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**A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE
CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON PERCEIVED CRIME
RATES AMONG POLISH AND NIGERIAN FIRST
GENERATION IMMIGRANTS**

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc Criminology

The University of Huddersfield

July 2017

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Abstract

Over time we have seen the development of nations, communities and modes of transport and now recognise how these changes affect the global movement of people. There has been a long running debate regarding the potential advantageous or detrimental effects which immigration may have on host communities and crime rates in areas with high immigrant concentrations. The present research was designed to look at these potential effects from the viewpoint of members of two immigrant groups in the UK, specifically Polish and Nigerian first generation immigrants. A review of relevant literature links immigrant concentrations and crime rates. Such research has most often comprised of correlational analyses whose interpretation has been controversial. Therefore, looking at the relationship between immigration and crime in a qualitative study, through the eyes of the participants, offers a useful supplement to the traditional quantitative approach. The opinions of immigrant populations have been largely neglected in previous research, yet it seems fair to explore the idea that their experiences and perceptions of crime will determine their exposure to and knowledge of it and ultimately their residential, professional and leisure decisions whilst living in the UK. The usefulness of complementing quantitative research with qualitative approaches to further explore the crime-immigration connection has sometimes been advocated by researchers in the field. Further, immigrants arrive with a wide range of religious, ethical and cultural backgrounds and varying experiences of police behaviour which will feed into their expectations and behaviour. The time and access limitations of the present study meant that it was only feasible to select two immigrant groups and practical difficulties meant that relatively few respondents were interviewed. Eleven participants were sampled using an opportunist sampling strategy. They engaged in semi-structured interviews focused on their crime-related experiences and their resulting perceptions of crime. The selection of these groups was dependent on an estimation of the most available sample. Their responses were subjected to thematic analysis. The findings tentatively suggest that immigrant movements of these groups in Huddersfield are in some respects inconsistent with theoretical expectations from previous literature. Contrary to previous research, the analysis suggests that although there were growing populations of ethnic minority groups in the town centre as a whole, the populations did not seem to congregate in the same street or even small area, as culture was not mentioned as a reason for their geographic location. Instead, the availability of housing, job opportunities and education were suggested to play a pivotal role in their geographical locations. However, in line with previous research it was found that although residency was dispersed in that members of the same ethnic group did not reside closely to one another, each ethnic group would still create opportunities to meet as an ethnically homogenous group. In other words, participation in social groups and activities were found to be more homogenous than distribution in areas of residence. These findings are consistent with previous theories and are helpful in exploring the revealed perceptions of crime and the Criminal Justice System in the UK because each individual will have different experiences with other cultures, outside of their ethnic community. On the other hand, findings inconsistent with the theories provide a new and innovative aspect to the crime-immigration debate. It was concluded, within the limits of this very small scale study, that the practices and procedures based on the goal of managing and reducing crime should incorporate responses which consider immigrant needs. Ultimately, the

findings tentatively suggest a need of further research into a wider variety of immigrant groups. No claim is here made that the perceptions and experiences of the respondents are typical of those found in other immigrant groups.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Over the last century, international travel for tourism or more permanent relocation has become swifter and easier. The topic of immigration is becoming a popular academic and political topic of inquiry, involving economic and criminological investigations (Stowell, 2007). With over eight million first generation immigrants living in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2016), policy makers are forced to review the effects of this phenomenon. One of the current debates, flagging the need for further research, is the issue of the relationship between immigration and crime (Solivetti, 2015). If this relationship was based solely upon today's media representations, it would hold that increased immigration causes an increase in crime rates (Mears, 2001; King & Wood, 2013). Recent research suggests that the issue is now more complex than before. Research on immigration and crime is typically executed using a quantitative approach, although qualitative research is becoming increasingly feasible and relevant in its practicality due to high concentrations of immigrants populating specific areas and regions. Not only is it becoming easier to use qualitative investigation, it would appear that there is a growing need for it. What does such research offer? Statistical research can often yield contradictory results when deciphering the relationship between immigration and crime as it commonly associates crime rates with population composition, showing only patterns and not experiences and perceptions of the populations examines. The present exploratory project adopts a qualitative approach, the aims being to understand the perception of crime through the eyes of immigrant people and interpret how their experiences, both before and after coming to the UK, shape such perceptions. This project sets out to identify the common assumptions of immigrant people regarding immigration and crime patterns and uses responses from semi-structured interviews to build upon current knowledge to test (tentatively, given its small scale) existing hypotheses. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents from two immigrant groups; people of Polish and Nigerian nationality. From the responses of the eleven interviewees, four major themes materialized; The first centers upon participants' sense of community in the UK, the second theme explores the participants' feelings of safety, the third theme looks at the participants' perceptions of the causes of crime and the final theme is in regards to the participants' future focus of locality. These themes were created through the presence of similar codes amongst both immigrant group in regards to how they described their immigration experiences in connection with crime.

