertovec (2011, p.13) highlights that 'old diversity' involves longstanding patterns of social and cultural difference around which particular societal – and importantly, state – systems have developed (for example, policies of exclusion or access, multi-ethnic residence or segregation, ethnic economies, and relationships of co-dependence or dispute). Furthermore, it is frequently assumed that that as migrants improve their economic position, they migrate away from their area of original settlement towards neighbourhoods with better resources and opportunities (Logan et al. 2002). The reasons for mobility or fixity have, however, been disputed. Some have suggested that movement has been motivated by racial or cultural tension or preferences, termed variously as 'white flight' (in relation to a host community) and 'self-segregation'. However, others have argued that 'comfort zones' exist and in which social networks reinforce loyalty to an area (Catney and Simpson, 2010).

Consequently, there is a need to consider the extent to which i) 'white flight' may be a feature of super-diverse neighbourhoods; ii) whether this is in relation to a host or migrant community; and iii) the degree to which communities in super-diverse neighbourhoods remain spatially and temporally divided along ethnic lines, or whether 'new diversity' is leading to 'otherness' becoming 'commonplace' in super-diverse neighbourhoods (Wessendorf, 2013). With 'new diversity' migrants are more mobile, and with on-going shifts in migration patterns (concerning national origins, ethnicity, language, religion, gender, age, human capital and legal status). But questions remain on the extent to which white migrants may experience racism and feel 'out of place' (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016). Such issues need to be considered further in relation to super-diverse neighbourhoods and the links between increasing diversity and integration. Indeed, a concern with immigrant adjustment and settlement can be explored through the concept of integration (Favell, 2008); yet integration - as one type of adaptation strategy (Berry, 1997) - is problematic and contested. This is particularly the case given the complexity and increasing fragmentation and change associated with super-diverse areas. A broader conception of integration that focuses on both migrants and the receiving society is required. Such an approach is adopted in this research project.

**Key questions**

- How do the different dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods – compositional, contextual or collective - interconnect and shape decisions to move in. to stay, or to move out - for both migrants and non-migrants?
- How important are individuals' resources and dispositions (class, gender, ethnicity, legal status, employment status, resources, networks etc.) in shaping residential mobility in super-diverse neighbourhoods?
- How important is an individual's neighbourhood history in shaping patterns of residential mobility?
- How does changing neighbourhood super-diversity impinge on 'moving wishes'?
- Is there any evidence in super-diverse neighbourhoods that immigrants migrate towards neighbourhoods with better resources and opportunities as they improve their economic position? Or do they move due to racial or cultural tensions? Do some stay because of 'comfort zones' and with social networks reinforcing loyalty to the area?
- Does a fear of discrimination impinge on residential mobility decisions of those living in super-diverse neighbourhoods?
- To what extent is there any evidence that 'minority white flight' occurs in super-diverse neighbourhoods due to perceptions / experiences of discrimination and feeling 'out of place'?

### *2.4.2 Identity, belonging and attachment in super-diverse neighbourhoods*

To date, little attention has focused on identity and belonging in neighbourhoods that are increasingly super-diverse. A common understanding of identity involves the use of labels or categorisations which seek to group people with common characteristics such as a shared heritage or allegiances (Hall and du Gay, 1996). In contrast, a more nuanced approach involves viewing identity as a fluid and evolving process which is continually being shaped and re-shaped through particular behaviours, 'performances' and everyday practices, and involving the capacity to maintain a narrative which shape an individual's biography. In so doing, this subsequently provides the opportunity to differentiate individuals from each other (Valentine, 2001; Sporton and Valentine, 2007).

Nevertheless, it is impossible to discuss identity without reference to place (Mead in Sibley, 1995; Inalhan and Finch, 2004). Places can be shaped as a result of the self-identifying of those who are using it, as well as serving to shape the identities of individuals in such places (Wilson 1987; Valentine, 2001). As already noted, a traditional perspective involves viewing particular neighbourhoods as an expression of a single ethno-national identity (Edensor, 2002) and with a new minority replacing that of a previous identity over time (Massey and Denton, 1993). But is this perspective now redundant with increasing super-diversity? Is neighbourhood identity still conceived in terms of dominant ethnic groups or is it now much more fragmented, layered and inter-mingled? Where the neighbourhood identity appears to be based on diversity *per se* (as in super-diverse neighbourhoods), rather than a specific ethnic minority, how has this shaped residential mobility patterns? Do individuals embrace such identity or do they retreat into ethnic enclaves?

Although some have argued that in a globalising world, place now matters much less that hitherto, the development of both a relational and territorial perspective on place – highlighting the importance of connections and relations both within and beyond the neighbourhood – allows a focus on how the changing nature of place shapes identity and vice versa (Massey, 1995). Additionally, the extent to which individuals are able to express their identity leads into a consideration of the extent to which they feel that they are 'attached', ''depend' or 'belong' to a place.

Place dependence refers to the practicality of place and the functional attachment to it, whilst place attachment refers to the symbolic, emotional and affective attachment to place (Williams et al., 1992). Place attachment can be both physical and social, and with social constructions of place attachment highlighting how place is brought into being through the way it is represented, imagined and performed (Halfacree, 2006). Place-attachment can relate to the scales of the home, neighbourhood, city, region, nation and continents (Lewicka, 2010). But little work to date has been undertaken on the scales of place that can inspire the greatest attachment, and leads to questions about the importance of the super-diverse neighbourhood itself in shaping levels of place attachment. Tuan (1974) - one of the few to look at scales of place attachment - argued that the scales of the home and the city provide the greatest attachment to place. However, is this the case for residents in super-diverse areas, and which are often subject to high levels of population churn? How might this vary across individuals and families in terms of those residing in super-diverse neighbourhoods?

Belonging goes over and beyond place attachment as it incorporates both the emotional and political dimensions of place identity (Isakjee, 2016). Belonging also connects identity to space / place (Trudeau, 2006) and is often used as a synonym of identity – in particular national or ethnic identity (see Veronis, 2007) or as a notion of citizenship, or indeed both (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging implies membership to a group and /or ownership of place (Crowley, 1999). It implies an emotional bond to a place. Once again, it can be both relational and territorial, involve multiple scales (for example, from the home to the street / neighbourhood / city / the world) and is in a constant state of flux.

Belonging can be shaped through 'everyday life encounters' (Morley, 2001; Amin, 2005) and maybe distinguished from identity through a concern with emotions and feelings of being 'in place' or 'out of place'. This can be summarised as '*place belonging*', and involving a consideration of an individual's attachment to a place. It may have a spatial, temporal and intersectional dimension, particularly due to place-belonging being shaped by i) auto-biographical influences (for example, an individual's past history/experiences in place or the importance of an individual's family in a particular place); ii) relational influences (for example, long-lasting personal and social ties); iii) cultural influences (for example, language, religion, food production / consumption activities); iv) economic influences (for example, the degree to which individuals may be embedded economically to a particular place through their work); and v) legal influences (for example, citizenship and residence permits that may produce security). Furthermore, length of residence in a place may also shape place belonging (see Yuval-Davis, 2007; Antonsich, 2010; Markova and Black, 2007; Savage, 2004).

However, a second type of belonging has also been recognised – a discursive '*politics of belonging'*. This involves the mechanisms that shape the boundaries between identities and draws attention to issues of power and 'who belongs' and 'who doesn't', and who claims power and who grants power. Such a 'politics of belonging' is negotiated; it may have an uneven impact; and it can serve to condition place belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

The above discussion therefore highlights the need to investigate the relationship between residential mobility, feelings of attachment and belonging, and how place attachment, place belonging and the politics of belonging are shaped in super-diverse neighbourhoods. As such, existing approaches that have discussed how attachment and belonging may be relatively fixed and associated with the values and culture of a dominant ethnic group (Antonsich, 2010) need to be challenged. Is this still the case – even in areas of established super-diversity? Or is place attachment and place belonging much more fragmented, multi-scalar and fluid, and with an evolving politics of belonging consistently re-shaping such features?

Recent work by Wessendorf (2016; 2014) has drawn attention to how individuals living in super-diverse neighbourhoods can develop a sense of belonging and feeling at home due to 'not sticking out' because of their visible or audible difference (not just in terms of their ethnicity but also their lifestyles such as wearing particular clothing). Individuals, it is claimed, have experiences of being socially accepted by others in the neighbourhood, and such experiences may also differ (in a positive sense) from those in the places that they had lived prior to moving into the super-diverse neighbourhood (Wessendorf, 2016, p.455). The transiency of populations in super-diverse areas can additionally inform openness towards newcomers and relates to Wallman's (2003) notion of 'open' and 'closed' local neighbourhood systems whereby such systems are defined as more open or closed according to the availability of employment opportunities, social networks (within and beyond the neighbourhood) and the heterogeneity of the population. The degree of civility towards super-diversity and newcomers can also vary according to whether people are in 'public' or 'parochial' (such as local associations) space and result in individuals' cultural differences being ignored or acknowledged (Wessendorf, 2016). In turn, this can lead to individuals both engaging with difference whilst avoiding deeper contact with others (Wessendorf 2014, p.392), and informing decisions by residents to either stay or leave the neighbourhood.

Two further issues of relevance to identity, attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods relate to the importance of contemporary political events and issues of 'conviviality'. During the period in which the research was conducted, the 'Brexit' referendum took place on Britain's membership of the European Union. This exposed divisions within neighbourhoods across the UK on issues relating to immigration and local service pressures. With the decision of the UK to leave the European Union, there has been a reported increase in racial hate crime and fears of increasing xenophobia (Harris and Charlton, 2016). Consequently, the research explored the impact of Brexit on issues of attachment and belonging for EU and non-EU migrants, as well as non-migrants alike. Through drawing on the notion of 'conviviality', which involves a combination of interactions, dispositions and worldviews conducive to generating a negotiated consensus of individuals living together - there is a need to consider the extent to which Brexit impacted on experiences ranging from 'everyday racism' to 'everyday multiculturalism' (Noble, 2009; Wise and Velayutham, 2009), and the implications for subsequent mobility intentions and practices.

Whilst some have been critical of the extent to which conviviality exists – for example, it may exist in parallel with continuing structural inequalities and racism (see Gilroy, 2006) – Wessendorf (2016, p.450) argues that the accounts of more recently arrived migrants in super-diverse neighbourhoods are generally positive. However, she does acknowledge that 'migrant convivialities' may be more prevalent than broader forms of conviviality, and that 'micro spaces of conviviality' (such as Children's Centres) acting as anchor points for the development of more sustained and enduring relations may only be used by a limited number of newcomers and by long term residents (ibid., p.450). Moreover, she identifies how new forms of racism may permeate social relations in such areas, for example by being based around poverty or disadvantage or between long-established residents (both ethnic minority and white British) and newcomers more generally, although this is not generalizable to the whole neighbourhood.

**Key questions**

- How important is individual and neighbourhood identity in super-diverse neighbourhoods in shaping neighbourhood attachment and subsequent patterns of mobility or fixity?
- Is neighbourhood identity still conceived in terms of dominant ethnic groups or is it now much more fragmented, layered and inter-mingled, and with an identity based on diversity? What are the implications for the integration or segregation of populations?
- Does visible diversity inform a sense of belonging and 'feeling at home' in super-diverse neighbourhoods, and with openness towards newcomers also enhanced by the transiency of populations?
- Which scales of place attachment are of relevance to those residing in super-diverse neighbourhoods and does population churn undermine place attachment?
- Is place attachment and place belonging fixed on existing (dominant) ethnic groups or is it much more fragmented and with an evolving politics of belonging consistently re-shaping such features?
- What impact has 'Brexit' had on 'conviviality' within super-diverse neighbourhoods and mobility intentions / practices?
- Is 'migrant' conviviality more prevalent than broader forms of conviviality in super-diverse neighbourhoods, and what are the implications for residential mobility?
- Are 'micro spaces of conviviality' important in sustaining relations between different groups and reinforcing belonging to the neighbourhood?
- Do new forms of racism in super-diverse areas relate to poverty and disadvantage and / or between long-established residents and newcomers more generally? Do such forms of racism exist at the individual or neighbourhood level?

### *2.4.3 Neighbourhood orientations and activity spaces in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods*

Hitherto, the notion of neighborhood has been used fairly uncritically. In a super-diverse environment, there can be a range of "neighborhood orientations" by different individuals, including non-migrants, as well as old and new migrants (adapted from Cieslik, 2015). Individuals may have different daily and lifetime routines and with some orientating towards the home; others the street; and others looking to the city and / or world. Tasan-Kok et al. (2014, p.8) therefore query the importance of residential neighbourhoods, "when residents of such neighbourhoods may have their social contacts and activities (work, leisure, contacts) mainly outside the residential neighbourhood, elsewhere in the city or even with people living in a country far away". With reference to trans-national connections, Barcus and Brunn (2010) draw attention to the concept of 'place elasticity' and the development of virtual relationships with distant places through good transport and ICT. Hence it is important to analyse the neighbourhood orientations of residents in super-diverse neighbourhoods and the ways in which super-diverse neighbourhoods may provide a' spatial mooring' for some (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011). In so doing, the inter-relations and interconnections with place belonging and attachment can also be discussed (see previous section), and the extent to which super-diverse neighbourhoods act as a meeting space involving the intersection of flows of people and objects (Massey, 1991).

Relating to neighbourhood orientations is the notion of 'activity spaces'. In recent years, a number of scholars in public health, sociology, and geography have rekindled work on activity spaces, finding that people's activity spaces meaningfully differ from their neighborhoods of residence in both social and environmental characteristics (Manduca, 2015). Rai et al. (2007) describe an activity space as a measure of an individual's spatial conduct, whilst Saxena and Mokhtarian (1997, p.124) define an activity space as "the set of all urban locations – public and private - with which the individual has direct contact as a result of day to day activities…and which encompass the dominant activity sites for that individual". Activity spaces can be shaped by i) an individual's home and the number of activity spaces in the home; ii) regular activities such as work or shopping and iii) mobility practices therein (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). The home and work are seen as particularly influential in shaping an individual's activity space (ibid.).

In terms of individual agency, individuals may select particular routes – spatially and temporally – through different activity spaces to meet their needs. However, not all individuals residing in super-diverse neighbourhoods may have the ability to engage in different activity spaces due to (for example) a lack of resources, time and knowledge, issues of discrimination and / or limited personal and social networks. Whilst some may select some routes in order to meet or avoid particular groups or particular places – and which arguably is becoming increasingly difficult with the complexity and fragmentation of neighbourhood super-diversity (Rai et al., 2007; Schonfelder and Axhausen, 2003) -

others may have little capacity to do this due to structural as well as individual level influences.

A key question therefore relates to whether individuals' activity spaces are similar or different to their (super-diverse) neighbourhood of residence (Manduca, 2015). Do residents of such neighbourhoods have their social contacts and activities (or 'action spaces' – for example, work, leisure, contacts) mainly outside the super-diverse neighbourhood, elsewhere in the city or even with people living in a country far away? (Tasan-Kok et al. 2014, p.8). How might such patterns of activity be different to geographic spaces that lie beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood? (adapted from Phillips, 2007).

An emphasis on activity spaces also connects with 'ways of knowing' and the spatial practices of individuals (Crang and Thrift, 2000). Consequently, it is important to consider the extent to which the activity spaces of migrants and non-migrants in super-diverse neighbourhoods shape practices of integration and conviviality. For example, are such spaces ethnically defined? To what extent does this matter? Have individuals in super-diverse neighbourhoods 'become local' with regards to the activities that they can undertake? Do influences and connections beyond the neighbourhood shape what they do within the neighbourhood? How do individuals acquire knowledge through their experiences and how is this meaningful in shaping their activity spaces?

**Key questions**

- How and why do 'neighborhood orientations of different individuals vary in super-diverse neighbourhoods?
- To what extent do super-diverse neighbourhoods act as a meeting space involving the intersection of flows of people and objects?
- Is place elasticity important for those residing in super-diverse neighbourhoods?
- Are individuals' activity spaces similar or different to their (super-diverse) neighbourhood of residence (Manduca, 2015)?
- How and why might the activity spaces for residents be constrained?

### *2.5 Summary*

This chapter initially reviewed the concept of super-diversity. A key point raised was the need to move beyond traditional multicultural approaches, and to recognise the distinctiveness of neighbourhoods in cities that don't reflect one dominant ethnic group but which through their super-diversity pose new challenges in respect of identity, attachment, belonging and integration, and the implications for residential mobility.

The literature review subsequently outlined the different literatures of relevance to residential mobility and place, and existing understandings of mobility in the context of ethnic neighbourhoods and associated processes of place making. In turn, such a critique informed the development of three broad themes concerned with i) the characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods and the implication of changing neighbourhood diversity for patterns of residential mobility; ii) issues of identity, attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods; and iii) neighbourhood orientations and activity spaces of those in super-diverse neighbourhoods. At the end of each section, a number of pertinent questions were raised for further investigation. The methodologies to address such questions are now set out in the following chapter (Chapter 3), followed by a presentation of the results and analysis of the research findings in Chapter 4.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

The research was undertaken in a sequential and collaborative fashion and focused on different groups of residents in two different case study areas. All of the research tools utilised to conduct the research can be found in the appendices of the report.

## *3.1 Introduction – Research design and research strategy*

### *3.1.1 Research design and research participants*

A mixed methods research design combining qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted for the study (see Creswell, 2009). In particular, a sequential cross-sectional mixed methods approach was used (Mertens, 2003) due to the exploratory nature of the initial phase of the project (questionnaire survey), followed by a more in-depth explanatory phase (interviews and photo project).

Given the focus of the research on super-diverse neighbourhoods, it was acknowledged that the nature of the super-diverse neighbourhood itself in shaping patterns of residential mobility may be influenced by other factors, such as issues of boundary drawing and the extent to which a relational and / or temporal view of the neighbourhood is adopted (O'Campo et al., 2015; Truong 2006; Roux, 2001). These issues guided the selection of case study areas, the sampling strategies that were adopted and the selection of individuals to participate.

It was decided that those participating in the research must currently reside in the neighbourhoods that were selected to undertake the research (see below). This is because the research seeks to explore individuals' self-reported reasons for moving in, for staying or to consider moving from the neighbourhood. Moreover, studies of moving behaviour, in terms of interviewing those who have actually moved, would fail to identify the constraints or restrictions that may prevent individuals who wish to move from moving. Indeed, actual mobility behaviour only occurs when there are no restrictions or constraints preventing a wish from being realised (Li, 1998; Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). In addition, Halfacree and Boyle (1993) argue that motives for moving grow and change over time. This indicates that we cannot assume that the reason a person expresses for desiring to move will match the explanation they subsequently provide for an actual move.

### *3.1.2 Definition of migrant*

In the context of this research, ***a migrant was defined as someone who has arrived in the UK, who was a non-UK national on entry, whose usual place of residence prior to entry was not in the UK, and who has lived in the UK for at least three months.*** Indeed, nationality upon entrance to the UK was chosen rather than an individual's current immigration status because some individuals may have subsequently acquired UK citizenship. In addition, 'foreign born' criterion were not used as some individuals may have been born outside of the UK, but may have lived in the UK for all of their lives. In terms of duration of stay in the UK, a cut-off point of three months was selected in order to exclude those who are just short term visitors and not in the UK to work, to study or to join their family (Smith et al., 2011).

### *3.1.3 Definition of 'old' and 'new' migrants and the native 'non-migrant' population*

With reference to 'old' and 'new' migrants, there is a need to acknowledge that use of the terms 'old' and 'new' may blur the distinctions between migrants with very different legal statuses and associated rights and resources (White, 2011). Accepting such issues, it is apparent that there is much variation in the existing literature in respect of who is encapsulated by such terms. Indeed, Vertovec (2007, 2011) identifies migrants with complex 'new diversity' traits are residing in cities alongside people from the previous 'old' diversity waves. In this respect, a number of studies have used 1990 as a cut off point to distinguish between those who have been in the UK for a very long time ('old' migrants) and those who have arrived more recently ('new' migrants). In addition, the rate of immigration to the UK increased markedly from the early 1990s, providing a further justification for using this date (Robinson 2010, p.2451). However, others have used 2001 as a key point to distinguish between old and new migrants in the UK given the availability of census data and the ability to analyse inflows between 2001 and 2011, and especially following EU enlargement in 2004 (Smith et al., 2011). Indeed, a focus on patterns of immigration into the two case study areas between 2001 and 2011 was used to help inform their selection.

Nevertheless, given that this study is focused on patterns of residential mobility in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods, and which can experience high levels of population churn, it was decided that a more recent definition was required to distinguish between old and new migrants. Otherwise, it would be difficult to distinguish between those respondents who – for example – may have lived in the UK for 10 years or more yet had only resided in the neighbourhood for a month, and those who may have only been in the UK for a year but who had resided in the neighbourhood for the whole time that they had been in the UK.

Hence the research adopts the same approach as implemented in studies by Robinson et al. (2007) and Phillimore et al. (2010) in defining *new migrants as those who have arrived in the UK in the last five years, and with old migrants having arrived in the UK over five years ago*. Importantly, this distinction also relates to Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) in the UK: an individual who does not hold the right of abode in the UK but who has been admitted to the UK without any time limit on their stay - and who is free to take up employment or study - can apply for permanent residency (or settled status) if they have been resident in the UK for at least five years (also known as the residential qualifying period).

One further point is that there is a need to also recognise that non-migrants or 'native residents' born in the UK (Knowles, 2013; Dustmann et al., 2011) also reside in super-diverse neighbourhoods (Spencer, 2012). Indeed, changing migration patterns do not exist in a vacuum but interact with other processes of social change, and highlighting how individuals may move in and out of contexts of super-diversity (Meissner, 2015). Consequently, the study focuses on the residential mobility of old migrants, new migrants and non-migrants. This is important, as many studies of neighbourhood super-diversity neglect the non-migrant population.

### *3.1.4 Research Strategy and case study selection*

The research seeks to compare and contrast the key influences on patterns of residential mobility or fixity - including the importance of the neighbourhood and attachment and belonging to place - in two differing super-diverse neighbourhoods. Each was selected on the basis of differences in the diversity of their populations and the differing dimensions of place that are apparent.

The city of Birmingham (UK) was focused upon as it has a long history of immigration (Phillimore, 2013). The nature of super-diversity in Birmingham is reflected in GP registration data[1] indicating that 41,318 migrants moved to the city from 187 different countries between 2007 and 2010 (Phillimore, 2013). Furthermore, Birmingham is expected to be the first 'minority-majority' neighbourhood by 2024 (Birmingham City Council, 2013a).

The research adopted a two-site fieldwork strategy in order to develop a better notion of different super-diverse contexts. The first case study area was the neighbourhood of Lozells and East Handsworth (herein "Handsworth"); the second was the neighbourhood of Ladywood. Both are located within Birmingham (Figure 3.4).

Handsworth (Figure 3.5) is a traditional reception area for immigrants. According to the 2011 Census, immigrants who arrived in the UK before 2001 outnumber those who have arrived in the UK since 2001. 17.6% of those not born in the UK living in the ward arrived between 2006 and 2011.

In Handsworth, immigration occurred in three main phases: the arrival of post-Commonwealth migrants from the 1950s to 1970s, the dispersal of asylum seekers from 1990 to the present day, and the arrival of European Accession country migrants from 2004. Super-diversity is particularly apparent. For example, there has been a rise of 70% in the number of people identified with a 'Mixed' ethnic category since 2001, whilst people born in Poland and Somalia increased nine-fold and those born in China, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Iran three-fold between 2001 and 2011 (Birmingham City Council, 2013a). The main ethnic groups in rank order are Pakistani (25.8%), Indian (14.7%), Bangladeshi (14.4%), Black Caribbean (12.2%) and White British (7.0%). Some 88% of the population identifies as minority ethnic (42% Birmingham) with key languages spoken (in rank order) including English, Panjabi and Urdu (Office for National

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[1] GP registration data is not complete. Migrants generally choose to register with a GP only if they need medical attention. Undocumented migrants are reluctant to register at all. Furthermore the database only includes those migrants who have registered directly after arriving from overseas. Nonetheless GP registration data is the best source of data for identifying the nature of the new migrant population. It should be viewed as partial and a picture of the minimum levels of diversity.

Statistics - ONS, 2011). The predominant religions are Muslim (nearly 50% of the population) and Christian (22%). Of the population, 44.9% (13,859) were born overseas and the neighbourhood now accommodates residents from 170 different countries (ONS, 2011; Phillimore, 2013; Birmingham City Council, 2013b).

Ladywood (Figure 3.6) is an inner city ward encapsulating a part of Birmingham City Centre. It is also a traditional area of immigration. Whilst less diverse than Handsworth it continues to diversify and has the highest numbers of immigrants who arrived in the UK between 2001 and 2011 compared to any other part of Birmingham. 44.3% of those not born in the UK arrived between 2006 and 2011. Nevertheless, nearly two-thirds of the population was born in the UK. 50.6% of the population identifies as minority ethnic (42% Birmingham) and the main ethnic groups in rank order are White British (39.6%), Indian (8.1%), Other White (8.1%), Black Caribbean (7.4%) and Chinese (7.2%). It also has some of the highest proportions of EU15 and EU8 (or 'Accession 8') migrants in the city, with figures of 4.6% (EU15) and 4.1% (EU8) respectively, compared to city averages of 2.7% (EU15) and 1.5% (EU8) (ONS, 2011). Languages spoken include English and Chinese (Other). The predominant religions are Christian (41.2%) and Muslim (11.6%). Of the population, 37.90% (11,149) were born overseas and the neighbourhood accommodates residents from over 130 different countries (ONS, 2011, Birmingham City Council, 2013b).

Full details for the population characteristics for each neighbourhood are set out in Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 below.

**Table 3.1: Population; age and employment; ethnicity of case study neighbourhoods**

| | Pop size | Male | Female | All households | Av. Household size | Age and employment | % BME % Born overseas | Ethnicity |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 1.074m | 527,806 (49.2%) | 545,239 (50.8%) | 410,736 | 2.8 | 22.8% <15<br>12.9% >65<br>69% economically active | 42% BME<br>22% Born overseas | 1. White British (incl. English, Welsh etc) (570,217 - 53.1%)<br>2. Pakistani (144,627 - 13.1%)<br>3. Indian (64,621 - 6.0%)<br>4. Black Caribbean (47,641 - 4.4%)<br>5. Bangladeshi (32,532 - 3.0%) |
| Lozells and East Handsworth | 31074 | 16,037 (51.6%) | 15,037 (48.4%) | 9,532 | 3.2 | 28.6% < 15<br>8.5% > 65<br>61% economically active | 89.2% BME<br>44.9% Born overseas | 1. Pakistani (8,013 - 25.8%)<br>2. Indian (4,567 - 14.7%)<br>3. Bangladeshi (4,467 - 14.4%)<br>4. Black Caribbean (3,780 - 12.2%)<br>5. White British (2,161 - 7.0%) |
| Ladywood | 30,133 | 16,515 (54.8%) | 13,618 (45.2%) | 15,661 | 1.8 | 12% <15<br>3.2% > 65<br>72% economically active | 50.6% BME<br>37.0% Born overseas | 1. White British (11,924 - 39.6%)<br>2. Indian (2,452 - 8.1%)<br>3. Other White (2,447 - 8.1%)<br>4. Black Caribbean (2,238 - 7.4%)<br>5. Chinese (2,155 - 7.2%) |

Source: 2011 Census

**Table 3.2: Country of Birth; religion; language of case study neighbourhoods**

| | Born EU15 countries | Born EU Accession countries | Countries of origin | Predominant religion | Main languages other than English | Cannot speak English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 29117 (2.7%) | 16532 (1.5%) | c.200 | Christian (46.1%)<br>Muslim (21.8%) | 29403 Urdu<br>21166 Panjabi<br>EU 10 = 13889 (Polish 8952) | 0.9% |
| Lozells and East Handsworth | 514 (1.6%) | 782 (2.5%) | 187 | Muslim (48.9%)<br>Christian (24.6%) | Panjabi = 1857<br>Urdu = 1820<br>EU10 = 724 (Polish 539) | 2.8% |
| Ladywood | 1401 (4.6%) | 1215 (4.0%) | c.130 | Christian (41.2%)<br>Muslim (11.6%) | Chinese Other = 1251<br>EU10 = 913 (Polish 505) | 0.4% |

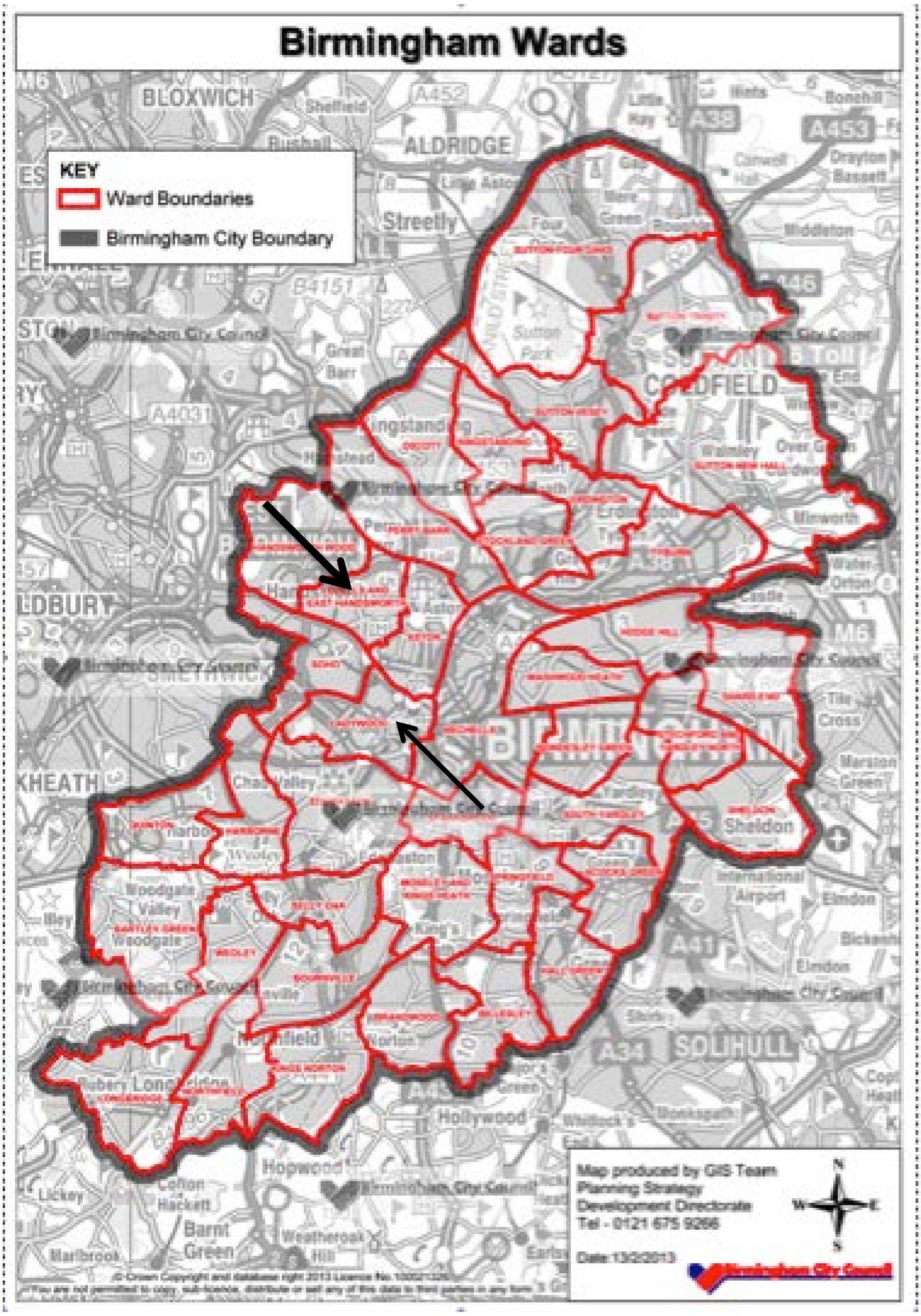
Source: 2011 Census

**Table 3.3: Year of arrival – case study neighbourhoods**

| | Ward pop not born in UK | Length of residence in UK 10 yrs or more (% of total for those not born in UK) | Length of residence in UK less than 10 years (% of total for those not born in UK) | Arrived before 2001 | Arrived 2001-03 | Arrived 2004-06 | Arrived 2007-09 | Arrived 2009-11 | 20-44 age on arrival in UK (% of all outside UK) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 238313 | 134631 (56.4%) | 103682 (43.6%) | 132041 (55.4%) | 28782 (12.1%) | 30660 (12.8%) | 30963 (13.0%) | 15867 (6.6%) | 120512 (51%) |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Lozells and East Handsworth | 13959 | 8311 (59.5%) | 5648 (40.5%) | 8140 (58.3%) | 1763 (12.6%) | 1611 (11.5%) | 1711 (12.3%) | 734 (5.3%) | 8483 (61%) |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Ladywood | 11153 | 3107 (27.9%) | 8046 (72.1%) | 3000 (26.9%) | 1346 (12.1%) | 1868 (16.7%) | 2907 (26.1%) | 2032 (18.2%) | 6861 (62%) |

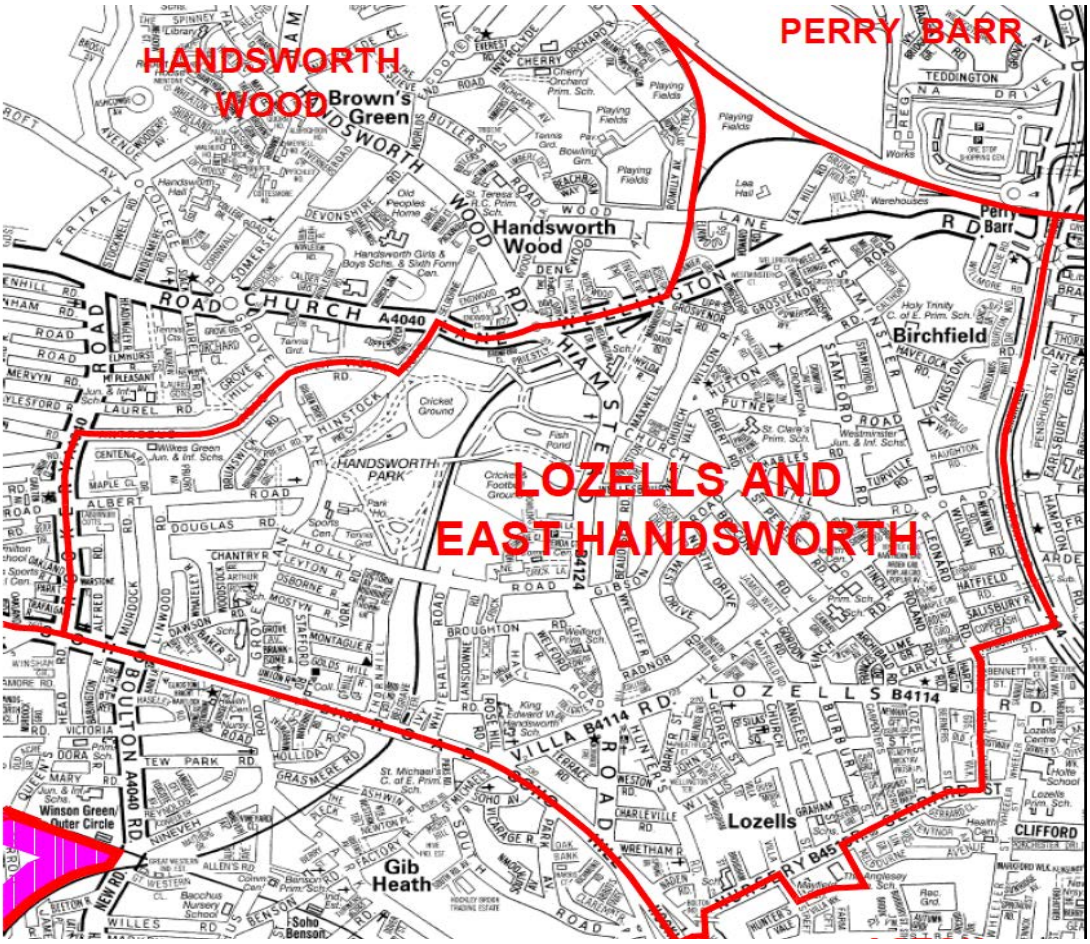
Source: 2011 Census

**Figure 3.4 Map of Birmingham showing location of neighbourhoods**


Birmingham Wards
KEY
Ward Boundaries
Birmingham City Boundary
BLOXWICH
ALDRIDGE
Streetly
Sutton Park
SUTTON COLDFIELD
BIRMINGHAM
Sheldon
International Airport
SOLIHULL
Hollywood
Hopwood
Map produced by GIS Team
Planning Strategy
Development Directorate
Tel - 0121 675 9266
Date 13/2/2013
N
W
E
S
Birmingham City Council

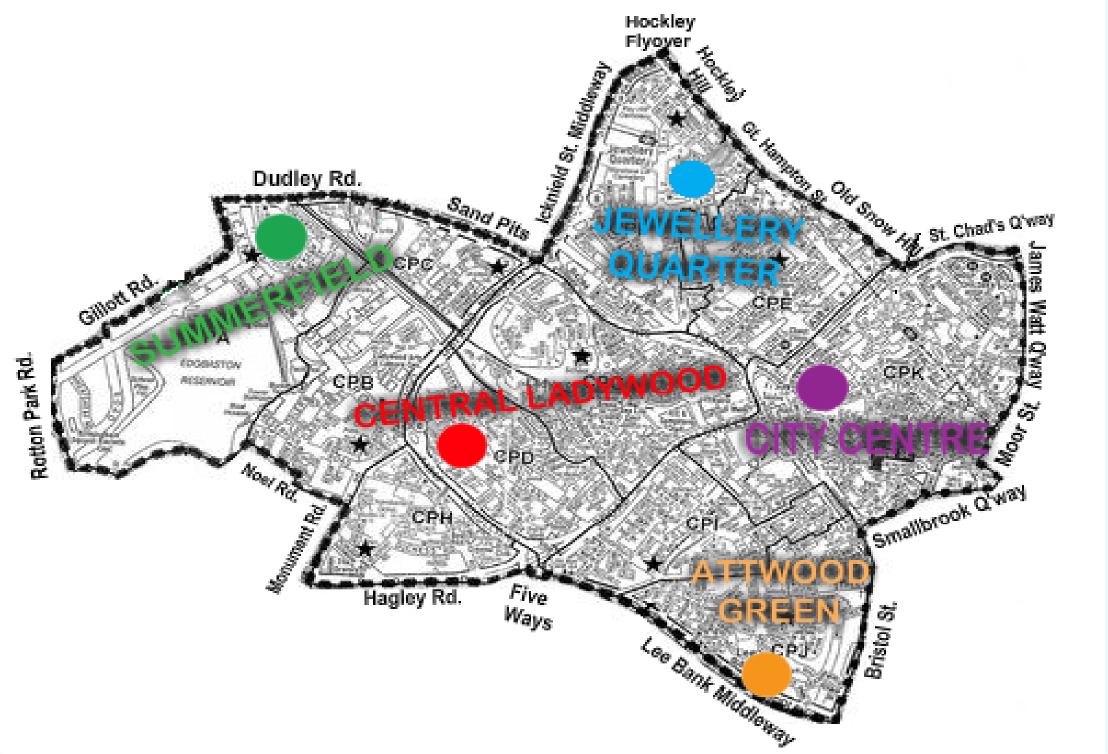
Source: Birmingham City Council (2013a)

**Figure 3.5 Map of Handsworth**


HANDSWORTH WOOD
PERRY BARR
LOZELLS AND EAST HANDSWORTH
Brown's Green
Handsworth Wood
Birchfield
Perry Barr
HANDSWORTH PARK
Lozells
Gib Heath
Winson Green/ Outer Circle
CHURCH ROAD A4040
VILLA RD B4114
LOZELLS RD B4114
BOULTON RD A4040

Source: Birmingham City Council (2013a)

**Figure 3.6 Map of Ladywood**


Hockley Flyover
Hockley Hill
Gt. Hampton St.
Old Snow Hill
St. Chad's Q'way
James Watt Q'way
Moor St.
Smallbrook Q'way
Bristol St.
Lee Bank Middleway
Five Ways
Hagley Rd.
Monument Rd.
Noel Rd.
Rotton Park Rd.
Gillott Rd.
Dudley Rd.
Sand Pits
Icknield St. Middleway
JEWELLERY QUARTER
SUMMERFIELD
CENTRAL LADYWOOD
CITY CENTRE
ATTWOOD GREEN
CPA
CPB
CPC
CPD
CPE
CPH
CPI
CPJ
CPK
EDGBASTON RESERVOIR

Source: Birmingham City Council (2013a)

### *3.2 Research methods and sampling*

Following full ethical approval by Keele University, the research involved three distinct phases to explore residential mobility, associated patterns of mobility and fixity and place attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods. Each phase was primarily concerned with primary data collection (see Flick, 2009) relating to the intentions and experiences of migrant and non-migrants given the lack of secondary data on the impacts of neighbourhood super-diversity on residential mobility.

## **Phase 1: Questionnaire Survey**

#### *3.2.1 Questionnaire sampling framework*

The first stage of the sequential mixed methods approach involved conducting a questionnaire. Three multi-lingual community researchers (CRs) familiar with each neighbourhood were recruited to support the research process and to improve the questionnaire response rate. Such individuals were recruited on the basis of their local knowledge and expertise, as well as their ability to speak different languages and to engage with the local population. Training was provided to each in respect of conducting the questionnaire survey (and the follow on in-depth interviews and photo project phase – see below), although all three of the participants had extensive experience of both survey and interviewing work. To this end, each CR facilitated the design and implementation of a face-to-face questionnaire (152 questionnaires in total). This was conducted with old migrants (those who had been in the UK for more than five years – 50 participants in total); more recently arrived new migrants (those who had been in the UK for less than five years – 50 participants in total) and native non-migrant residents (those who had been born in the UK – 52 participants in total) across the two case-study neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood (76 participants in each neighbourhood). Participants were given £10 for completing the questionnaire with the CR.

Given the need to capture super-diversity, sampling was conducted around a number of variables within these three groups including age, gender, language, nationality and length of residence in each neighbourhood. The questionnaire sought to explore some of the influences that shape residential mobility and the extent to which individuals may be relatively mobile or fixed. As such, the questionnaire was exploratory, and with the results acting as a basis to inform subsequent in-depth follow-up interviews (phase 2).

A face-to-face approach was preferred due to the need to explain the nature and purpose of the research, and due to the complexity of some of the questions being asked (Kumar, 2011), including a focus on individuals' experiences within the neighbourhood.

To generate responses from old, new and non-migrants, a number of sampling approaches were considered. Random probability methods – the 'gold standard' of sampling - were initially considered given that they can provide a robust framework for inference regarding a wider population (Smith, 1983). However, pure random sampling requires large sample sizes and often does not take into account contextual or local features (Johnston et al., 2008). They are also less effective if more recent or more mobile populations are targeted, as in this study (Smith et al., 2011).

Hence the merits of resident-driven sampling were analysed. This is a form of 'chain referral' or 'snowball' sampling that can be a means of providing robust, representative information on hard to reach groups (Johnston et al. 2008; Lansky et al. 2007; Malekinejad et al. 2008; Beauchemin and González-Ferrer, 2011). A variation of resident-driven sampling is respondent-driven sampling (RDS). RDS aims to overcome biases arising from traditional chain referral methods or 'snowballing techniques' that are often used to engage with 'hard to reach' groups. Instead of sampling individuals from a sampling frame, RDS seeks to sample individuals (such as old migrants) from a target population network, assumed to encompass all members (i.e. all old migrants in an area) through social ties (Platt et al. 2015, p.670). The network is generated by a rule linking respondents, such as siblings, close friends or neighbours, friendship or common interests (Johnson and Malkekinjad 2012, p.144). The objective is to generate long recruitment chains made up of several waves of respondents while limiting the number of recruits per respondent and thereby increasing the diversity of the sample. However, there is a need for some type of formative assessment before the survey begins to assess whether such populations are sufficiently socially networked. If networks are weak or limited, the approach fails. Critically, RDS is more problematic for recently arrived migrants (and a key issue for super-diverse neighbourhoods). This is due to the fact that a) they may be less connected / networked; b) there may be conflict between new migrants impacting upon referrals; c) they may have less inclination to participate given they may be setting up home / involved in long working hours; and d) they may be less trusting (Platt et al., 2015).

Given these criticisms, plus the fact that the sample required (150 questionnaire surveys; 2 additional questionnaires were subsequently carried out) may be reached after just two rounds of recruitment by 'seeds', it was felt that the diversity of the sample may be compromised because of the lack of distance between the seeds and the final referrals. As a result, a stratified cluster random sampling approach: 'Adaptive Cluster sampling' was also examined. This approach relies on the localised clustering of particular groups and screening all addresses in different sampled blocks for old migrants / new migrants / native-born non-migrant populations (as required). Nevertheless, previous studies which have focused on areas with high numbers of migrants within particular neighbourhoods identified clusters of migrants, but found that such clustering was not very pronounced (Smith et al., 2011). This also undermined the rationale for using such an approach.

As a result, attention turned to the use of non-probability-based sampling approaches. With the emphasis being on particular super-diverse neighbourhoods, a non-probability sampling approach was felt to be a genuine possibility as there is a requirement to simply draw a specific sample – long-established migrants; those more recently arrived in the UK and those native born (non-migrants) appropriate to the research questions. Moreover, given that the purpose of the questionnaire survey is to act as a first exploratory attempt to understand influences shaping residential mobility in super-diverse neighbourhoods for different groups, and to subsequently shape / inform questions for the interviewing phase, a non-probability approach may again be acceptable.

Convenience sampling was ruled out as not everyone has an equal chance of being selected. Chain referral or "Snowballing" sampling was also considered. This can be useful when members of the population are difficult to locate, such as migrants. An advantage of snowball methods is that participants are likely to locate others with similar eligibility characteristics. However, it can over-represent those (migrants) with larger networks.

Another option was quota sampling. This can be relatively inexpensive and provide valid inferences in some instances (see Drinkwater and Garapich, 2011). As in stratified sampling, with this approach, the population of the super-diverse neighbourhoods is divided into mutually exclusive sub-groups. Quota sampling can then be used to questionnaire a specific number of each group. But there are various problems with the approach. Whilst in stratified sampling, a randomised approach is subsequently used to select individuals, and with each individual having a known probability of being selected (i.e. proportional to the numbers in each sub-group), in quota sampling this is not the case given the specific numbers of individuals that have been identified to be targeted. In addition, a further problem is that it may be difficult to define the exact quota numbers for each group given that there maybe little information available – for example - on how long such individuals may have resided in the UK, or indeed in a particular neighbourhood.

Consequently, **time-space / time-location sampling** was adopted as the preferred sampling framework. This approach identifies well-known recruitment areas (for example, work, shops, park, school etc.) where specific participants (i.e. migrants) can be accessed and reflecting where certain groups / individuals gather at certain times of the day / week / month or year. It is therefore a useful sampling approach if the target population (migrants and non-migrants) congregates in such a way. A number of recruitment areas can also be randomly selected from a broader list.

Indeed, properly executed, time / location sampling is a probability design applied to a limited non-household population. However, it does rely on individuals regularly visiting specific community locations and that individuals congregate in accessible venues. Importantly, it also excludes those who do not visit such locations. Thus if extensive time / location sampling is not undertaken, it can degenerate into a sample of convenience. Hence the CRs were given maps of each neighbourhood in order to identify and develop a list of sites / locations of relevance in both Handsworth and Ladywood, and which were sampled at different times of the day / week / month. The sites and timings were randomised and a random sampling approach undertaken at each site / at particular times. Such an approach improved the robustness of the sampling frame, although it still needs to be acknowledged that the findings are indicative and exploratory (and which was the point of conducting the questionnaire) due to the number of participants and the nature of the sampling approach.

### *3.2.2 Questionnaire Survey – characteristics of participants*

Most individuals who participated in the research were aged between 25 and 34 and 35 and 44. There were roughly equal numbers of males and females included in the sample. Around one-third of the total sample was born in the UK (and in line with the sample being split 50:50:50 between old, new and non-migrants). The next most prevalent countries of birth were Romania (6.6%), India (5.3%) and Poland (4.6% of sample).

The White British and Indian ethnic categories were most common and beyond Britain the most common countries of birth were Romania, India and Poland. Christian was the most prevalent religion (35.8% of sample), followed by No religion (27.8%), Muslim (23.6%) and Hindu 5.4%).

The majority of those who participated were single (46.7%), followed by married (29.6%) and co-habiting (10.5%). The majority of the sample also had no children. The most common residency was for individuals to live alone (47% of respondents), especially in Ladywood. In Handsworth, it was more likely for those who participated to be living with a spouse / children.

More individuals were employed full-time than part-time and with around 42% working either full-time or part-time. In relative terms, more individuals in Ladywood were employed full-time than those in Handsworth. Over one-third of participants (36%) spoke three languages and over three quarters of participants (76.3%) spoke at least two languages. Around 54% of the sample lived in private rented accommodation, followed by social rented (19.7%) and owned outright (17.1%).

**Full details of the characteristics of those who participated in the survey are detailed in Appendix 1 of the report.**

### *3.2.3 Questionnaire analysis*

Beyond basic counts capturing the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample (for example, age, gender, ethnicity, how long in the neighbourhood and the UK etc. – see below), SPSS analysis was also used to undertake multivariate analysis on whether decisions by individuals to move into each neighbourhood; to stay; or to consider moving varied according to:

- migrant / non-migrant status
- age
- gender
- ethnicity

- neighbourhood (i.e. Handsworth or Ladywood)

In addition, through SPSS a focus was also placed on which features of each neighbourhood might be more or less important in shaping residential decision-making.

Likewise, migrant / non-migrant status was used to investigate the features of each neighbourhood that individuals liked the most / least, as well as the range of places that participants suggested they were considering moving to (for those who expressed that they may wish to leave).

**The results of the questionnaire are discussed further in Chapter 4 (Results and Analysis).**

## Phase 2 Interviews

### *3.2.4 Interviewing approach and the development of a maximum diversity sample*

Based upon the responses emerging from the questionnaires, 40 individuals from across each of the neighbourhoods (20 from each area) were selected to participate in a semi-structured interview. The intention of the interview was to generate in-depth information – including beliefs and opinions – from migrants and non-migrants through using a set of flexible, pre-determined questions (Burns, 1997). In the context of super-diversity, there was a ***need to sample on the basis of difference rather than on the basis of class or ethnicity or social status*** (Phillimore, 2015). Thus a maximum diversity sampling approach (i.e. old migrants, new migrants and native non-migrants who were as different from each other as possible according to age, gender, employment status etc.) was adopted (Patten, 2001). As such, it is a purposive form of sampling. A deliberate attempt is made to interview a very different selection of people on the basis that their aggregate answers may be close to the whole population. It is also used when the sample size is very small (20-50, as in this study), or when less information about the population is available (again, this is a key issue given the focus on super-diverse neighbourhoods).

Given the need for a maximum diversity sample, the CRs – through their existing local knowledge and personal networks in each neighbourhood – identified suitable individuals to participate in the interviewing phase. An incentive of £20 per interviewee was provided in order to encourage people to participate. The selection of individuals was also closely monitored and consent to participate was requested. Such an approach improved the quality of responses, although training with the CRs was required to ensure that each interview was conducted in a standardised way to reduce researcher bias (Kumar, 2011). The use of interviews also allowed the CRs to clarify any points and to record any emphases in responses by interviewees (Bell and Waters, 2014).

The intention of the interviews was to explore in more detail the influences of relevance to the movement of different types of local residents into, within and potentially away from different types of super-diverse neighbourhoods. The interview also focused on the influence of changing neighbourhood (super-) diversity on mobility intentions, issues of identity, place attachment and belonging, and the differing activity spaces of individuals.

The interviews were conducted by the CRs, and with support from the Primary Investigator. Where the interviewee did not speak English or did not have English as their first language, the CRs conducted the interview in a different language and translated the responses accordingly. The translations were subsequently back-checked for consistency. In total, the interviews lasted between 1 hour and 1 hour and 45 minutes. All of those who participated in the interview were de-briefed at the end of the interview in relation to being given assurances about the confidentiality of responses, how their responses would be used and who to contact regarding any further queries.

**Full details of the characteristics of those who participated in the interviews are detailed in Appendix 2 of the report.**

### *3.2.5 Themes and questions covered in the interview*

The interview covered four broad themes which directly correlated with the original research objectives for the study (see Chapter 1), and which in turn shaped and informed the analysis phase (see Chapter 4). Under each theme, 3-4 questions were developed and with a series of prompts included in the interview schedule in order to try and generate a full response from interviewees. A brief discussion of each theme, and the types of questions that were used is set out below.

#### *Theme 1: The impact and experiences of increasing neighbourhood super-diversity*

This theme explored participants views on how and in what ways the neighbourhood had changed over time; the impact of such changes on themselves; and whether they viewed such change either positively or negatively.

*Questions:*

- How has the neighbourhood changed as a result of people moving in or out of the neighbourhood?
- What impact have such changes had on their perceptions of ease of access to such facilities or services? / impact on their perceptions of safety or sense of community? / impact on any changes in their relationships with others?
- Given that there are now many different types of people living in this neighbourhood, have you met other people who are of a different background in terms of their country of origin, or ethnicity, or culture or religion?
- To what extent do you think your neighbourhood is too diverse or not diverse enough?

### *Theme 2: Residential mobility in super-diverse neighbourhoods*

This theme considered the ways in which super-diverse neighbourhoods shape the movement of those who live in such areas.

*Questions:*

For old and new migrants:

- Can you tell me again why you moved into this neighbourhood?
- To what extent did your previous experiences of living elsewhere have any influence your decisions to move to the neighbourhood?

For all:

- Have your experiences in the neighbourhood shaped any decision to either stay in the neighbourhood or to move away from the neighbourhood?
- Are there any particular barriers that make it difficult for you to move?
- Do you think the UK's decision to leave the EU will have any impact on your relationships with others living in the neighbourhood? Has this had any impact on whether you wish to stay in or leave the neighbourhood?

For individuals considering moving away from their neighbourhood:

- If you were thinking of leaving the neighbourhood, where would you move to and why? When are you looking to move?

### *Theme 3: Identity and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods*

This theme explored issues of identity and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods.

*Questions:*

- Do you feel that this neighbourhood is known for something – i.e. does it have a particular identity or identities? (If yes, what is this?; if not, why not?)
- Do you think that the identity of the neighbourhood has changed over time as a result of people moving in or out of the neighbourhood; if so why? if not, why not?
- Do you feel comfortable or not in expressing your own identity in the neighbourhood?
- What is it about this neighbourhood that influences how attached you are to it?

### *Theme 4: Becoming local and the importance of the super-diverse neighbourhood*

This theme explored the importance of the (super-diverse) neighbourhood itself in terms of everyday needs and living.

*Questions:*

- What do you use the neighbourhood for in terms of meeting your everyday needs?
- Where, when and how do you travel beyond the neighbourhood to meet your everyday needs?
- Have you experienced any difficulties in terms of your ability to meet everyday needs either i) in the neighbourhood or ii) beyond the neighbourhood?
- How did you find out about where to go when you needed something either in the neighbourhood or beyond the neighbourhood?

One final point to note is that a brief analysis was also conducted using social media. This involved using a Polish translator to put up a question on a Facebook page entitled '*Polacy w Birmingham – Poles in Birmingham*' relating to Polish individuals' perceptions and experiences of living in Handsworth and Ladywood, and the implications for residential mobility. The replies that were posted are included in the analysis discussion (Chapter 4).

## Phase 3: Photographic Project

### *3.2.6 Auto-photography*

The third - and final - phase of the research involved inviting 20 residents (old, new and non-migrants – see Appendix 3 for further details) to take up to 20 photographs of their neighbourhood in order to either corroborate or challenge the findings of the questionnaire and interviewing phase of the project. Again, each was paid £20 for their participation.

The use of visual materials and analysis has been increasingly used across the social sciences in the last ten years (Rose 2014, p.24). In this project 'auto photography' or 'self-directed photography' was used to provide additional insights into the characteristics and geographies of each neighbourhood, and how such features impinged on issues of identity, attachment and belonging and the different types of activity spaces that individuals used or avoided. In such a way, the approach provided a revealing insight into how different residents perceived and experienced their neighbourhood (Johns and Phillips, 2012).

The four themes that informed resident interviews were similarly used to shape the photographic phase. Hence individuals were requested to take photos of i) features that had changed in the neighbourhood since they had lived there (and as a result of others moving in, such as new housing, new shops or services etc.); ii) the characteristics or features of the neighbourhood that they felt made the neighbourhood different to other places (for example, the different types of people in the neighbourhood; religious facilities etc.); iii) features of the neighbourhood that made them move in, stay, or were now acting as a 'push' factor to move away (for example, the local environment, housing etc.); and iv) places where they met others in the neighbourhood, as well as places which they felt were less accessible.

Participants were invited to take photos on their mobile phones and with each individual subsequently discussing their images with the CRs and the primary investigator (where relevant). The results of this phase of the project are incorporated into the analysis in Chapter 4.

**Full details of the characteristics of those who participated in the photographic project are detailed in Appendix 3 of the report.**

# Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

## *4.1 Introduction*

With reference to the original research objectives set out for the study, these were broadly concerned with i) how the characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods shape the residential mobility of individuals in particular ways (Research Objectives 1 and 4); ii) issues of identity, attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods and inter-relations with residential mobility (Research Objective 3); and iii) individuals' activity spaces both within and beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood (Research Objective 2).

The subsequent research that was conducted via the questionnaire, interviewing and photo project phases of the project broadly mapped onto these three key themes. As such, the four themes covered into the interview schedule (see methodology chapter) were re-grouped into the three areas set out above. For example, both the interview schedule and photo project guidance that were developed focused on the impact and experiences of increasing neighbourhood super-diversity and residential mobility in super-diverse neighbourhoods; identity and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods and 'becoming local' and the importance of the super-diverse neighbourhood.

The analysis that follows uses the results from the questionnaire and interviews conducted with individuals in the two case study neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood, as well as being supplemented (where relevant) with information provided by participants in the Photo Project phase and information from local social media. Such findings are also triangulated with the existing literature. Where possible, the discussion also seeks to differentiate between the neighbourhoods, and between the different groups that participated in each, namely old migrants, 'new migrants and non-migrants.

The research findings are discussed through the development of a number of assertions of relevance to the ways in which super-diverse places may shape residential mobility patterns and related issues of identity, belonging and attachment. Attention is drawn to both the material and relational aspects of super-diverse neighbourhoods, as well as the importance of structure and individual agency in shaping mobility patterns.

## *4.2 Context for residential mobility*

Prior to setting out the assertions concerned with residential mobility in super-diverse neighbourhoods, it is useful to draw on the questionnaire survey to provide brief contextual information on the extent to which individuals argued that they had a choice in respect of decisions to move into such areas, as well as their neighbourhood histories and the length to which they had resided in either Handsworth or Ladywood.

With reference to agency in neighbourhood selection, overall around 70% of individuals from the questionnaire sample indicated that they were able to exert some type of influence or choice in terms of moving into either of the neighbourhoods. However, this varied slightly between the case study neighbourhoods and with those from Handsworth indicating that on average they had slightly less choice (around two-thirds of sampled residents from Handsworth– 66%) than those from Ladywood (80% indicated they had a choice). When broken down further - and with the acknowledgement that the sample sizes for old, new and non-migrants per neighbourhood were relatively small (n=25 for each) and cannot be claimed as representative -it was apparent that old migrants were slightly most likely to have indicated that they had a choice in terms of living in either neighbourhood (75% of old migrants). This compared to figures of 73% for new migrants and 70% for natives. Nevertheless, analysis of questionnaire material did not provide any explanation for such trends and indeed interviewee material suggested that a significant minority of new migrants were dependent upon social housing allocations and had therefore had little option in terms of decisions to move in.

Hedman et al. (2015) argue that the neighbourhood history of an individual can shape patterns of residential mobility. Consequently, in the questionnaire phase individuals were asked about the neighbourhoods within which they had resided before they had moved into either Handsworth or Ladywood. In this respect, the range of places that individuals had resided before moving to either neighbourhood was quite varied. There were no obvious patterns or trajectories of movement, although a number of old migrants and native non-migrants (to a lesser extent) had moved from a number of super-diverse neighbourhoods in London (for example, Hackney; Lambeth etc.). This conceivably illustrates the ways in which individuals sought to move to similar areas of super-diversity and will be explored further below in terms of the attraction of such areas.

New migrants also indicated that they were more likely to have moved in from other parts of Birmingham, and indicatively points towards the importance of social housing allocations and – for some - their lack of control over housing or neighbourhood choices in their initial phase of settlement. By neighbourhood, individuals in Ladywood were more likely to have lived elsewhere (64% of respondents had lived elsewhere in the UK) compared to those from Handsworth (55% of respondents). Furthermore, it was evident that old migrants – perhaps due to the time they had been in the UK – were more likely to have lived elsewhere (76% of all respondents) compared to non-migrants (65% had lived elsewhere at some point) and new migrants (39% had lived elsewhere).

In terms of time in the neighbourhood, this varied according to whether individuals were an old migrant (been in the UK for more than five years) or new migrant (been in the UK for less than five years), or indeed a non-migrant. Overall, around a fifth of the individuals who participated in the questionnaire survey had been in either of the neighbourhoods for less than one year whilst 50% of respondents in Handsworth and 31% of respondents in Ladywood had been in their respective neighbourhoods for more than ten years. This is interesting in that it both confirms and contradicts the ‘newness’ and ‘novelty’ of super-diverse neighbourhoods that Phillimore (2015) draws attention to. On the one hand, it is clear that such neighbourhoods act as ‘reception’ areas and with new arrivals orientating towards such areas. But it also highlights considerable stability for many individuals. This is discussed further under Assertion 2 below.

**Key points**

- Individuals residing in the super-diverse neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood had significant ‘agency’ in terms of decisions to move into each neighbourhood. However, a significant minority – and particularly new migrants – had less control and were dependant upon social housing allocations.
- In terms of neighbourhood histories there were no obvious patterns or trajectories of movement into each neighbourhood, although some participants had previously lived in similar types of areas in London.
- The ‘novelty’ and ‘newness’ associated with super-diverse neighbourhoods (Phillimore, 2015) was both present and absent in the case study neighbourhoods. Many individuals had lived in the neighbourhood for a significant period of time.

### *4.3 Themes and assertions of relevance to the importance of super-diverse places in shaping residential mobility patterns*

### *Theme 1: Characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods and the impact of changing neighbourhood diversity on residential mobility*

#### 4.3.1 Assertion 1: The evolving characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods shape residential mobility patterns in important and distinctive ways

A key question that the research sought to explore related to the importance of different dimensions of place in shaping residential mobility, how these dimensions can vary over time, and how individuals’ resources and dispositions also shape residential mobility. Indeed, changing neighbourhood diversity has a number of important and differential impacts. These are developed further later in this chapter.

Through using Robinson’s (2010) framework - and which highlights the importance of the compositional, contextual and collective features of neighbourhoods - the most important factors shaping movement into the neighbourhoods (for those who had a choice) were contextual and compositional. From a contextual perspective, the connections of the neighbourhoods to other places were deemed to be a key factor in shaping individuals’ decisions to move in and stay (proximity to the city centre was a key reason for moving into Ladywood), followed by the availability of different shops / services, although this was more important for residents in Handsworth.

**Broad Street, Birmingham (near Ladywood)**

“*Broad Street is close….it is a place I like to hang out and meet my friends. It is one of the reasons I moved here*” (Photo Project Participant 19, Czech new migrant, Ladywood).

**Soho Road, Handsworth**

JK
COLLECTION
SALE SALE SALE
SALE SALE SALE
SALE
SALE
SALE SALE SALE
SALE SALE SALE
SALE

“*We can shop for our traditional clothes here. In fact, we can get everything we need in Soho Road – very convenient* (Photo Project Participant 3, Indian old migrant, Handsworth).

Beyond this, compositional features of the neighbourhoods in terms of the presence of family were an important influence for moving in and staying. But the findings are slightly surprising, as the existing literature on ethnic residential mobility suggests the importance of family as the *key* reason for moving into and staying within an area (see Antonsich 2010; Markova and Black, 2007).

In contrast, factors which were deemed to be least important in terms of shaping individuals' decisions to move into or stay within each neighbourhood were more varied and encompassed collective reasons – for example, the need for political representation within the neighbourhood and the availability of support organizations; as well as compositional reasons – focused around the numbers of people moving in or out of the neighbourhood and migrant population size.

Nevertheless, the extent of individual's resources and dispositions underpinned such movements. For example, in terms of gender, contextual features such as the availability of different types of housing and employment in the neighbourhood were more important for males as reasons to move in and stay compared to females, as were opportunities for interaction with others in the neighbourhood and the attractiveness of the local environment. On the other hand, for the two main ethnic groups in the questionnaire sample (White British and Indian), the presence of family, the extent of an individuals' own resources, and connections of the neighbourhood to other places were particularly important for Indians for moving in (i.e. contextual and compositional reasons). In terms of staying, the presence of family and the availability of cultural and religious facilities (a collective feature of the neighbourhood), as well as the availability of shops and services in the neighbourhood were important for Indians. Such findings mirror those from elsewhere on the importance of cultural influences at the neighbourhood level for certain ethnic groups (see Yuval-Davis, 2007; Antonsich, 2010). For the White British participants, individuals' own resources, connections of the neighbourhood to other places and the attractiveness of the local environment were important to both move in and to stay.

In respect of differences between old, new and non-migrants, contextual features - such as the availability of different types of housing / employment and opportunities for interaction - were a less important influence for moving in for new migrants in comparison to old migrants and non-migrants. In contrast, work and the availability of shops / services was a key motive for new migrants to move in and stay. In the words of one interviewee: "*First I found this job and then I moved here. The job was very important for me to move in the area*" (Interviewee 17, Kurdish new migrant, Handsworth).

For old migrants, the availability of housing, cultural and medical facilities and educational opportunities were also more important influences for moving in and staying. For non-migrants, a combination of compositional factors, such as the presence of family and friends, and contextual features, such as the availability of shops / services were key reasons to move to, or stay in, Handsworth, whilst cheap property was a key attraction for those in Ladywood.

Finally, if a focus is placed on differences between the neighbourhoods, the presence of family appeared to be more important as a reason for moving in and for staying for individuals in Handsworth, as well as the migrant population size in the neighbourhood. Whilst new migrants in Ladywood also cited the importance of family to move into the neighbourhood, in overall terms the availability of different types of housing and the attractiveness of the local environment were key attractions for new migrants to move in, whilst the connections of the neighbourhood to elsewhere was *the* key factor in shaping reasons to stay.

For those who indicated that they wished to leave the neighbourhood, the main influences cited in the questionnaire survey for moving out were rather different than those cited for moving in or staying. These were dispositional, as well as encapsulating compositional, collective and contextual features of the neighbourhood. They included an increase in an individuals' own resources, the presence of family and shared identities elsewhere and levels of crime and the perceived attractiveness of the local environment beyond their existing neighbourhood. Eastern European migrants – old and new - particularly highlighted that they wished to move to the countryside to be safer:

> *We want to move to a village, in the countryside……. we would like to move somewhere where it is quiet, away from the city noise. I really like quiet places and we even keep hens in our garden here! So we're getting ready!* (Interviewee 16, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

In addition, all the respondents commented on increasing overcrowding in the neighbourhood (especially in Handsworth) and traffic congestion (both Handsworth and Ladywood) as reasons to move away. New migrants with less resources identified that they were more reliant on new social housing allocations to move out of the neighbourhood, however.

**Traffic congestion, Ladywood**

"*The other one that puts me off the area is traffic. I am coming from countryside in Poland and this is big issue for me and makes me move away from the area*" (Photo Project Participant 20, Polish new migrant, Ladywood).

Those in Handsworth (and especially old migrants) in general did not wish to move too far away as they wanted to stay reasonably close to local shops and services:

> *I was thinking of moving out towards Sutton Coldfield area…..I have been looking in that area but I didn't feel comfortable so I am just going to stay about one mile out of this area (Handsworth) because of the nature of the community* (Interviewee 2, Indian native, Handsworth).

In relation to those wishing to move further afield, participants identified London and other parts of Birmingham (Handsworth Wood and Edgbaston) as future potential destinations (and perhaps indicating an upward trajectory in respect of residential mobility given the relative affluence of such neighbourhoods). In Ladywood, the lack of shops / services meant that this was a less important feature in terms of wishing to stay in close proximity to the neighbourhood. A few respondents highlighted that they wanted to remain fairly close but in a better environment with more local facilities (for example, the adjacent Jewellery Quarter). But a significant number also highlighted that they wanted to move to the suburbs such as Sutton Coldfield and Solihull, which were perceived as greener, safer and more affluent with better services.

Nevertheless, when discussing the features of super-diverse neighbourhoods that may inform residential mobility decisions, it must also be recognized that such features can change over time. Super-diverse neighbourhoods are places and spaces of change (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016; Vertovec, 2011). But little attention hitherto has been paid to the role of a changing neighbourhood as a factor influencing the residential choice process. In this respect, Lee et al. (1994) have argued that the temporal dimension of neighbourhoods - neighbourhood change - is important in understanding moving wishes.

Native non-migrants and old migrants identified that both Handsworth and Ladywood had become more diverse over time, and with EU8 Accession migrants becoming more evident in both neighbourhoods, followed by the more recent arrival of immigrants from Romania. This trend also correlates with census data (see Chapter 2), and which highlighted Ladywood as having some of the highest numbers of EU8 accession migrants in Birmingham. Gentrification and studentification were also seen as key processes in Ladywood, and particularly as a result of the proximity of the neighbourhood to the city centre. Wealth diversity – as well as population diversity – was therefore perceived to be a key feature of the neighbourhood. Individuals – especially native non-migrants - also referred to increasing diversity through hearing different types of music and languages in both case study neighbourhoods.

**Gentrification, Ladywood**

"*This is my apartment block, which has a lot of young professionals in, but also a lot of foreign professionals too. My immediate neighbours are a family of Indian nationals, of which the adults are all doctors for the NHS*" (Photo Project Participant 13, Indian native, Ladywood).

A significant point raised by interviewees related to the history of diversity in each neighbourhood. Handsworth was identified as having a long history of immigration and was already perceived as being super-diverse. As such, the recent inflows of new populations had simply added to levels of diversity in the neighbourhood, and with more Polish, Romanian, Russian, Somali, Chinese and Eritrean individuals now resident in the area. But it was also claimed by both old and new migrants that there were much fewer White British left in the area, although those interviewed did not explicitly express a desire to leave Handsworth:

> *There are basically no white people on our street or the neighbouring streets, maybe a few streets down there are some, but in the park, there are none* (Interviewee 19, Chinese' New Migrant', Handsworth).

Ladywood, on the other hand, was recognised as more recently diversifying. Individuals referred to increasing numbers of Indians and Pakistanis, Polish, Chinese, Portuguese and Somalis – alongside a longer established White British and Jamaican presence in the neighbourhood. Refugees and asylum seekers were also deemed more evident. But the overall perception of Ladywood was that reasonable numbers were moving in and out of the neighbourhood. It was therefore acting as a 'zone of transition' on the edge of the city centre. In the words of another interviewee: "*Ladywood is just like a travelling through bit……it's not tied to anywhere enough*" (Interviewee 21, Indian native, Ladywood).

Neighbourhood change in super-diverse areas can lead to 'residential stress', and which may accumulate over time and lead to individuals wishing to leave the neighbourhood. However, many will be restricted in terms of developing a moving wish due to a lack of resources and / or opportunities or constraints in the local housing market (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). This leads into a consideration of the impacts of change in super-diverse areas. From a housing perspective, the 'residential stress' thesis appeared to be operating in reverse for a number of interviewees. In this respect, two dimensions are of relevance. First, there were claims of increasing pressure for accommodation in both neighbourhoods. In Handsworth, this related to a shortage of family housing, rooms in Houses of Multiple Occupation (HMOs), and flats to rent in the private sector. Interviewees argued that this was pushing up house prices and / or rental levels and meaning that many were either having to consider moving out or alternatively sharing accommodation to save costs. In Ladywood, processes of gentrification and studentification were also noted as contributing to an elevation in property prices / rents in some parts of the neighbourhood, and making it more difficult for individuals to stay. Furthermore, those living in the social rented sector felt that they were less likely to be able to purchase property or move into private sector accommodation. In turn, this was perceived as increasing the demand on the social rented sector and restricting entry at the lower end of the property market.

A second dimension related to the refurbishment / redevelopment of property in each neighbourhood. With the inflow of new populations into both neighbourhoods, many suggested that this had led to land and property owners upgrading and refurbishing their property. In essence, property infrastructure was improved as a result of increased demand. However, it was claimed that this was contributing to an uplift in property prices / rental levels, and making it more difficult for native non-migrants, old migrants and new migrants in both neighbourhoods to remain. Thus 'stress' was emerging from a lack of resources and options in the local housing market in terms of individuals' ability to stay in the neighbourhood:

> *Around here (Ladywood…….It's sometimes called city centre….I think that's bringing more affluence. The grounds, this area, the price of the houses going up cos' there's a lot of development around. It is difficult for people in this part of Ladywood* (Interviewee 31, Dutch old migrant, Ladywood).

Beyond housing, a number of other important impacts of neighbourhood change in super-diverse areas are of relevance in shaping 'residential stress' and mobility intentions. These are discussed under a number of other assertions below. Nevertheless, relatively few participants identified that increasing diversity was placing more pressure on local services. Old migrants noted that there was increasing demand on pharmacies in Handsworth, whilst new migrants also referred to more queues for health services in the neighbourhood. But beyond this, relatively little reference was made to increased pressures on services. As a result, these issues were not identified as 'residential stress' factors in shaping intentions to move out of the neighbourhoods.

## Key points

- Contextual features of super-diverse neighbourhoods, such as the connections of the neighbourhood to other places (especially Ladywood in terms of proximity to the city centre) and the availability of particular shops / services (especially Handsworth) were influential in shaping individuals decisions to move in and stay within such areas.
- Compositional features of super-diverse neighbourhoods, such as the presence of family were also important in shaping residential mobility decisions, although the importance of family as a reason to move in and stay may not be as important in super-diverse neighbourhoods as elsewhere.
- Individuals' resources and dispositions strongly underpin residential mobility decisions. There were gender and ethnic-specific differences in terms of the way such characteristics intersect with super-diverse neighbourhood features in shaping mobility. For some minority ethnic groups, the collective features of super-diverse neighbourhoods such as the availability of cultural and religious facilities were important in shaping reasons to move in and stay (and especially in Handsworth), whilst compositional and contextual features such as family and the availability of work were key factors shaping the inward movement and retention of new migrants. For old migrants, housing, cultural and medical facilities and educational facilities were important reasons for moving in and remaining *insitu*, whilst family and friends, the availability of shops / services and cheap housing were important for non-migrants.
- An increase in individuals' own resources, coupled with the presence of family elsewhere; the presence of shared identities elsewhere, congestion and overcrowding and the perceived attractiveness of other areas (with lower levels of crime) were identified as key reasons to leave super-diverse neighbourhoods.
- Neighbourhood change can impact on the features of super-diverse areas and lead to 'residential stress'. This may inform the 'moving wishes' of residents.
- Both Handsworth and Ladywood were deemed to have become more diverse over time, although Ladywood was perceived as more recently diversifying and was identified as a 'zone of transition' on the edge of Birmingham city centre.
- Increasing property prices / rentals in both areas were acting as a 'stress' in terms of individuals finding it more difficult to remain in their respective neighbourhoods.
- The impact of increasing neighbourhood super-diversity on local services was not, in general, viewed as a residential stress factor and was not impinging on decisions to leave the neighbourhood.

### 4.3.2 Assertion 2: Population churn in super-diverse neighbourhoods is less important in shaping residential mobility decisions. However, the presence of visible diversity serves to attract and retain some but repel others, and leads to new forms of 'white flight'

The impact of neighbourhood change in super-diverse areas (Assertion 1) highlighted how 'residential stress' emerged for some individuals in terms of their ability to stay in their respective neighbourhoods in the context of increasing rents / property prices. This implicitly provides the context for the discussion of a second assertion, namely population churn in super-diverse neighbourhoods shaping residential mobility.

The conception of super-diverse neighbourhoods as fast changing and acting as "arrival zones" (Robinson, 2010) where the "newness" of populations (Phillimore, 2015) and the speed and spread of change exceeds anything previously experienced (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015) is well rehearsed in the literature. Feijten and van Ham (2009, 2013) also identify how a high population turnover acts as a key influence on the wish by residents to leave the neighbourhood.

But two points emerged from the research in Birmingham. First, whilst some individuals acknowledged that population churn and transition was evident in both Handsworth and Ladywood – *the neighbourhood is like a little start up centre....people are going to keep turning over*" (Interviewee 37, Canadian new migrant, Ladywood), this in itself was not a reason to leave the neighbourhood. Individuals referred to increasing numbers of professionals and students that were residing in Ladywood, and some in Handsworth claimed that the buy-to-let market had increased in importance, and was giving rise to fluctuations in terms of people moving in and out. But in itself, population churn was not a reason to move on:

> *There is a lot of transition going on and people passing through but it is a reason to stay, not to move....it is not important as a reason to move on* (Interviewee 3, Black British native, Handsworth).

Second, in terms of responses to the questionnaire survey, 56% of respondents in Ladywood and just over 75% of respondents in Handsworth stated a desire to stay in their neighbourhoods. In addition, only around a fifth of respondents in Ladywood (21%) suggested that they were definitely planning to move from the neighbourhood in the next five years, whilst this figure fell to 17.1% for Handsworth. Both sets of figures therefore suggest a reasonable degree of stability for some residents in super-diverse neighbourhoods, and contradicting the idea that super-diverse neighbourhoods are areas of continuous population churn for all.

Interview material also corroborated findings from the questionnaire. It was evident that once individuals had moved into the neighbourhood, many remained fixed. Native non-migrant interviewees in general were either born in the neighbourhood and had stayed or had moved in with their families. Similarly

– and relating to the previous discussion of contextual, compositional and collective neighbourhood features - old migrants highlighted the importance of schooling for their children, the proximity of family and local cultural services and facilities as retaining factors. New migrants in Ladywood also saw it as being a place to stay due to the proximity to the city centre, whilst in Handsworth the presence of local facilities and services was again pronounced in terms of reasons to stay.

**Population churn less significant**

ASIAN RESOURCE CENTRE

"*This organization helps and supports asylum seekers and refugees. It gives free help and advice. It tries to solve our problems. I used go to visit it. It is one of the things which makes this place different and keeps people here"* (Photo Project Participant 4, Sudanese refugee, Handsworth).

Notwithstanding the above, a discussion of population churn and its relative importance in shaping residential mobility segues into a concern with the significance of 'visible' and 'invisible' diversity in super-diverse neighbourhoods. Whilst many neighbourhood features have been highlighted as being of importance in terms of serving to attract and retain individuals, the assertion that 'otherness' is 'commonplace' in super-diverse neighbourhoods is critical (Wessendorf, 2013). As such, it means that those who are visibly different (because of their visible or audible difference) can blend in. This is argued to be fundamental to decisions by individuals to stay in such neighbourhoods (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016).

The research undertaken in the case study neighbourhoods both corroborated and challenged such a perspective. Many interviewees from minority groups confirmed that a key reason for moving to the Handsworth neighbourhood was due to the sheer diversity of people in the neighbourhood. As such, they were attracted by the super-diversity of place because they were constrained by their own visible difference (see Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016). Some individuals stated that they "*wouldn't want to move into an area where the percentage of a certain group is more than the rest as I would feel the odd one out*" (Interviewee 12, Vietnamese old migrant, Handsworth) whilst another summarised the attraction of visible diversity as follows:

> *Like I said I'm Black here, I'm Black it's pointless going to live anywhere else. I live in Handsworth for a reason, I've tried living somewhere else.....and I had to come back so like this is the best place to be cos' Solihull people frown upon you. You're Asian you've experienced that, you might not have experienced it verbally but people give you looks, you just have to live where you feel more comfortable. I'm just here to live and I like seeing people that I'm familiar with, with my own kind and I like it here and that's why I stay....I'm just me and I love living in Handsworth and I wouldn't live anywhere else. I tried living in Kings Norton, that's one of the most racist places on earth, so why would I leave Handsworth?* (Interviewee 5, Black Caribbean native, Handsworth).

The findings from the case study neighbourhoods additionally highlight Eastern European migrants' lack of familiarity with visible diversity, and how this serves to repel some away from areas of diversity. Notable in this respect, however, was not just population diversity but also the diversity of contextual and collective features of the neighbourhood, such as shops and 'ways of living'. Saunders (2011) and Castles and Miller (2009) have reported how a common neighbourhood identity based around diversity can be played out through wide ranging retail and cultural facilities. Indeed, many respondents pointed out how such facilities were a key reason to stay in the neighbourhood – "*It is like being in Turkey, I can get anything from my country...in Handsworth, there is everything I need and want"* (Interviewee 17, Kurdish new migrant, Handsworth).

Pemberton and Phillimore (2016) subsequently highlight how the absence of such facilities may serve to influence individuals to become more transient and move away. This was, to a degree, evident in the responses of White British natives in Handsworth and who argued that they were being marginalized through a lack of local facilities, such as a local Butcher's shop. Compounding such issues were mixed views by White British respondents on their ability to use shops / cultural facilities associated with other ethnic groups.

However, beyond these insights, this research also highlights the importance of contextual and collective features of super-diverse neighbourhoods in shaping decisions to move out of such areas. This is less reported in the existing literature. In the words of two interviewees:

> .....What the hell, where am I?..........*say you are walking down the street you have got all the shops where they put out all of their produce, all of the crap right out onto the pavement. So as you're walking past the shop you know what it sells and I do not necessarily think it is... pleasant, hygienic*... it is something that I would not necessarily do, that Westerners would not necessarily do (Interviewee 36, Lithuanian new migrant, Ladywood).

and

> *There is too much diversity in Handsworth…the worst place in Handsworth is in the centre where the shops are located – the diversity is just too much* (Interviewee 15, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

But in contrast to such perspectives, a number of other key differences emerged from existing understandings of visible diversity and the degree to which it shapes residential mobility decisions. They also highlight how categorising migrants and minorities as 'visible' or 'less visible' is somewhat blunt (Bhopal and Preston, 2012). First, it was apparent that many European and indeed Eastern European EU8 migrants – both old and new - were unfamiliar with the reputation of both neighbourhoods for their diversity (and especially Handsworth) prior to moving in. But rather than acting as an influence to leave, many became more accustomed to such difference over time and saw it as a reason to stay in the neighbourhood - "*For me when I arrived here it was a shock to see all of the people from different nationalities, the black people - I'm not a racist but in Poland 96% of the people are Polish. But here, now I have stopped noticing but in the beginning it was a shock*" (Interviewee 20, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

Indeed, an important and new finding that emerged from the research was rather than the 'minority white flight' of Eastern Europeans away from super-diverse areas of visible diversity (see Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014), a new form of minority white flight (as reported extensively in U.S. cities – see Massey and Denton, 1993) on a 'majority white flight' can be identified. This related to relatively 'invisible' white EU8 migrants moving into areas of super-diversity as a result of discrimination beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood. Put simply, EU8 migrants argued that they had experienced discrimination by the (British) white host population in other parts of the city. This had subsequently meant that the visibility of diversity in a neighbourhood such as Handsworth was increasingly attractive, and providing a new perspective on the discrimination perspective on residential mobility set out in Boschman and van Ham's (2013) recent work. To summarise, the perception of super-diverse neighbourhood identity acted to draw individuals into the area in response to a single ethnic identity elsewhere. This is an important addition to our understandings of 'white flight'. Furthermore, the impact of 'Brexit' as a partial influence in shaping such discriminatory practices is also important, and is discussed further later in the chapter:

> *Because it is so diverse. I do not have to worry that I will be picked on for being foreign. I have had friends who have decided to leave to move to perhaps cleaner neighbourhoods where there are only English, only White people living there and now they live in fear that maybe they are going to break their windows or shout at them that they are from Poland* (Interviewee 10, Polish old migrant, Handsworth).

Thus the arguments of those such as McDowell (2009) and Stenning et al. (2006) that the 'whiteness' and relative invisibility of Eastern European EU8 migrants provides them with wider residential choices than those who are more visible can be challenged.

Beyond this, a further driver for the movement of Eastern Europeans into areas of super-diversity relates to intra-migrant tensions, and the desire to move out of, or away from Eastern European enclaves in other neighbourhoods. Indeed, whilst intra-migrant tensions between such groups has been reported previously (for example, see Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2005 for a discussion of tensions between Polish migrants in the UK), the desire to move into super-diverse neighbourhoods in order to be a 'part of the mix' and avoid other Eastern Europeans is less discussed. Once again, this is important. As expressed by a recently arrived Polish migrant in Handsworth: "*We wanted to move away from Erdington because it is known as 'Pole-ington' because of the number of Poles that live there. But it is not very safe and it is not very pleasant. They speak only Polish and we did not want that*" (Interviewee 16, Polish new migrant, Handsworth). For some, and especially in the Ladywood neighbourhood, this was despite the absence of contextual features of the neighbourhood, such as shops and culturally specific services and facilities that reflected their presence in the neighbourhood.

A final related issue to explore in terms of population churn, neighbourhood diversity and new forms of 'white flight' relates to the importance of ethnicity and ethnic enclaves on residential mobility. It has already been noted how many Eastern European migrants moved into Handsworth from enclaves in other areas of Birmingham, as well as how the White British ethnic group were perceived as both being marginalized (in the case of access to neighbourhood facilities in Handsworth, for example) as well as marginalizing (in terms of the perceived discrimination of some towards Eastern Europeans). In turn, the question of whether ethnicity and ethnic enclaves remains a central feature of super-diverse places and inform residential mobility patterns needs to be further elaborated.

Analysis of material from the case study areas is mixed in respect of the extent to which communities in super-diverse neighbourhoods are spatially and temporally divided along ethnic lines. Certainly, the 'otherness' and 'commonplace' diversity that Wessendorf (2013) discusses may be limited to certain neighbourhoods beyond Birmingham. In Ladywood, respondents strongly suggested that the area was dominated by ethnic enclaves and was a reason to both move in for some, and to move away for others – " *Ladywood has more Black people whereas Winson Green was more multicultural so that is why I moved in*" (Interviewee 32, Jamaican old migrant, Ladywood). Such findings also highlight that diversity as the dominant identity of the neighbourhood is yet to be established. Diversity in the area was consistently discussed as relating to a small number of dominant ethnic groups – namely White British, Indian, Sikh, and to a lesser extent, Black Caribbean. Wealth diversity in the neighbourhood was also referred to in the context of the perceived gentrification of Ladywood. As already discussed, the lack of shops and cultural facilities / services over and beyond those targeted towards one or two ethnic groups was also stated, and indeed recent Eastern European EU8 arrivals highlighted that food shops were not reflective of all of those who lived in the neighbourhood.

With reference to Handsworth, and where diversity was generally perceived as the dominant neighbourhood identity, respondents frequently referred to the dominance of one or two ethnic groups, although it was claimed that these had changed over time. The Asian community was consistently seen as key ethnic group in the area, and had moved – alongside the Black community - from being a minority population to a majority population. In turn, it was argued that whilst there was a range of facilities in the area that reflected the more recent arrival of new migrants, in general more Asian shops and ethnically focused facilities such as Mosques had emerged over time (and with each Mosque serving distinct 'sub-communities'). Interestingly, however, many participants claimed that whilst Sikhs and Hindus had moved out of Handsworth to more affluent areas, Sikh temples had continued to burgeon in the neighbourhood due to Sikhs remaining in close proximity. This provides an interesting and alternative perspective on the extent to which individuals wish to express their identity through contextual features of the neighbourhood: clearly, this is not the case for all but may not undermine attachment to the area.

## Key points

- Population churn was less evident in terms of an influence on shaping residential mobility decisions; super-diverse neighbourhoods are areas of stability for some as well as being a zone of transition for others.
- The visible diversity associated with super-diverse neighbourhoods serves to attract some as they can blend in.
- Both contextual and collective features of super-diverse neighbourhoods (and over and beyond compositional features – i.e. 'who lives there') can influence decisions of those less familiar with visible diversity (for example, Eastern European migrants) to leave super-diverse neighbourhoods.
- However, in contrast to existing perspectives, many (white) Eastern European EU8 migrants – and who are relatively 'invisible' - settled in super-diverse neighbourhoods once they became accustomed to visible difference.
- Many (white) Eastern European migrants – 'old' and 'new' – were also attracted by the visible diversity of super-diverse neighbourhoods due to issues of discrimination by the host white community in other parts of the city and / or due to intra-migrant tensions with others in Eastern European enclaves beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood. This leads to new forms of 'minority white flight' on a 'majority white community'. It also challenges existing arguments that discuss the 'minority white flight' of such individuals away from super-diverse areas (Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014). Furthermore, it additionally contests work that asserts that the 'whiteness' and relative invisibility of Eastern European migrants provides them with wider residential choices than those who are more visible.
- Ethnicity and the presence of ethnic enclaves remains a central feature of super-diverse neighbourhoods and can inform decisions to move in or out of such areas.
- The contextual features of super-diverse neighbourhoods also vary in terms of their importance in shaping attachment to the area and as an expression of individuals' identity.

### 4.3.3 Assertion 3: Increasing super-diversity can serve to undermine local integration and encourage insularity

In the previous sections, the importance of population change, visible diversity and the continuing presence of ethnic groups in super-diverse neighbourhoods were highlighted as informing residential mobility patterns in numerous ways. Respondents in both Handsworth and Ladywood highlighted that there had been new flows of individuals both into and out of each neighbourhood and that in general there had been an increase in population diversity in each area. In this context, Wessendorf (2016; 2014) has claimed that increasing super-diversity may lead to positive experiences for individuals. The transiency of populations can lead to openness towards newcomers and 'conviviality' between different groups as 'otherness' becomes 'commonplace' (Wessendorf, 2013; 2014). However, it is also noted how this may vary according to whether people are in 'public' or 'parochial' space, that conviviality may only extend as far as certain migrant populations ('migrant convivialities') and that 'anchor points' (or 'micro spaces of conviviality') may be limited in terms of the extent to which a diverse range of individuals occupy such spaces (ibid.). In turn, it is also noted how new forms of discrimination may permeate between different residents based on racial, cultural, socio-economic differences, as well as between long-established residents and newcomers (Wessendorf, 2016). However, such discrimination is not deemed to be generalizable to the neighbourhood (ibid.).

These issues were explored further in Handsworth and Ladywood. On a positive note, a small number of both longer established and new migrants identified that increasing super-diversity had informed migrant conviviality through a greater acknowledgement of 'diverse ways of living' and in so doing could help to overcome ignorance:

> *I cut grass for my African neighbor and I meet my Slovakian neighbour. My daughter also plays with some Indian children. There was a guy whose house we were working on and we were bringing our own breakfast and he would ask us "What is this? What is this?" And we were sharing food and he liked it and he would bring us his own. So we were just learning each other's culture* (Interviewee 10, Polish old migrant, Handsworth).

But the majority of respondents argued that whilst diversity was increasingly common, it was not necessarily leading to conviviality. Language was cited as a key barrier to integration and networking between different groups in each neighbourhood, and especially in relation to new migrant arrivals. Additionally, the continuing predominance of particular ethnic groups was noted as undermining a sense of community in Ladywood, and to a lesser extent in Handsworth. In Ladywood, ethnic segregation was seen as a strong influence in reinforcing insularity and spatial integration. Interviewee 39 (Indian new migrant, Ladywood) discussed how "*everyone is divided….., you know, Indians are scary, Black people are scary etc.*"; Interviewee 36 (Lithuanian old migrant, Ladywood) referred to "*everyone sitting in their own corner – I am going to be Black and hang out with Black people….etc.*"; and Interviewee 32 (Jamaican old migrant, Ladywood) summarised as follows:

> *In a way there is segregation. There is a Caribbean Centre where I live and I have noticed that a lot of the Caribbean people eat in their own shops as well. So there is that little community. Then you have got the Muslims; we have got a mosque/ prayer house*". *I don't know many Eastern Europeans that I would hang out with, especially in my age group*.

**Ethno-specific facilities, Ladywood**

"*This is a church where predominantly black migrants congregate. Not somewhere I'd go, myself*" (Photo Project Participant 13, Indian native, Ladywood).

Non-migrants also made the point that the very insularity of Ladywood was a key reason why many EU8 migrants had moved in, and hence this was promulgating 'commonplace insularity' - "*there has been a massive new influx of people comfortable with their own nationality but who do not feel comfortable or acknowledging anybody else*" (Interviewee 22, White / Afro-Caribbean native, Ladywood). Moreover, a number of interviewees from Eastern Europe also identified indifference towards creating meeting places in the neighbourhood where they could meet with others: "*as Eastern European's we don't especially create places like community centres or whatever*" (Interviewee 36, Lithuanian old migrant, Ladywood). Subsequently, in many instances networks between different groups in Ladywood have not developed at all– "*People are basically in their little pods and that is it*" (Interviewee 28, Hungarian old migrant, Ladywood).

In Handsworth, some interviewees identified how religious and cultural festivals associated with particular ethnic and / or faith groups were also leading to temporal segregation: "*They've had a few festivals, where they all wear white in the evening…… It's all men, we don't really know what they're doing….. I don't think* *it's open to outsiders*" (Interviewee 19, Chinese new migrant, Handsworth). Interactions between individuals were discussed in the context of the main shopping area (Soho Road), in respect of local schools, and in places of worship, such as mosques and temples. But even where individuals had claimed that they had met others in places such as at the school gates, the shop, the local park or at the bus stop, meetings were described as 'fleeting' and 'superficial' – "*you meet people in particular places but it doesn't necessarily mean you develop more extensive relations with others*" (Interviewee 12, Vietnamese old migrant, Handsworth). As such, 'micro spaces' of conviviality were generally lacking.

Pemberton and Phillimore (2016) highlight that a legacy of multiculturalism in Handsworth has led to many community spaces or 'anchor points' being associated with specific faith or ethnic groups. However, this piece of research highlighted that those who were not members of such groups – including but not exclusive to EU8 migrants - were not comfortable with such spaces, and sought to avoid them. This served to further undermine conviviality in the neighbourhood and indeed the 'super-diverse' identity of Handsworth. As such, under the veneer of super-diversity, the importance of specific ethnic / faith groups was still apparent.

As a result, a number of instances of discrimination were reported. On the one hand, individuals noted that they lived in Handsworth and – to a lesser extent – Ladywood in order to avoid discrimination in other parts of the city. However, it was claimed that discrimination was still apparent on the basis of ethnicity in respect of a number of individuals - *"Our neighbour's children often shouts at us "Chinese, Chinese.....it's unfriendly. And how could they know? It must be the parents"* (Interviewee 12, Chinese new migrant, Handsworth). Others noted that discrimination existed on the basis of 'newness' or recency to the neighbourhood – "*Polish and those recently from Romania….it's getting warm if you know what I mean…..the neighbourhood has got overridden by trash*" (Interviewee 20, Polish new migrant, Handsworth). Discrimination according to gender was also apparent, and with interviewees identifying that those discriminating belonged to other minority groups:

> *I am different. And here people are more Indian or something and they do not have any respect for me…….sometimes, some men. Asian. So I do not like living here…..I do not feel comfortable……(*Interviewee 11, Polish old migrant, Handsworth)

and

> *Even now, on Soho Road, you can find these things. If you're wearing a short dress or your shoulders are visible, this and that, people comment. Not a compliment, they comment in a negative way* (Interviewee 8, Indian old migrant, Handsworth).

There was also some evidence of tensions between British-born minorities and new migrant arrivals in Ladywood, and which intersected with different ethnic groups in different ways:

> *There's a clash in generations". "They say Yardie, yeh to the older people…….It's a bad thing to say to a Jamaican. Yeh* (Interviewee 32, Jamaican old migrant, Ladywood)

and

> I *think we have adapted to the English life (being born here), so we have less in common with those arriving from India* (Interviewee 39, Indian new migrant, Ladywood).

A small number of Polish migrants additionally claimed that there were increasing intra-migrant tensions between older and younger migrants from Eastern Europe and with older individuals less likely to integrate due to being less open-minded. In the words of one interviewee: "*When you ask the old people they say…..'ah, we want to be like the west, but we're from east…..when communism was prevalent'……they have totally a different state of mind than the younger, the younger is much more open-minded, the younger people don't feel like that*" (Interviewee 20, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

One further issue that the research considered was the impact of the Brexit referendum on conviviality in super-diverse neighbourhoods, and particularly given a reported increase in racial hate crime and fears of increasing xenophobia in the UK (Harris and Charlton, 2016). In general, most interviewees – regardless of neighbourhood or migrant / non-migrant status, suggested that Brexit had not made any difference to relations and / or conviviality with others, nor on their moving intentions. One or two native non-migrants and non-EU migrants suggested that Brexit could impinge on community relations with Eastern European Accession migrants and lead to an increase in racial hate crime. Some also viewed Brexit as "*Britain and the (former) commonwealth countries against Eastern European migrants*" (Interviewee 37, Canadian new migrant, Ladywood). But actual reports of such crime were minimal. This may be due to "*a political correctness thing…..they are not going to openly say to your face 'I hate you'*" (Interviewee 36, Lithuanian new migrant, Ladywood). However, only one interviewee – a relatively new Italian immigrant in Ladywood - suggested that they had actually been subject to discrimination, and even this was a case of mistaken identity:

> *It looks like a joke but we have this Portuguese car with the Portuguese license plate, the Portuguese license plate starts with a 'P' which for 99% of the population represents Poland. And I can feel some nervousness from some people when I go inside their house to photograph, they think I am Polish. And I have to justify why my car is Portuguese and not Polish and the fact that I'm Italian. And when I say that I'm Italian you can see the muscles in their face relaxing* (Interviewee 35, Italian new migrant, Ladywood).

**Impact of Brexit**

"*A Union Jack that appeared following the Brexit vote at a high rise block*" (Photo Project Participant 13, Indian native, Ladywood).

Those who did express concerns over the impact of Brexit tended to focus on more pragmatic issues, such as whether this would make food more expensive to buy or the impact on remittance behaviour: "*Before the voting I sent all my money to Poland, I said, if they go out, then I won't lose, if they will vote in, nothing change, The day after when I see it just goes (down) like that, I said 'wow, I was lucky!"* (Interviewee 20, Polish new migrant, Handsworth). Other Eastern European migrants were now contemplating their citizenship although they were concerned that it may make it more difficult to subsequently travel elsewhere if they adopted British citizenship in the context of Brexit:

> *As a Lithuanian if I become a (UK) citizen I'll have to revoke my Lithuanian citizenship which would mean I would also lose my European citizen status. Which means I would have to rely on the deals that the current and upcoming governments are going to form, which I'm not expecting to be great. Because as far as I can see the European Union is going to stick up the little finger, the little bird to Britain! "Goodbye, you suck!" So what about travel? Movement is going to be restrained now.....If I was Polish it would be no problem, they have dual citizenship*" (Interviewee 36, Lithuanian new migrant, Ladywood).

As a result, Brexit did not appear to have impinged markedly on issues of conviviality or discrimination, nor on mobility intentions except for those considering longer-term (international) migration. But in general, increasing super-diversity appears to undermine the integration of populations. Conviviality was largely absent, especially in Ladywood and did not extend even as far as migrant populations for most, and regardless of whether people were in 'public' or 'parochial' space (Wessendorf, 2016). In addition, 'anchor points' for conviviality (ibid.) were either absent or limited to specific ethnic or faith groups, even in the super-diverse neighbourhood of Handsworth. Thus it is perhaps not surprising to find that discrimination – along several intersecting lines – existed between different residents. Whilst such incidences of discrimination were not necessarily generalizable to either of the neighbourhoods as a whole, the overall sense was that there was a lack of deep relations between different groups in each area.

**Key points**

- Whilst diversity was increasingly common in the neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood, it was not necessarily leading to conviviality or integration.
- Conviviality was largely absent, especially in Ladywood and did not extend even as far as migrant populations for most, and regardless of whether people were in 'public' or 'parochial' space.
- Language was cited as a key barrier to integration and networking between different groups in each neighbourhood.
- The continuing predominance of particular ethnic groups was noted as undermining conviviality in Ladywood, and to a lesser extent in Handsworth.
- The insularity of Ladywood was a key reason why many Eastern European migrants had moved into the neighbourhood, and in turn this was promulgating 'commonplace insularity'.
- In Handsworth, some interviewees identified how religious and cultural festivals associated with particular ethnic and / or faith groups were also leading to temporal segregation.
- 'Anchor points' for conviviality were either absent or limited to specific ethnic or faith groups.
- Discrimination according to ethnicity, age, gender and 'newness' was also reported. Whilst such incidences of discrimination were not necessarily generalizable to either of the neighbourhoods as a whole, the overall sense was that there was a lack of deep relations between different groups in each area.
- Brexit had not impinged markedly on issues of conviviality or discrimination, or on mobility intentions except for those considering longer-term (international) migration.

*Theme 2: Identity, attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods.*

### 4.3.4 Assertion 4: Individuals are comfortable in expressing their identity in super-diverse neighbourhoods in a variety of ways, although opportunities are more restricted for certain groups and neighbourhoods

Valentine (2001) notes how individual identity can be viewed as a fluid and evolving practice, which can shape, and be shaped by place. Traditionally, neighbourhood identity has been conceived in terms of dominant ethnic groups. But with the emergence of super-diversity, neighbourhood identity may be more fragmented, layered and inter-mingled and based upon diversity (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016). Therefore, a key concern was to explore issues of individual and neighbourhood identity in super-diverse neighbourhoods and to assess the extent to which such identities may be changing.

One aspect of neighbourhood identity referred to was 'newness' (also see Phillimore, 2015). Given that both Handsworth and Ladywood have experienced substantial flows of new immigrants into the neighbourhood in the last 10 years, many individuals are relatively 'new' to the neighbourhood. Thus 'newness' was seen as a key feature of super-diverse neighbourhood identity:

> *When I went to my secondary school, you had the Blacks, the Asians and the Whites and then in the space of two years, you have lots of people coming from Afghanistan and Somalia and Romania and Poland* (British Pakistani native, Ladywood)

Nevertheless, a number of females in Handsworth expressed some discomfort in expressing their identity in the neighbourhood due to their newness:

> *I keep my voice quiet so I'm not heard as much because at the end of the day we are new and it is not our country. And although they might be nice to our face they might not be happy about us living here* (Interviewee 16, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

Alongside, newness, both poverty and crime were also viewed as increasingly important elements of super-diverse neighbourhood identity. Local and national media were perceived as reinforcing such perceptions and in turn, this meant that many respondents – migrant and non-migrant - were more uncomfortable expressing their identity during the evening, as many felt unsafe and were therefore less likely to visibly demonstrate their difference(s):

> *It's all the negatives, every single negative thing you can think of they portray us. A multiple number of children, young children getting pregnant, abused, drugs, everything. Everything, just put it on Handsworth* (Interviewee 13, Nigerian old migrant, Handsworth)

and

> *Ladywood is the area with the most of unemployment in the country! And also the crime….The sense is of danger* (Interviewee 38, Italian new migrant, Ladywood)

**Poverty, crime and a feeling of being unsafe, Ladywood**

"*The two men that I spoke to had the same views as me. The area can be very threatening because a few months ago there was a robbery twice in a bookie shop and the newsagent shop man was seriously hurt. There has been a shooting too and guns have been found in people's house, so I find it very scary to go to the shop late at night*" (Photo Project Participant 17, Jamaican old migrant, Ladywood).

However, individuals who had lived in the neighbourhood(s) for a considerable period of time suggested that this made them more comfortable with expressing their identity: "*they're familiar with Vietnamese people, Chinese people, because we've lived here for a long time*" (Interviewee 12, Vietnamese old migrant, Handsworth).

In terms of differences in identity between the neighbourhoods, in Handsworth many individuals noted that the identity of the neighbourhood was one of 'diversity', and which was reflected through individuals themselves in terms of the languages spoken, clothes worn, and through local festivals and with the diversity of the population being clearly visible. It was also reflected through contextual features of the neighbourhood, such as shops (on Soho Road and Rookery Road), services, lights and cultural / religious facilities, although not necessarily for all. Whilst some bought goods from shops associated with ethnic groups different to their own, nearly all of the respondents argued that there was a 'lag' in terms of contextual features of the neighbourhood (with the exception of food) reflecting compositional changes arising from movements of people in and out of the neighbourhood. This is interesting as it is the opposite of traditional models of urban regeneration (see, for example Leary and McCarthy,

2013) whereby contextual features have often been subject to 'first intervention', but with changes in the population – in terms of their circumstances, resources and identities - occurring more gradually over time.

Thus whilst the perception of Handsworth amongst respondents was one of diversity, the importance of ethnic identities still mattered. The Black and Asian community were perceived as dominating in the neighbourhood and with the Indian culture standing out according to many interviewees: "*The neighbourhood is really known as the little Indian central of Birmingham*" (Interviewee 6, Jamaican / British Mixed native, Handsworth). This meant that a number of white native non-migrant respondents and some of those from Eastern Europe (EU8 migrants) – and especially more recent arrivals - were not as comfortable in expressing their identity in the area, although this – as we have noted – can change over time as they become more accustomed to the visible diversity of others.

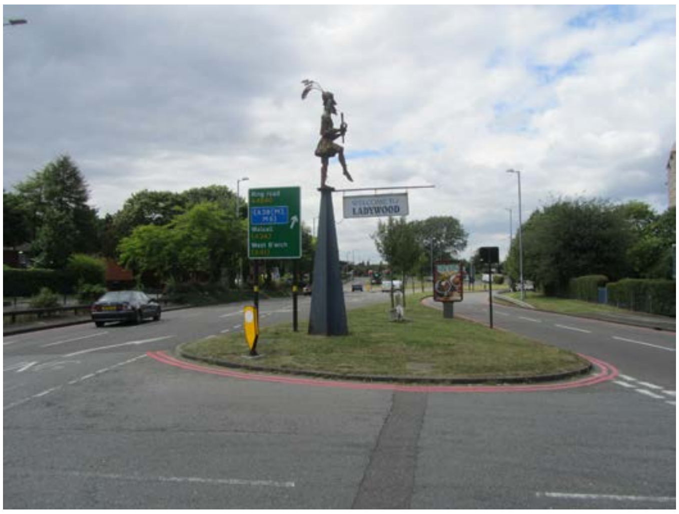
**Neighbourhood identity, Handsworth**

"*This is Soho Road. Sometimes I feel not so good walking on the road. People look at me like I am not one of them, in a strange way, and it makes me feel uneasy. There are restaurants there I heard that are for Muslim people, where women and men need to go to different eating rooms. I don't feel comfortable to go to those restaurants*" (Photo Project Participant 5, Polish old migrant, Handsworth).

In Ladywood, diversity as the dominant identity of the neighbourhood was not as established. One or two interviewees argued that the diverseness of the area was increasingly its identity. But the majority of respondents stated that Ladywood's identity – if at all present – was based around transiency and churn –"*If I was purchasing I would not purchase here because it is just a little bit too* *transient…it's a revolving door*" (Interviewee 28, Hungarian old migrant, Ladywood), as well as one or two ethnic groups:

> *Ladywood is not known for migrant groups, just its young professionals. There is a lower class white community, some Eastern Europeans who have arrived recently and then it is still predominantly Indian, Sikh and to a lesser extent Black Caribbean. It is definitely not as mixed as somewhere like Handsworth or Balsall Heath* (Interviewee 24, Indian native, Ladywood)

**Neighbourhood identity, Ladywood**



"*It is a unique sign – the only one around…..as I have not seen anything like this before for Ladywood*" (Photo Project Participant 12, Afro-Caribbean native, Ladywood).

As a consequence, areas of emerging super-diversity can lack cultural and territorial identity – "*I do not think that people know what or where Ladywood is*" (Interviewee 37, Canadian new migrant, Ladywood), and which may impinge on identity formation for individuals given the lack of particular facilities or services in the neighbourhood:

> *There is no community hub – no library; no cafes; nowhere for people to sit down to meet others* (Interviewee 21, British Indian native, Ladywood).

However, and – as discussed previously – the very transiency of areas of emerging super-diversity and lack of specific identity may prove attractive to certain groups of migrants, such as Eastern Europeans, who are enticed by the ability to 'keep themselves to themselves' and to move away from ethnic enclaves in other parts of the city. For others, the lack of contextual neighbourhood features meant that they practiced their identities outside of the neighbourhood in other parts of the city:

> *I go to Acock's Green to practice my identity. If I go out with my friends I don't do that in the neighbourhood* (Interviewee 34, Polish new migrant, Ladywood).

Such issues will be explored later in this chapter, and with a particular emphasis on the extent to which individuals 'go local' in super-diverse neighbourhoods.

**Key points**

- Poverty, crime and lack of safety are increasingly key elements of super-diverse neighbourhood identity.
- 'Newness' was also a key feature of super-diverse neighbourhood identity, although this could lead to discrimination against new arrivals.
- The diversity of Handsworth was seen as its main identity and which was reflected in wide-ranging retail and cultural facilities. However, the importance of ethnicity remains and this shapes the perceptions of individuals in respect of the dominance of particular ethnic groups.
- The identity of Ladywood was generally absent; at most it related to transiency and churn, poverty and crime and one or two ethnic groups.
- The lack of neighbourhood identity may prove attractive to certain groups of migrants, and who are enticed by the ability to 'keep themselves to themselves'.
- Some individuals noted that they practised their identities outside of areas of emerging super-diversity given the lack of neighbourhood features through which they could project their identity, as well as a lack of suitable places to meet.

### 4.3.5 Assertion 5: A ‘politics of belonging’ is evident in super-diverse neighbourhoods and which discriminates against new arrivals

To date, there has been little attention on issues of attachment and belonging in super-diverse neighbourhoods. Through connecting identity to place, a consideration can be made of the extent to which individuals feel that they are attached or belong in areas of super-diversity.

Place-attachment relates to various scales – from the home to the city, and to the world (Lewicka, 2010). But we have a lack of knowledge on which scales are most relevant in super-diverse neighbourhoods. Equally, if belonging takes us beyond place attachment through considering the emotional and political dimensions of place identity (Isakjeee, 2016), to what extent does ‘place belonging’ feature in terms of whether people feel ‘in place’ or ‘out of place’ in super-diverse neighbourhoods? In addition, there is also a need to explore how place belonging is shaped and the extent to which a ‘politics of belonging’ also operates in such areas, and which may determine ‘who belongs’ and ‘who does not’ (Yuval-Davis, 2007; Antonsich, 2010). Furthermore, does attachment and belonging continue to reflect the value and cultures of dominant ethnic groups in super-diverse neighbourhoods, or is this now much more fluid, fragmented and contested?

With reference to place attachment, the scales of the home and the city have been identified as providing the greatest attachment to place (Tuan, 1974). But given that most of the interviewees highlighted the emotional and political importance of place, the discussion considers the respective importance of such scales (and others) in relation to place belonging.

Overall, individuals identified that they had multiple forms of place belonging and generally commencing with belonging to home, followed by family, the neighbourhood (to a much lesser extent in Ladywood) and subsequently different ‘communities of interest’. This was particularly true for non-migrant natives and old migrants. Indeed, autobiographical influences and childhood memories / past family experiences – both for parents and children – were extremely important in shaping belonging to the home. Length of residence in the area was also important:

> *I don’t think anybody can take away my attachment because they’re my memories, they’re what’s shaped me…so if anyone moves in here and blows up the place, I’ll still remember it* (Interviewee 13, Nigerian old migrant, Handsworth)

and

> *A lot of what’s kept me here is my Mom lives here, my brothers live in this community, my nieces and nephews. It’s my community* (Interviewee 6, British / Mixed Caribbean native, Handsworth).

Beyond this, in Handsworth – an established area of super-diversity – the presence of family and friends (social ties), and the availability of local services and cultural and religious facilities and festivals (for some but not all) also shaped a sense of place belonging. Individuals also argued that place belonging was based on physical proximity and 'to be with others'. This finding contrasts with those of Probyn (1996) and Diprose (2008), for example, who have noted previously that belonging was more likely to be based around the need to project a common identity rather than on physical proximity:

> *I know people. If you need something, groceries, clothes, help that you know where to go. It is easy and accessible. And people as well, you are friends; you go and talk to them and spend time together* (Interviewee 8, Indian old migrant, Handsworth)

In Ladywood, the lack of place identity (see previous section) and 'everyday life encounters' (Morley, 2001) meant that many individuals also forged a strong sense of place belonging through the home rather than the neighbourhood:

> *I mean, she absolutely loves it, loves the house and the garden but not the area. If you could pick up the whole house and move it…* (Interviewee 21, British Indian native, Ladywood).

**Place belonging, Ladywood**

"*We want my mum to move from here but she really like the house and has very memories*" (Photo Project Participant 11, British Indian native, Ladywood).

But in contrast to Handsworth, length of time in the neighbourhood and social ties were less important in terms of place belonging as was the presence of local infrastructure, such as retail and religious facilities, as well as places to meet others. Indeed, relational forms of place belonging were more prevalent given the proximity of the neighbourhood to the city centre - *Everything is so close by, yeah…what else? That's it, yeah. It's so close by to the city, easy access yeah….*(Interviewee 32, Jamaican old migrant, Ladywood).

Economic influences on place belonging appeared to act differently to the norm in both neighbourhoods: rather than belonging being based on employment within the neighbourhood, individuals highlighted that it was the lack of economic capital and costs of moving out of the neighbourhood that was informing continuing place belonging – albeit in a diluted form. A small number of EU8 migrants from Poland also discussed how they had a general lack of place belonging due to the fact that they spent very little time in the neighbourhood because of work – *"It's just like go to shop, go to house, go to work….."* (Interviewee 34, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

Legal / immigration status was also important in shaping belonging: some new migrants who had arrived recently in the UK suggested that they were reliant on social housing and therefore had little choice or opportunity to move elsewhere. Whilst this meant that some sought to forge attachment to the local area, others commented that they had no desire to do so.

Influences that were noted as undermining place belonging included increasing pollution, traffic and congestion. In Handsworth, this was discussed primarily in relation to the main shopping area of Soho Road and Rookery Road. Indeed, this had served to influence other forms of relational place belonging for a number of old migrants who had decided to move out of the neighbourhood due to such issues, but who remained in close proximity due to the retail and religious facilities on offer (see earlier sections). In Ladywood, individuals also suggested that the gentrification of the neighbourhood was leading to increased traffic congestion, as well as the insularity of different groups.

Increasing concerns over levels of crime and perceptions of feeling unsafe and 'out of place' also undermined place belonging. This leads into a consideration of the 'politics of belonging' in super-diverse neighbourhoods. With regards to the politics of belonging there was very clear evidence of hostility – and in some cases – open discrimination towards more recent migrants who had arrived in both neighbourhoods. Newcomers to both Handsworth and Ladywood were blamed for increasing crime and anti-social behaviour in the area and the amount of rubbish and litter in the streets. Some Eastern Europeans – and especially those from Romania were singled out by non-migrants and old migrants:

In the words of several interviewees:

> *The area has definitely changed because if you look at Rookery Road there has been a massive exodus of people because of anti-social behaviour and because of the Eastern Europeans especially* (Interviewee 2, British Indian native, Handsworth)

and

> *Amongst the Romanians there are a lot of thieves. If there's something here, they'll take it. If there's a pushchair unattended they'll take it* (Interviewee 14, Bangladeshi new Migrant, Handsworth).

**Politics of belonging, Ladywood**

ANSELLS
THE TWIN TOWERS
PHARMACY

"*New migrants seem less interested in pubs and more likely to purchase alcohol from supermarkets to drink privately*" (Photo Project Participant 13, Indian native, Ladywood).

Hence a politics of belonging based around 'newness' was apparent in both neighbourhoods, and which can be related to the numbers of new migrants arriving in each neighbourhood. However, ethnicity was still an important feature in shaping belonging. In both neighbourhoods, the problems of the neighbourhood were primarily blamed on recently arrived Eastern Europeans from Romania, and to a lesser extent, Bulgaria. There was also some evidence that some longer established Black and Indian migrants also deemed those from Eastern Europe as 'not belonging':

> *We have a Somali community; we have a lot of Kurdish people, they go to the local mosques so they have a bit of belonging here. And also a Sikh community, they have the temples here. So they feel they belong here. There are three or four generations of the Indian people here so they don't feel as lost. Whereas the other people are new to the area so they are not building the houses here, they are sending money back to support their*

> *families in Poland or the other countries* (Interviewee 5, Black Caribbean native, Handsworth)

**Politics of belonging based on 'newness', Ladywood**

"*A lot of gypsies and Roma walk around the streets with pushchairs full of junk or empty watching homes to break in*" (Photo Project Participant 1, Indian native, Handsworth).

In Ladywood, the predominance of specific ethnic groups – such as White, Black and Asian – also meant that spatial segregation on the basis of ethnicity was perceived as being important in shaping a politics of belonging, although the increasing super-diversity of the neighbourhood meant that the area was increasingly attractive to those "*who would not like to live in a Ghetto*" (Interviewee 23, Irish native, Ladywood). Inversely, such segregation, coupled with the identity of the neighbourhood as being transitory also served to foster a sense of belonging for some (Eastern European) migrants who wished to avoid encounter and keep 'themselves to themselves'. However, more recent arrivals from Bulgaria and Romania were again generally identified as 'not belonging'.

One further point of interest in respect of a politics of belonging related to the importance of the (Birmingham) city centre. Beyond meeting friends in the city centre, some participants – and notably migrants who had lived in Handsworth and Ladywood for a considerable period of time - referred to the city centre as being a 'neutral' diverse space, and generally absent of any 'politics of belonging'. This was attractive to many:

> *In the city centre, I see that there are a high number of multicultural (people), so you can fit in there; you will not disturb anyone* (Interviewee 29, Congolese old migrant, Ladywood).

Others referred to a sense of belonging to the city centre because it was so close to the neighbourhood of Ladywood or due to the leisure activities on offer in the city centre. However, any patterns were not clear-cut. A number of migrants, who referred to their visible difference, argued that the city centre was a place of discrimination, and that it lacked diversity – and the subsequent ability – to 'blend in':

> I*n the city centre I feel afraid that someone will attack me. But not in Handsworth* (Interviewee 14, Bangladeshi old migrant, Handsworth)

and

> *There is no discrimination in the neighbourhood but I have been discriminated against in the city centre* (Interviewee 27, Spanish old migrant, Ladywood).

## Key points

- Individuals identified that they had multiple forms of place belonging - generally commencing with belonging to home, followed by family, the neighbourhood (to a much lesser extent in Ladywood) and subsequently different 'communities of interest'.
- Autobiographical influences and childhood memories / past family experiences – both for parents and children – were extremely important in shaping belonging to the home.
- In Handsworth – an established area of super-diversity – the presence of family and friends (social ties), and the availability of local services and cultural and religious facilities and festivals (for some but not all) also shaped a sense of place belonging.
- Individuals also argued (especially in Handsworth) that place belonging was based on physical proximity and 'to be with others'. This finding contrasts with those of Probyn (1996) and Diprose (2008), for example, who have noted previously that belonging was more likely to be based around the need to project a common identity rather than on physical proximity.
- In Ladywood, the lack of place identity and 'everyday life encounters' (Morley, 2001) meant that many also forged a strong sense of place belonging through the home rather than the neighbourhood. Relational forms of place belonging were more prevalent in Ladywood given the proximity of the neighbourhood to Birmingham city centre.
- Economic influences on place belonging appeared to act differently to the norm in both neighbourhoods: individuals highlighted that it was the lack of economic capital and costs of moving out of the neighbourhood that was informing continuing place belonging – albeit in a diluted form.
- Legal / immigration status was also important in shaping belonging.
- Influences undermining place belonging included increasing pollution, traffic and congestion, levels of crime and perceptions of feeling unsafe and 'out of place'.
- With regards to the politics of belonging there was very clear evidence of hostility – and in some cases – open discrimination towards more recent migrants who had arrived in both neighbourhoods.
- Newcomers to both Handsworth and Ladywood were blamed for increasing crime and anti-social behaviour in the area and the amount of rubbish and litter in the streets.
- A politics of belonging based around 'newness' was apparent in both neighbourhoods, and which can be related to the numbers of new migrants arriving in each neighbourhood. However, ethnicity was still an important feature in shaping belonging in each neighbourhood and with mixed perceptions of the city centre - as an alternative space – within which individuals could feel more 'in' or 'out' of place.

*Theme 3: Territorial and relational perspectives on place and individuals' activity spaces in the context of super-diverse neighbourhoods*

The final theme explored the neighbourhood orientations of individuals, and how, why and to what extent non-migrants and migrants used different 'activity spaces' relative to their neighbourhoods of residence. Both home and work have been seen as influential in shaping an individual's activity space (Golledge and Stimson, 1997), but is this the case in areas of super-diversity, and where the complexity and evolving nature of populations may shape engagement in activity spaces in different ways?

### 4.3.6 Assertion 6: Individuals in super-diverse areas use various support structures to 'negotiate' the neighbourhood, and different forms of transport are also used to facilitate mobility within and beyond the neighbourhood.

To understand the neighbourhood orientations and activity spaces of individuals, participants in the research were first questioned on their ways of 'knowing the neighbourhood' (Crang and Thrift, 2000). In both Handsworth and Ladywood, 'Google' and social media (for example, Facebook groups such as 'Bham.pl') had been used to find out about the neighbourhood and the events / activities taking place by all groups:

> *All the time I try to have the data bundles on my phone, for example, because when I go out, I don't know the city, so it's simple, I just go 'Google'* (Interviewee 16, Polish new migrant, Handsworth).

But neighbours and friends were a much more important source of information (for example, about local schools, local health facilities etc.) to help with navigating the neighbourhood for native non-migrants and migrants in Handsworth compared to Ladywood, and reflecting the insularity and more transitory nature of the latter area:

> *He (friend) showed me everything: GP, library, shopping, neighbourhood office. And then I started to find things step-by-step. But in the very first instance it was a friend of mine* who helped (Interviewee 9, Black African old migrant, Handsworth).

Family and / or a partner or spouse – where relevant and applicable – were also an important source of information for all respondents in both neighbourhoods, whilst longer established migrants' work colleagues were also an important source of information in both Handsworth and Ladywood. Some old migrants additionally remarked that they had asked for information about the neighbourhoods in the local gym.

Those more recently arrived in the UK and the neighbourhood simply navigated the neighbourhood themselves, or asked people on the street or in a shop. Native non-migrants in Ladywood referred to the medical centre in Ladywood as a source of information about the neighbourhood. However, the perceived lack of 'street life' in Ladywood meant that that asking people on the street was a less frequently adopted strategy. Interestingly, most migrants had undertaken very little research on either of the case study neighbourhoods prior to moving in, although there were one or two exceptions:

> *I looked online (about the neighbourhood) when I was still back home. That was the only way I could've done it. I looked on sites like Gumtree or 'find a roommate' or whatever. I compared the distances of different neighbourhoods (to the city centre), etc….trying to find the golden middle of what I'm willing to walk, how much it is going to cost in time…* (Interviewee 36, Lithuanian new migrant, Handsworth).

With reference to mobility in and beyond the neighbourhood, interviewees noted that that they had experienced few major problems or barriers in respect of physical mobility in the neighbourhood, or more broadly across the city. However, there were some differences between native non-migrants, and old and new migrants in terms of the main methods of transport that were used (and why). In terms of new migrants, most used public transport, walked or (to a lesser extent) cycled – "*I use my bike to travel; pretty much 100% by bike*" (Interviewee 37, Canadian new migrant, Ladywood). Walking to the city centre was a mode of travel that was particularly evident for old and new migrants in Ladywood given the proximity of the centre (this was not resource dependant in general). Nevertheless, whilst some also used public transport, others complained that the radial nature of public transport was inconvenient and meant that they resorted to using a car to travel to other parts of the city and to go further afield:

> *I don't use the bus especially because the system is centralised; if you go from the city centre you can go in all directions but if you want to go to another one you have to change… it is not very convenient. Since we have a car we don't have this problem* (Interviewee 35, Italian new migrant, Ladywood).

Notwithstanding this point, new migrants in Handsworth also used the bus to travel outside of the neighbourhood in general – and predominantly to the city centre. This was also the case for old migrants in the neighbourhood but who were more likely to use a car. Native non-migrants were more likely to use a car, followed by buses to travel outside each of the neighbourhoods. Cycling and walking were less prevalent forms of mobility for native non-migrants.

However, Handsworth was noted by respondents as being increasingly congested, whilst parking in both neighbourhoods – but especially Ladywood given its proximity to the city centre – was also deemed to be a key factor in shaping the attractiveness of other modes of transport. Indeed, each neighbourhood was seen as being well served by public transport both in the day and during the evening and individuals highlighted that they had not generally experienced any discrimination when using public transport. But there were mixed opinions on whether public transport was affordable or not. Around a third of the sample argued that public transport was increasingly expensive – especially new migrants. Others saw it as generally being affordable.

Virtual mobility beyond the neighbourhood was evident in terms of old and new migrants using the internet and apps such as ‘Skype’ and Facebook / Twitter to communicate with others in the neighbourhood and other parts of the city, as well as with family and friends in their country of origin:

> *Like connection with my country, with my friends, yeah, it's very important. With my parents, we Skype every week. I think it will be difficult to live without it, yeah, because in daily touch, I'm with friends through WhatsApp, because it's only way I how I can be in touch with my friends in the Czech Republic* (Interviewee 38, Czech Republic new migrant, Ladywood).

In summary, whilst there were differences between individuals in terms of how they came to ‘know the neighbourhood’ and also in respect of the key modes of transport that were utilised to facilitate mobility, individuals did not highlight discriminatory practices by others in general, or indeed a lack of resources *per se,* as impacting upon their overall mobility and / or the ‘activity spaces’ that they used. The nature and extent of such activity spaces is considered further in the following section.

**Key points**

- Whilst there were differences between individuals in terms of how they came to 'know the neighbourhood' and also in respect of the key modes of transport that were utilised to facilitate mobility, individuals did not highlight discriminatory practices by others in general, or indeed a lack of resources *per se,* as impacting upon their overall mobility and / or the 'activity spaces' that they used.
- The internet – including 'Google' and social media had increasingly been used to find out about the neighbourhood and the events / activities taking place.
- Neighbours and friends were a much more important source of information to navigate the neighbourhood for native non-migrants and migrants in Handsworth compared to Ladywood. This reflects the insularity and more transitory nature of Ladywood.
- Family and / or a partner were an important source of information for all respondents in both neighbourhoods.
- Those more recently arrived in the UK navigated the neighbourhood themselves, or asked people on the street or in a shop.
- However, The perceived lack of 'street life' in Ladywood meant that asking people on the street about the neighbourhood was a less frequently adopted strategy.
- Interviewees noted that that they had experienced few major problems or barriers in respect of physical mobility in the neighbourhood, or more broadly across the city.
- In terms of new migrants, most used public transport, walked or (to a lesser extent) cycled.
- Walking to the city centre was a mode of travel that was particularly evident for new and old migrants in Ladywood given the proximity of the city centre
- New migrants in Handsworth also used the bus to travel outside of the neighbourhood in general – and predominantly to the city centre. This was also the case for old migrants in the neighbourhood but who were more likely to use a car.
- Native non-migrants were more likely to use a car, followed by buses to travel outside each of the neighbourhoods
- Each neighbourhood was seen as being well served by public transport both in the day and during the evening and individuals highlighted that they had not generally experienced any discrimination when using public transport.
- There were mixed opinions on whether public transport was affordable or not.
- Virtual mobility beyond the neighbourhood was evident in terms of old and new migrants communicating with others in the neighbourhood and other parts of the city, as well as with family and friends in their country of origin.

### 4.3.7 Assertion 7: Key activity spaces exist both within and beyond super-diverse neighbourhoods and are shaped by the differing features of such neighbourhoods

The importance of contextual, compositional and collective features of the neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood shaped the orientations and activity spaces of individuals in very different ways. In Handsworth, the neighbourhood was perceived as having a diverse range of services and retail and cultural facilities, - *"I think Handsworth has got everything at an arm's reach, it's very convenient, all your needs - you know, you've got the Asian, Soho Road, all your Asian groceries, and behind you you've got the Chinese stores"* (Interviewee 12, Vietnamese old migrant, Handsworth). As a result, many used the neighbourhood to meet most of their daily needs – such as for food, for education and accessing health services, for work, (some did travel outside, especially longer established migrants in the UK) and for meeting friends and family. But for some, the facilities and local (Asian) festivals were reflective of more dominant ethnic groups in the area. Hence some Polish individuals who had retained social ties with other Polish migrants suggested that they travelled to West Bromwich and Erdington to meet friends. Others – for example, some Chinese interviewees, as well as a number of native non-migrants – discussed how they travelled to the city centre to meet their friends.

**Activity spaces: Meeting others in the neighbourhood, Handsworth**

"*A lot of the people from the community come here and meet here. They discuss things that are happening in the area. It is a meeting point for them to meet their friends or watch the world go by. If they become bored at home they come here particularly for elderly. I meet my dad's friends here. I used to come here every often but now I can only come here once a week as I am busy*" (Photo Project Participant 1, Indian native, Handsworth).

Furthermore, a number of old and new migrants argued that due to the retail and leisure facilities (contextual features) in the neighbourhood being orientated towards specific ethnic groups (Asian was most commonly cited), they frequently had to travel beyond the neighbourhood to other parts of the city to find different (specialist) food – "*You can't get pork in the area (Handsworth), you have to go to big supermarkets elsewhere. They don't have it in the shops across the street*" (Interviewee 19, Chinese new migrant, Handsworth). This also applied to clothes shopping, and with a number of native non-migrants and migrants noting how they travelled out of the neighbourhood to areas such as Perry Barr for clothes and to access other types of leisure facilities:

> *We are missing the attractions and the things to do for the family. For that we have to travel outside. But maybe that is because this place is dominated by the Asian culture and they do not need those things* (Interviewee 10, Polish old migrant, Handsworth).

A minority of interviewees also claimed that they had poor experiences of using shops associated with different ethnic groups (to their own) in Handsworth:

> *And my experience is that there was one supermarket on the Soho Road, it's a Polish shop, I went in there to buy some items, 'cause they had loose pickled olives, I get the feeling they're not very...you know, they kept watching me. So, I just got some and paid for it, and after, I realised that they overcharged me, so not very honest, you know, quite dishonest. So, I never stepped in any of those shops again* (Interviewee 14, Bangladeshi old migrant, Handsworth).

On average, new migrants who went outside of the neighbourhood travelled to the city centre two to three times a week for items such as food and clothes.

In Ladywood, respondents noted the transitory nature of the area and the relative absence of many services and / or meeting places shaped their activity spaces beyond the neighbourhood, although the increasing gentrification of the neighbourhood meant that some old migrants believed that this was slowly changing (and with the community centre seen as an increasingly important key activity space used by a range of different groups). Individuals highlighted how the proximity of the city centre meant that they frequently travelled outside of the neighbourhood to meet their daily needs – for example, for shopping and leisure and for food – *"I go to pay my bills, as well as to get some clothes* (Interviewee 30, Cameroonian old migrant, Ladywood).

Thus the absence of ethnic-specific facilities in Ladywood – and the presence of such ethnic specific infrastructure in the city centre (for example, the local cathedral) and other neighbourhoods elsewhere - meant that these other neighbourhoods became key activity spaces.

**Activity spaces: Travelling out of Ladywood to find different ethnic food**

African &
Caribbean
Carnival
chilled
Far Eastern
£1
Mighty Malt

"*The food section in Morrison caters for many types of ethnic food: Asian, Caribbean, Indian etc. You have everything here and we go there every Sunday for our shopping and find everything we need*" (Photo Project Participant 20, Polish new migrant, Ladywood).

Nevertheless, some – albeit a relatively small number of new migrants in Ladywood - identified that they used shops associated with other ethnic groups to meet their basic daily needs given the lack of provision in the neighbourhood:

> *With my housemate, we went to like Pakistani supermarket, and we got really, like, so many options for vegetable, fruits, herbs, spices, so it's nice* (Interviewee 38, Czech Republic new migrant, Ladywood).

**Using facilities associated with different ethnic groups, Handsworth**

Welcome to
Open 24 Hours
INTERNATIONAL SUPERMARKET
Open 24 Hours
MARKS
A2Z BARGAIN STO
Lycamobile

"*I like this supermarket because it is open 24 hours. We can get anything anytime. I buy my Turkish bread there. I can find different vegetable and fruit*" (Photo Project Participant 1, Indian native, Handsworth).

Whilst some did use the Ladywood neighbourhood to meet family and to access local educational and health facilities (as appropriate), perceptions of the neighbourhood being unsafe and the lack of places to meet others in the neighbourhood meant that the majority met their friends – migrants and non-migrants - outside of the area. Some respondents indicated that their friends were afraid to travel into the neighbourhood to meet them. Both the city centre and other parts of Birmingham (for example, Moseley, Quinton, Balsall Heath, Digbeth) were identified as places where they met others.

**Activity spaces: Meeting others outside of the neighbourhood, Ladywood**

"*It is a very good restaurant and it is very close to us. It makes a very good Indian food and we go there once a week to meet our friends and different people*" (Photo Project Participant 20, Polish new migrant, Ladywood).

Interestingly, the activity spaces of some new migrants were quite constrained compared to other respondents and which may reflect that they have more recently arrived in the UK. For example, those living in Handsworth and Ladywood suggested that they only travelled beyond the city (of Birmingham) a couple of times a year to places such as London, Liverpool and Manchester in order to meet their extended family. Native non-migrants and old migrants were more likely to indicate that they had travelled outside of the city for work (on an everyday basis) and for leisure (on average once or twice a month). Virtually no migrants highlighted that they had travelled back to their countries of origin.

To sum up, it is apparent that established areas of super-diversity (such as Handsworth) are more likely to provide a number of key activity spaces for local residents compared to areas of emergent super-diversity (such as Ladywood). But this may be dependant upon a number of issues, such as the presence or absence of meeting places, perceptions of safety in the neighbourhood and / or the extent to which particular spaces or places are associated with (dominant) ethnic groups. For both areas, and in contrast to the discussion of place attachment, the majority of orientations were towards either the neighbourhood or the city. Indeed, where individuals have family or friends in close proximity, as well as culturally specific infrastructure(s) (such as shops, religious facilities etc.), this can shape a 'local' neighbourhood orientation. This was the case for many – but not all – respondents in Handsworth. Where this is absent, or where infrastructures are focused around one or two ethnic groups, this may lead to broader 'beyond the neighbourhood' orientations and activity spaces (this was evident for many interviewees in Ladywood; also see Manduca, 2015). But intersecting with such orientations are issues concerned with recency of arrival / duration in the neighbourhood, individuals' resources, rights and entitlements, and perceptions of discrimination.

Consequently place-elasticity (see Barcus and Brunn, 2010) is important for those residing in super-diverse neighbourhoods. The research findings highlight that in both Handsworth and Ladywood, individuals used the city centre and other neighbourhoods in Birmingham for work, for social relations (to meet friends) and to access other leisure, retail and cultural facilities. This was particularly the case for those living in Ladywood (and given some of the reasons discussed above). Virtual mobility was also important for migrants in maintaining contact with friends and family elsewhere in the world.

In concluding, work and social relations, combined with the presence or absence of particular services or facilities shaped individuals' activity spaces towards the neighbourhood or city: the importance of the home as a key activity space was less discussed (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). In addition, whilst neighbourhood super-diversity was increasingly apparent, it was also evident that certain spaces were still perceived as being associated with particular ethnic groups. This was leading to a lack of 'deep contact' in such spaces, and as previously discussed.

### Key points

- Established areas of super-diversity (such as Handsworth) are more likely to provide a number of key activity spaces for local residents compared to areas of emergent super-diversity (such as Ladywood). This may be dependant upon a number of issues, such as the presence or absence of meeting places, perceptions of safety in the neighbourhood and / or the extent to which particular spaces or places are associated with (dominant) ethnic groups.
- Work and social relations, combined with the presence or absence of particular services or facilities shaped individuals' activity spaces towards the neighbourhood or city: the importance of the home as a key activity space was less discussed.
- In Handsworth, many used the neighbourhood to meet most of their daily needs. But for some, the facilities and local festivals were reflective of more dominant ethnic groups in the area and meant that they developed activity spaces beyond the neighbourhood to meet others and to access retail, cultural and leisure facilities.
- A small number of interviewees in Handsworth noted that they had poor experiences of using shops associated with different ethnic groups to their own.
- In Ladywood, respondents noted the transitory nature of the area and the relative absence of many services and / or meeting places as shaping their activity spaces beyond the neighbourhood.
- Individuals in Ladywood highlighted how the proximity of the city centre meant that they frequently travelled outside of the neighbourhood to meet their daily needs.
- The absence of ethnic-specific facilities in Ladywood (beyond one or two groups) – and the presence of such ethnic specific infrastructure in the city centre (for example, the local cathedral) and other neighbourhoods elsewhere - meant that these other neighbourhoods became key activity spaces.
- Perceptions of the neighbourhood being unsafe and the lack of places to meet others in the neighbourhood meant that the majority met their friends – migrants and non-migrants - outside of Ladywood.
- The activity spaces of some new migrants were quite constrained compared to other respondents and which may reflect that they have more recently arrived in the UK.
- Native non-migrants and old migrants were more likely to indicate that they had travelled outside of the city for work and for leisure.
- Virtually no migrant respondents highlighted that they had travelled back to their countries of origin.

# Chapter 5: Conclusion

## *5.1 Key findings*

In the context of new migration flows and the capacities of different places to accommodate both migrant and non-migrant populations, this is the first major study to consider how the varying characteristics of super-diverse neighbourhoods shape residential settlement patterns. At best, most studies to date have focused upon particular ethnic groups of new migrants rather than their neighbourhoods of residence. In particular, it focuses on how space itself shapes the unfolding of diversity on the ground (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Importantly, it also considers how the differing dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods interconnect and inform the residential settlement patterns of the non-migrant population, as well as old and new migrants. In so doing, the study overcomes criticisms of overly focusing on immigrant communities.

The first research objective (Research Objective 1) drew upon a framework developed by Robinson (2010) to consider how three different aspects of place – *contextual, compositional and collective* – serve to shape residential mobility patterns for residents in super-diverse neighbourhoods. The questionnaire analysis that was undertaken was instructive in this respect as it importantly highlighted that individuals – with the exception of a number of new migrants who had less resources and were more dependant on social housing allocations - generally had significant 'agency' in respect of decisions to move into or stay within each neighbourhood. There was also considerable variation in the neighbourhood histories of such individuals, although a number had moved into the case study neighbourhoods from similar types of areas elsewhere. In essence, there was no obvious pattern in respect of neighbourhood histories shaping mobility (see Hedman et al., 2015).

However, a greater degree of stability was reported for many migrants and native non-migrants than what was envisaged, and given interpretations of super-diverse neighbourhoods being fast-changing and with significant inflows and outflows of population (Robinson, 2010). Hence very early in the research process, the continuing importance of ethnicity and ethno-specific provision was postulated as a key factor in shaping residential settlement patterns and issues of place attachment and belonging in super-diverse areas.

Thus contextual features of Handsworth and Ladywood - such as the availability of particular (ethnically-focused) shops and services - and the connections of the neighbourhood to other places, along with compositional features such as the importance of family were important reasons cited for moving and staying within such areas. However, family was deemed less important as a reason for settling than in other studies of ethnic residential mobility (Markova and Black, 2007). Equally, there were differences according to gender, ethnicity and duration in the UK in respect of how the dimensions of super-diverse neighbourhoods shaped settlement patterns. For some ethnic groups in Handsworth the availability of cultural and religious facilities (collective features of the neighbourhood) were important reasons to move in and stay, whilst family and work were key reasons to move in for new migrants, as opposed to housing, education, health and cultural facilities for old migrants. In contrast, the availability of shops and services and cheap housing were critical factors shaping the settlement patterns of native non-migrants.

Those who were considering moving away from the case study neighbourhoods (see Research Objective 4) highlighted that such decisions were being informed by an increase in their own (financial) resources, coupled with family elsewhere and the perceived attractiveness of other areas that were not as congested and overcrowded and had lower rates of crime – as such, a combination of contextual and compositional features. Neighbourhood change was also identified as a factor in shaping moving intentions. Again, little attention to date has been paid to the role of a changing neighbourhood as a factor in influencing the residential choice process (Lee et al., 1994). In this respect, the study highlighted how 'residential stress' – and a desire to leave the super-diverse neighbourhood – related to increasing property prices / rentals rather than increasing super-diversity in the neighbourhood *per se*, and again highlighting the importance of stability for many. Indeed, population churn was deemed less influential in respect of informing residential mobility decisions for some residents. Hence of the three factors identified as having the most influence on a wish to leave the neighbourhood (socio-economic change; high population turnover; a change in the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood population; Feijten and van Ham, 2009), only the latter appeared to have some importance, although this was also complex and variegated (see below).

A further issue that was focused upon related to the visible diversity associated with super-diverse neighbourhoods. This, as reported elsewhere (see Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016), served to attract some who argued that they could 'blend in' and avoid discrimination elsewhere in the city (*ibid*.). But the research provided a number of new insights in relation to the influences shaping decisions to leave by those less familiar with visible diversity. First, rather than the presence of visible diversity itself (compositional features of the neighbourhood), contextual and collective features associated with – and reflecting – the dominant ethnic groups in the neighbourhoods were reasons that many cited as being of relevance to leave. As such, individuals suggested that they were not comfortable or able to express their identity in the neighbourhood. The presence of ethnic enclaves was seen as a persistent feature of super-diverse neighbourhoods and can therefore inform decisions to move out.

Second, and in contrast, many of those who identified that they were not comfortable with visible difference became more accustomed to such differences over time, and were therefore less likely to leave. This is less reported. Third, many (white) Eastern European EU8 migrants highlighted that they were actually attracted – not repelled - by the visible diversity of super-diverse neighbourhoods due to experiences of discrimination by the host white community in other parts of the city and also due to intra-migrant tensions with others in Eastern European enclaves beyond the super-diverse neighbourhood. Thereby what can be witnessed is a new form of 'minority white flight' on a ‘majority white community’ (see Boschman and van Ham, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014). This contrasts with existing perspectives on discrimination in majority concentration neighbourhoods (see Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014; Phillips et al., 2007) and contests McDowell’s (2009) claim that the ‘whiteness’ and relative invisibility of Eastern European migrants provides them with wider residential choices.

Differences between the neighbourhoods of Handsworth and Ladywood became more apparent when exploring the impact of increasing super-diversity on issues of conviviality and integration. The clear message that emerged was that whilst diversity of populations was increasingly common in both areas, this was not necessarily leading to conviviality or integration. Crucially, conviviality was largely absent in Ladywood for all groups – migrants included – and regardless of which spaces – ‘public’ or ‘parochial’ individuals occupied. This contrasts with recent studies elsewhere in the UK (for example, see Wessendorf, 2016, p.450). Indeed, the continuing predominance of particular ethnic groups in Ladywood was noted as undermining conviviality in the area (and to a lesser extent in Handsworth) and leading to spatial segregation. An additional factor that was contributing to a lack of conviviality was perceptions of the neighbourhood as being transitory and insular where individuals could ‘keep themselves to themselves’. This had attracted some Eastern European migrants to the area and in turn was promulgating a form of ‘commonplace insularity’.

In Handsworth, temporal segregation was noted as being of importance in respect of the inability of some to participate in cultural and religious festivals associated with particular ethnic / faith groups, and with ‘anchor points’ for conviviality (Wessendorf, 2016) being generally absent in both communities or limited to specific ethnic or faith groups. A lack of conviviality and integration were also being exacerbated through discrimination according to ethnicity, age, gender and ‘newness’ in the neighbourhood. ‘Brexit’ was less important in shaping processes of conviviality or discrimination, however. Nevertheless, the overall sense was a lack of ‘deep’ relations between and within different groups in each area, but especially in Ladywood. As such, there was some evidence that super-diverse communities remain spatially and temporally divided along ethnic lines.

The second and third themes that emerged from the research around identity and belonging and key ‘activity spaces’ related to the other three original research objectives set out for the study. Initially, issues of identity in super-diverse neighbourhoods were considered. Little work has been undertaken to date on such issues. The research revealed that in established areas of super-diversity such as Handsworth, the diversity of population and facilities were key elements of neighbourhood identity. However, it was also evident that the importance of ethnicity remains in such areas, and this serves to shape the perceptions of individuals towards the neighbourhood having an ethnic identity reflective of the dominant ethnic groups (for example, Asian). Hence the research findings partially reflect Edensor (2002) and Massey and Denton’s (1993) assertions of particular neighbourhoods being an expression of a single ethno-national identity. However, in our study, the neighbourhoods are an expression of several ethno-national identities coupled with an identity based around increasing diversity (and especially in Handsworth).

In Ladywood, the identity of the neighbourhood was generally absent. As an area of emerging super-diversity and where diversity as the dominant feature of the neighbourhood was yet to be established (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016), at most it related to transiency and churn, and focused around one or two dominant ethnic groups (such as Caribbean). As already noted, this was attractive for some. In addition, poverty, crime and a lack of safety were increasingly key elements of super-diverse neighbourhood identity in both case study areas. 'Newness', as reported by Phillimore (2015) was also a key feature of super-diverse neighbourhood identity, although this could be used to discriminate against new arrivals in each area.

Hence many individuals in Ladywood discussed how they practiced their identities outside of the neighbourhood – the lack of place identity and the ability to develop 'everyday life encounters' (Morley, 2001) meant that relational place belonging to the city centre and other parts of the city was more important, as well as belonging to the home (see Research Objective 3). Place belonging in respect of the neighbourhood was less evident. This contrasts with previous studies (for example, see Tuan, 1974). Hence multiple – rather than singular - forms of place belonging could be witnessed. In Handsworth – an established area of super-diversity, such place belonging commenced with the home and family, followed by the neighbourhood (given the availability of services and facilities for many) and other 'communities of interest'. Place belonging was based around physical proximity to others rather than the need to be with others to project a common identity (see Probyn, 1996; Diprose, 2008).

Auto biographical influences and childhood memories / past family experiences – for parents and children – were also extremely important in shaping belonging to the home in both neighbourhoods. Once more, this has been less reported (see Antonsich, 2010). In addition, economic influences on place belonging worked in reverse to the norm: a lack of economic capital and costs of moving kept many in place and informed continuing place belonging rather than due to the presence of employment within the neighbourhood. But perceptions of increasing crime and pollution and traffic congestion were serving to undermine place belonging in Handsworth and Ladywood. Such issues also shaped a 'politics of belonging' as newcomers to both neighbourhoods were blamed for increasing crime, rubbish and anti-social behaviour. Hence a politics of belonging based around 'newness' was apparent. This operated alongside the importance of ethnicity. Certain ethnic groups – especially those from Eastern Europe were seen as being 'out of place' in Handsworth and Ladywood, although perceptions of transiency and ethnic segregation in Ladywood inversely – and as discussed above – served to foster a sense of belonging through the area having a lack of identity and where individuals could avoid others. Such a finding both corroborates and challenges the idea of belonging being associated with the values and culture of a dominant ethnic group (see Antonsich, 2010). It also adds to recent work which suggests that the transiency of populations in super-diverse areas can inform openness towards newcomers (see Wessendorf, 2016; Wallman, 2003).

In terms of the importance of the city centre, for some this was perceived as a neutral space and devoid of any ‘politics of belonging’: it meant that they were just ‘one of the crowd’ and could blend in. But other respondents noted that the city centre was a place of discrimination based on visible diversity. As such, it was argued that it was not as diverse as an area such as Handsworth and therefore people felt more ‘out of place’.

Discussions of belonging subsequently segued into how individuals came to ‘know the neighbourhood’ (Cieslik, 2015) and their subsequent activity spaces (Research Objective 2). There were differences apparent in terms of how individuals came to ‘know the neighbourhood’ – neighbours and friends were much more important for individuals in Handsworth compared to Ladywood. This again reflects the insularity and more transitory nature of the latter area. The internet / social media and family / partner were an important source of information in all. Those more recently arrived navigated the neighbourhood on foot or asked for information on the street or in shops, although this was again less likely in Ladywood given the lack of street life in certain parts of the neighbourhood, as well as a perceived lack of meeting places.

In relation to mobility, interestingly few respondents noted that they had experienced discrimination or barriers in respect of physical mobility in the city or using public transport (although there were differences in opinion on the costs of using public transport). Virtual mobility was evident for both old and new migrants, and with new migrants more likely to walk or cycle compared to non-migrants, who were more likely to use a car. Whilst each neighbourhood was perceived as being well served by public transport, some did argue that access to a car could be useful to travel across or out of the city.

Mobility is important in relation to the activity spaces of individuals. The research highlighted that established areas of super-diversity (such as Handsworth) were more likely to provide a number of key activity spaces (work, social relations, leisure, religious / cultural) for local residents compared to areas of emergent super-diversity (such as Ladywood). But this was dependant upon a number of issues, such as the presence or absence of meeting places, perceptions of safety in the neighbourhood and / or the extent to which particular spaces or places were associated with (dominant) ethnic groups. For example, in Handsworth some non-Asian and non-Black migrants, as well as native non-migrants perceived various activity spaces as reflective of the more dominant ethnic groups in the neighbourhood and hence such individuals engaged in activity spaces beyond the neighbourhood to meet their daily needs (although they did not explicitly highlight that they deliberately avoided meeting other groups in particular places – see Rai et al., 2007). In Ladywood, the proximity of the city centre (and infrastructure perceived as meeting the needs of a wider range of ethnic / faith groups), a lack of meeting places in the neighbourhood and the absence of a wider range of services / facilities beyond one or two ethnic groups (at best) meant that the city centre and other neighbourhoods in the city became key activity spaces in respect of work, leisure and social relations.

Thus activity spaces both within and beyond super-diverse neighbourhoods are important, but differentiated again according to issues such as ethnicity and 'newness'. This provides a new insight over and above Manduca's (2015) work on activity spaces and the extent to which these lie within or beyond super-diverse neighbourhoods. Indeed, the activity spaces of some new migrants were quite constrained compared to other respondents and which may reflect that they have more recently arrived in the UK. These findings considerably extend the work by Golledge and Stimson (1997) who identify that it is the home and work that shape an individual's activity space.

### *5.2 Limitations of the research and future directions*

Given the time and resources available to conduct the research, there were inevitable limitations in respect of the study. From a methodological perspective, non-probability time-space / time-location sampling was adopted for the questionnaire survey. Whilst the approach appeared to work reasonably well given that the community researchers recruited respondents randomly at a range of locations and times and secured a reasonable diversity of responses, random sampling or respondent-driven sampling would have been adopted if resources and time had been more generous. Each of the latter approaches would have involved a much larger survey being conducted.

Second, the labels of 'visible and 'invisible' and 'old' and 'new' migrants can be criticized for blurring distinctions between migrants with very different statuses and rights (Bhopal and Preston, 2012). The research attempted to capture 'within group' as well as 'between group' differences. However, a bigger sample size would have helped to further explore such differences.

Third, a maximum diversity sampling approach was utilized to select interviewees. Through the support of the community researchers, it was possible to generate a very diverse sample of individuals. However, there were arguably two deficiencies: first, those with more irregular (legal) status were not captured in the sample to a significant extent. Second, whilst diversity in the sample was reasonable, it was more difficult to analyse the extent to which issues such as ethnicity or legal status mattered in terms of the ways in which mobility – for example – was restricted or structured.

The point on ethnicity also relates to the selection of city and neighbourhoods. Birmingham is seen as a 'super-diverse' city and the neighbourhood of Handsworth has a long history of diversity. Ladywood, on the other hand, is more recently diversifying. A key question that arises is the extent to which the findings are generalizable elsewhere, and particularly where super-diversity may be less evident. With more time and resources, equivalent studies in different contexts – and where diversity may be less evident – would have been useful in order to contextualize and compare the research findings.

Nevertheless, a particularly interesting finding from the research in Handsworth and Ladywood related to the continuing importance of ethnicity in intersecting with other dimensions of diversity. Such findings therefore inform the basis for future research around the following issues:

*1. The continuing importance of ethnicity in shaping residential settlement patterns*

There is a need for more research on when and how ethnicity matters in shaping residential settlement patterns. For example, when and for what purpose is ethnicity mobilized to shape residential mobility? What is the 'tipping point' in respect of the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood in shaping wishes to leave?

*2. The neighbourhood histories of individuals in shaping residential settlement and mobility*

No discernible patterns were in evidence in this study with regards to the influence of neighbourhood history on residential settlement, although a number of individuals had moved from similar neighbourhoods elsewhere. Hence it would be useful to explore such issues further.

*3. The importance of the city centre as a space of diversity or insularity?*

Some respondents in this study highlighted the importance of the city centre as a 'neutral' space where they could meet others and avoid discrimination or marginalization. Others felt more 'out of place' in the city centre. Consequently, further research is required on the importance of such spaces in shaping place belonging and a politics of belonging in the context of super-diverse areas.

*4. The influence of visible diversity on residential settlement*

A number of very interesting findings emerged from this study in terms of the visibility of diversity and how this served to attract some White Eastern Europeans but repel others. A new form of 'minority white flight' on a 'majority white community' was identified in relation to those who had moved into areas of super-diversity to avoid discrimination elsewhere, or to avoid intra-migrant tensions. Such issues require further investigation.

*5. Conviviality or insularity in super-diverse neighbourhoods?*

Evidence collected from Handsworth and Ladywood suggested that conviviality was frequently lacking –even between migrant groups. An additional factor that was contributing to a lack of conviviality in Ladywood related to perceptions of the neighbourhood as being transitory and insular where individuals could 'keep themselves to themselves'. This had attracted some Eastern European migrants to the area and in turn was promulgating a form of 'commonplace insularity'. More research is required into such issues given that ethnicity, 'newness', age and gender were also highlighted as shaping levels of conviviality or insularity.

*6. Activity spaces, anchor points and avoidance strategies*

Whilst the research conducted in Handsworth and Ladywood highlighted that individuals did not deliberately seek to avoid travelling to, through, or remaining within activity spaces or anchor points that they were perceived as being associated with other ethnic groups, the importance of ethnicity in super-diverse neighbourhoods remains. More work is therefore required on the degree to which activity spaces and anchor points in and beyond super-diverse neighbourhoods are divided spatially and temporally along ethnic (or other) lines.

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## Appendix 1: Questionnaire participant details

**Gender**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Male | 82 | 53.9 | 53.9 | 53.9 |
| | Female | 70 | 46.1 | 46.1 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 152 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Age**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | 16-24 | 21 | 13.8 | 13.9 | 13.9 |
| | 25-34 | 51 | 33.6 | 33.8 | 47.7 |
| | 35-44 | 31 | 20.4 | 20.5 | 68.2 |
| | 45-54 | 21 | 13.8 | 13.9 | 82.1 |
| | 55-64 | 12 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 90.1 |
| | 65+ | 13 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 98.7 |
| | 33 | 1 | .7 | .7 | 99.3 |
| | 66 | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 151 | 99.3 | 100.0 | |
| Missing | Unclear or invalid response | 1 | .7 | | |
| Total | | 152 | 100.0 | | |

### Country of birth

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | UK | 51 | 33.6 | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| | Pakistan | 5 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 36.8 |
| | India | 8 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 42.1 |
| | Turkey | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 44.7 |
| | Iraq | 3 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 46.7 |
| | Kenya | 1 | .7 | .7 | 47.4 |
| | Jamaica | 5 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 50.7 |
| | Sri Lanka | 1 | .7 | .7 | 51.3 |
| | Cameron | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 52.6 |
| | Italy | 3 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 54.6 |
| | Spain | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 55.9 |
| | Poland | 7 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 60.5 |
| | Romania | 10 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 67.1 |
| | Czech | 3 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 69.1 |
| | Moldova | 1 | .7 | .7 | 69.7 |
| | Somalia | 1 | .7 | .7 | 70.4 |
| | Afghanistan | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 73.0 |
| | St Kitts? | 1 | .7 | .7 | 73.7 |
| | Ireland | 1 | .7 | .7 | 74.3 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hungary | 1 | .7 | .7 | 75.0 |
| Canada | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 76.3 |
| USA | 1 | .7 | .7 | 77.0 |
| Taiwan | 1 | .7 | .7 | 77.6 |
| Sudan | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 80.3 |
| Holland | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 81.6 |
| Bangladesh | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 82.9 |
| Prefer not to say | 1 | .7 | .7 | 83.6 |
| Iran | 3 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 85.5 |
| Lithuania | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 86.8 |
| China | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 89.5 |
| Africa | 1 | .7 | .7 | 90.1 |
| Zimbabwe | 1 | .7 | .7 | 90.8 |
| South Africa | 1 | .7 | .7 | 91.4 |
| Vietnam | 1 | .7 | .7 | 92.1 |
| Latvia | 1 | .7 | .7 | 92.8 |
| France | 1 | .7 | .7 | 93.4 |
| Bosnia | 1 | .7 | .7 | 94.1 |
| Slovakia | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 95.4 |
| Nigeria | 1 | .7 | .7 | 96.1 |
| Albania | 1 | .7 | .7 | 96.7 |
| UAE | 1 | .7 | .7 | 97.4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Congo | 1 | .7 | .7 | 98.0 |
| | Portugal | 1 | .7 | .7 | 98.7 |
| | Greece | 1 | .7 | .7 | 99.3 |
| | Jordan | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 152 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Ethnicity**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | White British | 19 | 12.5 | 13.3 | 13.3 |
| | Irish | 1 | .7 | .7 | 14.0 |
| | White other | 11 | 7.2 | 7.7 | 21.7 |
| | White&Carribean | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 23.1 |
| | Mixed other | 4 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 25.9 |
| | Indian | 18 | 11.8 | 12.6 | 38.5 |
| | Pakistani | 11 | 7.2 | 7.7 | 46.2 |
| | Bangladeshi | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 47.6 |
| | Chinese | 6 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 51.7 |
| | Asian other | 6 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 55.9 |
| | African | 11 | 7.2 | 7.7 | 63.6 |
| | Carribean | 12 | 7.9 | 8.4 | 72.0 |
| | Black other | 1 | .7 | .7 | 72.7 |
| | Arab | 1 | .7 | .7 | 73.4 |
| | Italian | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 74.8 |
| | Romanian | 6 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 79.0 |
| | Czech | 3 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 81.1 |
| | Kurdish | 5 | 3.3 | 3.5 | 84.6 |
| | Polish | 6 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 88.8 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canadian | 1 | .7 | .7 | 89.5 |
| | Somalian | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 90.9 |
| | Iranian | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 92.3 |
| | Greek | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 93.7 |
| | Turkish | 3 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 95.8 |
| | Bosnian | 1 | .7 | .7 | 96.5 |
| | Slovakian | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 97.9 |
| | Spanish | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 99.3 |
| | Portuguese | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 143 | 94.1 | 100.0 | |
| Missing | Blank | 8 | 5.3 | | |
| | System | 1 | .7 | | |
| | Total | 9 | 5.9 | | |
| Total | | 152 | 100.0 | | |

**Religion**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | No religion | 40 | 26.3 | 27.0 | 27.0 |
| | Christian | 53 | 34.9 | 35.8 | 62.8 |
| | Muslim | 35 | 23.0 | 23.6 | 86.5 |
| | Sikh | 7 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 91.2 |
| | Hindu | 8 | 5.3 | 5.4 | 96.6 |
| | Rasta | 1 | .7 | .7 | 97.3 |
| | Budist | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 98.6 |
| | Pegan | 1 | .7 | .7 | 99.3 |
| | Agnostic | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 148 | 97.4 | 100.0 | |
| Missing | Unclear or invalid response | 1 | .7 | | |
| | Blank | 1 | .7 | | |
| | System | 2 | 1.3 | | |
| | Total | 4 | 2.6 | | |
| Total | | 152 | 100.0 | | |

**Marital status**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Single | 71 | 46.7 | 46.7 | 46.7 |
| | Married | 45 | 29.6 | 29.6 | 76.3 |
| | Co-habiting | 16 | 10.5 | 10.5 | 86.8 |
| | Separated | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 89.5 |
| | Divorced | 7 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 94.1 |
| | Widowed | 7 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 98.7 |
| | Engaged | 1 | .7 | .7 | 99.3 |
| | Prefer not to say | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 152 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**People live with**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Spouse | 9 | 5.9 | 6.3 | 6.3 |
| | Spouse and children | 22 | 14.5 | 15.5 | 21.8 |
| | Partner | 10 | 6.6 | 7.0 | 28.9 |
| | Parents | 13 | 8.6 | 9.2 | 38.0 |
| | Alone | 34 | 22.4 | 23.9 | 62.0 |
| | Friends | 20 | 13.2 | 14.1 | 76.1 |
| | Lodger | 1 | .7 | .7 | 76.8 |
| | Siblings | 2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 78.2 |
| | Ex | 1 | .7 | .7 | 78.9 |
| | Children | 12 | 7.9 | 8.5 | 87.3 |
| | Spouse children and other family members | 5 | 3.3 | 3.5 | 90.8 |
| | Partner and children | 4 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 93.7 |
| | Children and grand children | 1 | .7 | .7 | 94.4 |
| | Partner and friends | 4 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 97.2 |
| | Mother | 3 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 99.3 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Relatives] | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 142 | 93.4 | 100.0 | |
| Missing | Unclear or invalid response | 1 | .7 | | |
| | Blank | 9 | 5.9 | | |
| | Total | 10 | 6.6 | | |
| Total | | 152 | 100.0 | | |

**Employment status**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Employed full-time | 40 | 26.3 | 26.5 | 26.5 |
| | Employed part-time | 24 | 15.8 | 15.9 | 42.4 |
| | Unemployed | 23 | 15.1 | 15.2 | 57.6 |
| | Student or trainee | 13 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 66.2 |
| | Retired | 12 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 74.2 |
| | Sick or disabled | 6 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 78.1 |
| | Looking after family | 10 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 84.8 |
| | Other | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 86.1 |
| | Self employed | 7 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 90.7 |
| | Employed - Unspecified | 14 | 9.2 | 9.3 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 151 | 99.3 | 100.0 | |
| Missing | Blank | 1 | .7 | | |
| Total | | 152 | 100.0 | | |

### No of languages spoken

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | 1 | 36 | 23.7 | 23.7 | 23.7 |
| | 2 | 41 | 27.0 | 27.0 | 50.7 |
| | 3 | 55 | 36.2 | 36.2 | 86.8 |
| | 4 | 12 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 94.7 |
| | 5 | 4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 97.4 |
| | 6 | 2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 98.7 |
| | 7 | 1 | .7 | .7 | 99.3 |
| | 8 | 1 | .7 | .7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 152 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

### Housing status

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Own outright | 26 | 17.1 | 17.1 | 17.1 |
| | Owner occupier | 5 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 20.4 |
| | Private rented | 83 | 54.6 | 54.6 | 75.0 |
| | Social rented | 30 | 19.7 | 19.7 | 94.7 |
| | Other | 8 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 152 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

## Appendix 2: Interview Participant details

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | PARTICIPANT AGE | GENDER | COUNTRY OF BIRTH | ETHNICITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 71 | M | UK | WHITE SCOTTISH |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 47 | M | UK | INDIAN |
| 3 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 46 | F | UK | BLACK BRITISH |
| 4 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 26 | M | UK | CHINESE |
| 5 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 35 | F | UK | BLACK CARIBBEAN |
| 6 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 49 | F | UK | JAMICAN / BRITISH MIXED |
| 7 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 51 | M | UK | WHITE IRISH |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 44 | F | INDIA | INDIAN |
| 9 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | 38 | M | SUDAN | BLACK AFRICAN |
| 10 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 40 | M | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 11 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 32 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 12 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 45 | F | VIETNAM | MIXED CHINESE / VIETNAMESE |
| 13 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 31 | M | NIGERIA | BRITISH NIGERIAN |
| 14 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 34 | M | BANGLADESH | BANGLADESHI |
| 15 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 34 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 16 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 31 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 17 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 31 | M | TURKEY | KURDISH |
| 18 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 25 | M | PORTUGAL | AFRICAN |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 25 | F | CHINA | CHINESE |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 24 | M | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 21 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 32 | F | UK | BRITISH INDIAN |
| 22 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 58 | M | UK | AFRO-CARIBBEAN/WHT B'TISH |
| 23 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 25 | M | UK | WHITE IRISH |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 25 | M | UK | INDIAN |
| 25 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 20 | F | UK | BRITISH PAKISTANI |
| 26 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 52 | M | UK | CARIBBEAN |
| 27 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 38 | M | SPAIN | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 28 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 63 | F | NORTH AMERICA | HUNGARIAN AMERICAN |
| 29 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 42 | F | AFRICA - CONGO | AFRICAN |
| 30 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 48 | F | CAMEROON | CAMEROONIAN |
| 31 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 49 | M | NETHERLANDS | DUTCH |
| 32 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 34 | F | JAMAICA | JAMAICAN |
| 33 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 43 | F | PORTUGAL | PORTUGUESE |
| 34 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 38 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN - POLISH |
| 35 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 38 | M | ITALY | WHITE EUROPEAN - ITALIAN |
| 36 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 24 | M | LITHUANIA | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 37 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 33 | F | CANADA | WHITE OTHER |
| 38 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 29 | F | CZECH REPUBLIC | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 39 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 30 | M | INDIA | INDIAN |
| 40 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 18 | F | AFGHANISTAN | ARAB-AFGHANI |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | RELIGION | MARITAL STATUS | CHILDREN (0-17) | CHILDREN (18+) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | NONE | MARRIED | 0 | 1 |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | HINDU | MARRIED | 3 | 0 |
| 3 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 1 | 0 |
| 4 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | CO-HABITING | 1 | 0 |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HINDU | MARRIED | 3 | 0 |
| 9 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | MUSLIM | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 10 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 5 | 0 |
| 11 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 12 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | MUSLIM | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 15 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 4 | 0 |
| 16 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | CO-HABITING | 3 | 0 |
| 17 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | MUSLIM | DIVORCED | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | NONE | MARRIED | 1 | 0 |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 21 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NONE | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 22 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PAGAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 23 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 24 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 25 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | MUSLIM | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 26 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NONE | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | CO-HABITING | 1 | 0 |
| 28 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | DIVORCED | 0 | 0 |
| 29 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | DIVORCED | 3 | 0 |
| 30 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 1 | 1 |
| 31 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 32 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 33 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 3 | 1 |
| 34 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | CO-HABITING | 0 | 1 |
| 35 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | CO-HABITING | 0 | 0 |
| 36 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NONE | CO-HABITING | 0 | 0 |
| 37 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NONE | CO-HABITING | 0 | 0 |
| 38 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NONE | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 39 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | MUSLIM | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | EMPLOYMENT STATUS | LANGUAGES | TIME IN NEIGHBOURHOOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | RETIRED | ENGLISH, FRENCH, TURKISH | 32 YEARS |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | SELF-EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, HINDU, PANJABI | 37 YEARS |
| 3 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | ENGLISH, PATOIS | 18 YEARS |
| 4 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, CHINESE | 15 YEARS |
| 5 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | PART-TIME | ENGLISH | 35 YEARS |
| 6 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH | 30 YEARS |
| 7 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH | 51 YEARS |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | PANJABI, HINDI, ENGLISH | 12 YEARS |
| 9 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, ARABIC | 7 YEARS 10 MONTHS |
| 10 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | POLISH, ENGLISH | 7 YEARS |
| 11 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HOUSE WIFE | POLISH, ENGLISH | 2 YEARS 6 MONTHS |
| 12 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | E'LSH, CANTONESE, VIETNAMESE | 45 YEARS |
| 13 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | E'LSH, YORULEA, CREOLE, FRENCH | 7 YEARS |
| 14 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | BENGALI, ENGLISH, URDU | 3 YEARS |
| 15 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HOUSE WIFE | POLISH, ENGLISH, GERMAN | 5 YEARS |
| 16 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CARER FOR HER CHILDREN | POLISH, ENGLISH (BASIC) | 4 YEARS |
| 17 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | KURDISH, TURKISH,E'LSH,DUTCH | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS |
| 18 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | STUDENT | PORTUGUESE, ENGLISH | 1 YEAR |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | UNEMPLOYED | MANDARIN, CANTONESE, E'LSH | 5 YEARS |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, POLISH | 16 MONTHS |
| 21 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PANJABI, FRENCH | 32 YEARS |
| 22 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | UNEMPLOYED | ENGLISH | 58 YEARS |
| 23 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH | 3 YEARS |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PANJABI, SPANISH | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS |
| 25 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PART-TIME | ENGLISH, URDU, MIRPURI | 12 YEARS |
| 26 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH | 52 YEARS |
| 27 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PART-TIME | SPANISH, E'LSH, BASQUE, ITALIAN | 6 YEARS |
| 28 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH | 1 YEAR 10 MONTHS |
| 29 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | FRENCH, ENGLISH | 5 YEARS |
| 30 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | UNEMPLOYED | ENGLISH, FRENCH | 6 YEARS |
| 31 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | EMPLOYED | E'LSH,DUTCH,GERMAN, FRENCH | 13 YEARS |
| 32 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PATURA | 12 YEARS |
| 33 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | PORTUGUESE, ENGLISH | 11 YEARS |
| 34 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL TIME | POLISH, ENGLISH, RUSSIAN | 3 YEARS |
| 35 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ITALIAN, E'LSH, PORTU, SPANISH | 3 YEARS |
| 36 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | LITHUANIAN, ENGLISH, RUSSIAN | 5 YEARS |
| 37 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH,FRENCH | 2 YEARS |
| 38 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, CZECH | 8 MONTHS |
| 39 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH,HINDI,MALYALAM,TAMIL | 3 YEARS |
| 40 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | UNEMPLOYED | PERSIAN, ENGLISH, FARSI | 4 YEARS |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | TIME IN CURRENT HOME | DIFFERENT PLACES RESIDENCE LAST 5 YEARS | TIME IN UK | LIVED ELSEWHERE UK? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 30 YEARS | 0 | 71 YEARS | YES |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 10 YEARS | 0 | 47 YEARS | YES |
| 3 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 18 YEARS | 0 | 46 YEARS | NO |
| 4 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 15 YEARS | 0 | 26 YEARS | YES |
| 5 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 12 YEARS | 0 | 35 YEARS | YES |
| 6 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 30 YEARS | 0 | 49 YEARS | NO |
| 7 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 51 YEARS | 0 | 51 YEARS | NO |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 12 YEARS | 0 | 12 YEARS | YES |
| 9 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | 7 YEARS 10 MONTHS | 0 | 10 YEARS | NO |
| 10 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 7 YEARS | 0 | 7 YEARS | NO |
| 11 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 2 YEARS 6 MONTHS | 0 | 10 YEARS | YES |
| 12 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 15 YEARS | 0 | 45 YEARS | YES |
| 13 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 7 YEARS | 0 | 30 YEARS | YES |
| 14 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 1 YEAR | 1 | 9 YEARS | NO |
| 15 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 5 YEARS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 16 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 4 YEARS | 0 | 4 YEARS | NO |
| 17 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 18 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 1 YEAR | 1 | 1YR 6 MTHS | YES |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 5 YEARS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 16 MONTHS | 0 | 16 MONTHS | NO |
| 21 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 24 YEARS | 0 | 32 YEARS | YES |
| 22 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 1 | 58 YEARS | YES |
| 23 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 2 YEARS | 1 | 25 YEARS | NO |
| 24 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS | 0 | 25 YEARS | NO |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 12 YEARS | 0 | 20 YEARS | YES |
| 26 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 52 YEARS | 0 | 52 YEARS | NO |
| 27 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 1 | 10 YEARS | YES |
| 28 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 1 YEAR 10 MONTHS | 2 | 25 YEARS | YES |
| 29 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 5 YEARS | 0 | 12 YEARS | YES |
| 30 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 6 YEARS | 0 | 13 YEARS | NO |
| 31 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 13 YEARS | 0 | 14 YEARS | YES |
| 32 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 12 YEARS | 0 | 15 YEARS | YES |
| 33 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 11 YEARS | 0 | 14 YEARS | YES |
| 34 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 0 | 3 YEARS | NO |
| 35 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 0 | 3 YEARS | NO |
| 36 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 5 YEARS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 37 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 2 YEARS | 0 | 2 YEARS | NO |
| 38 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 8 MONTHS | 0 | 8 MONTHS | NO |
| 39 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 1 | 4 YEARS | YES |
| 40 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 4 YEARS | 0 | 4 YEARS | NO |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | TENURE TYPE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGE | |
| 3 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 4 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 5 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 6 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 7 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 9 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 10 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 11 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 12 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 13 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 14 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 15 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 16 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 17 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 18 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 21 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | LODGER - PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 22 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 23 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 24 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 25 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 26 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 27 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGE | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 29 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 30 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 31 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 32 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 33 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 34 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGE | |
| 35 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 36 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 37 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 38 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 39 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 40 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |

## Appendix 3: Photo Project participant details

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | PARTICIPANT AGE | GENDER | COUNTRY OF BIRTH | ETHNICITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 47 | M | UK | INDIAN |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 35 | F | UK | BLACK CARIBBEAN |
| 3 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 44 | F | INDIA | INDIAN |
| 4 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | 38 | M | SUDAN | BLACK AFRICAN |
| 5 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 32 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 6 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 45 | F | VIETNAM | MIXED CHINESE / VIETNAMESE |
| 7 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 31 | M | NIGERIA | BRITISH NIGERIAN |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 34 | M | BANGLADESH | BANGLADESHI |
| 9 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 34 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 10 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 25 | F | CHINA | CHINESE |
| 11 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 32 | F | UK | BRITISH INDIAN |
| 12 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 58 | M | UK | AFRO-CARIBBEAN/WHT B'TISH |
| 13 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 25 | M | UK | INDIAN |
| 14 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 20 | F | UK | BRITISH PAKISTANI |
| 15 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 38 | M | SPAIN | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 16 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 49 | M | NETHERLANDS | DUTCH |
| 17 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 34 | F | JAMAICA | JAMAICAN |
| 18 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 43 | F | PORTUGAL | PORTUGUESE |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 29 | F | CZECH REPUBLIC | WHITE EUROPEAN |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 38 | F | POLAND | WHITE EUROPEAN - POLISH |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | RELIGION | MARITAL STATUS | CHILDREN (0-17) | CHILDREN (18+) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | HINDU | MARRIED | 3 | 0 |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 1 | 0 |
| 3 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HINDU | MARRIED | 3 | 0 |
| 4 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | MUSLIM | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 5 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 6 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | MUSLIM | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 9 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 4 | 0 |
| 10 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | NONE | MARRIED | 1 | 0 |
| 11 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NONE | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PAGAN | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | MUSLIM | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NO RELIGION | CO-HABITING | 1 | 0 |
| 16 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 17 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 2 | 0 |
| 18 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | MARRIED | 3 | 1 |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | NONE | SINGLE | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | CHRISTIAN | CO-HABITING | 0 | 1 |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | EMPLOYMENT STATUS | LANGUAGES | TIME IN NEIGHBOURHOOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | SELF-EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, HINDU, PANJABI | 37 YEARS |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | PART-TIME | ENGLISH | 35 YEARS |
| 3 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | PANJABI, HINDI, ENGLISH | 12 YEARS |
| 4 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, ARABIC | 7 YEARS 10 MONTHS |
| 5 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HOUSE WIFE | POLISH, ENGLISH | 2 YEARS 6 MONTHS |
| 6 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | LOOKING AFTER FAMILY | E'LSH, CANTONESE, VIETNAMESE | 45 YEARS |
| 7 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | E'LSH, YORULEA, CREOLE, FRENCH | 7 YEARS |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | FULL-TIME | BENGALI, ENGLISH, URDU | 3 YEARS |
| 9 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | HOUSE WIFE | POLISH, ENGLISH, GERMAN | 5 YEARS |
| 10 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | UNEMPLOYED | MANDARIN, CANTONESE, E'LSH | 5 YEARS |
| 11 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PANJABI, FRENCH | 32 YEARS |
| 12 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | UNEMPLOYED | ENGLISH | 58 YEARS |
| 13 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PANJABI, SPANISH | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS |
| 14 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PART-TIME | ENGLISH, URDU, MIRPURI | 12 YEARS |
| 15 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PART-TIME | SPANISH, E'LSH, BASQUE, ITALIAN | 6 YEARS |
| 16 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | EMPLOYED | E'LSH,DUTCH,GERMAN, FRENCH | 13 YEARS |
| 17 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, PATURA | 12 YEARS |
| 18 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | PORTUGUESE, ENGLISH | 11 YEARS |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | FULL-TIME | ENGLISH, CZECH | 8 MONTHS |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SELF EMPLOYED FULL TIME | POLISH, ENGLISH, RUSSIAN | 3 YEARS |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | TIME IN CURRENT HOME | DIFFERENT PLACES RESIDENCE LAST 5 YEARS | TIME IN UK | LIVED ELSEWHERE UK? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 10 YEARS | 0 | 47 YEARS | YES |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | 12 YEARS | 0 | 35 YEARS | YES |
| 3 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 12 YEARS | 0 | 12 YEARS | YES |
| 4 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | 7 YEARS 10 MONTHS | 0 | 10 YEARS | NO |
| 5 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 2 YEARS 6 MONTHS | 0 | 10 YEARS | YES |
| 6 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 15 YEARS | 0 | 45 YEARS | YES |
| 7 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 7 YEARS | 0 | 30 YEARS | YES |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 1 YEAR | 1 | 9 YEARS | NO |
| 9 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 5 YEARS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 10 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | 5 YEARS | 0 | 5 YEARS | NO |
| 11 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 24 YEARS | 0 | 32 YEARS | YES |
| 12 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 1 | 58 YEARS | YES |
| 13 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 1 YEAR 6 MONTHS | 0 | 25 YEARS | NO |
| 14 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | 12 YEARS | 0 | 20 YEARS | YES |
| 15 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 1 | 10 YEARS | YES |
| 16 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 13 YEARS | 0 | 14 YEARS | YES |
| 17 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 12 YEARS | 0 | 15 YEARS | YES |
| 18 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 11 YEARS | 0 | 14 YEARS | YES |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 8 MONTHS | 0 | 8 MONTHS | NO |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | 3 YEARS | 0 | 3 YEARS | NO |

| NUMBER | RESPONDENT | NEIGHBOURHOOD | TENURE TYPE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGED | |
| 2 | NATIVE | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 3 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | OWNED OUTRIGHT | |
| 4 | OLD MIGRANT - REFUGEE | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 5 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 6 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 7 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 8 | OLD MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 9 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 10 | NEW MIGRANT | HANDSWORTH | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 11 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | LODGER - PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 12 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 13 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 14 | NATIVE | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 15 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGE | |
| 16 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 17 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 18 | OLD MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | SOCIAL RENTED | |
| 19 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | PRIVATE RENTED | |
| 20 | NEW MIGRANT | LADYWOOD | OWNER OCCUPIED - MORTGAGED | |