Essentially, this project was created with the aim of using a different approach to explore the contributing factors in the immigration-crime relationship from a perspective of a first generation immigrant. This thesis introduces a review of previous literature regarding the immigrant-crime relationship. Following this, the methodological section describes the outline of the research plan and how it was executed. Ethical issues are here addressed. Findings and discussion follow with the exploration of the emerging themes. Finally, the conclusion section draws together the exploration of both groups' cultural experiences, how this relates to crime perceived rates of crime and crime-related experience, and what this means in terms of the immigrant-crime relationship. What is fundamentally revealed is that, in the case of the participants' perceptions in this study, immigration influx and crime are not strongly related as the level of complexity of the factors involved, which are discussed within the themes, dilute

some previously researched effects which imply correlation. Therefore, the justification of this research and its aims are revealed: previously, immigration and crime have been considered to be statistically proportionate and positively correlated. Some previous research has discussed contributing factors which suggest otherwise, therefore it is beneficial to understand the existence of these factors from the viewpoint of the immigrant population.

Chapter 2 Reviewing Existing Literature

As previously established, the alleged or apparent effects of immigration on crime have long been a topic of debate. There are arguments for (Rumbaut, 2015) and against (Reid, Weiss, Adelman & Jaret, 2005) a positive relationship between immigrant population and rate of crime. Although it is said that there is a lack of evidence to explain both positive and negative correlations (Taft, 1933; Nunziata, 2015). In order to suggest how immigration and crime are linked, any sociological relationship detailing the movement and behaviour of immigrant people must be examined. The review of previous literature reveals the complexity of the immigration-crime nexus: varying theories suggest different outcomes in terms of how immigration and crime are linked and so these contributing theories should be reviewed separately. Limited understanding at the macro level of the immigration-crime nexus is hereby explored using previous literature, alongside relevant theories.

2.1 Key terms in British context

Before reviewing previous literature, it is important to understand the key terms, which will be used in the discussion of the immigrant-crime relationship, and their context; specifically, to the two immigrant groups in question.

The frequent terms used in this thesis, regarding immigration and populations are; race, ethnicity, culture, homogeneity and heterogeneity. Race and ethnicity are often confused as their definitions are so similar, stemming from the same ideology that humans can be categorised into different groups, dependant on their specific traits or characteristics (Ahdieh & Hahn, 2010). The varying definitions of race are often contested. Some scientists believe that race biologically defines a person by their genetic composition and how the frequency of such genes are geographically distributed which ultimately determine one's physical traits (Graves Jr, 2010). However, other scholars would suggest that categorisation of the human population in racial terms is meaningless and that such divisions are merely a social construct based on a failure to understand genetic diversity between people with similar phenotypes (Jorde & Wooding, 2004). This latter view is now very much genetic orthodoxy and the term is here discussed only because it is used (erroneously and regrettably) in everyday discourse.

The definition of ethnicity is also mostly grounded in sociological constructions rather than biological definitions (Zagefka, 2009). Ethnicity refers to an individual's or groups assigned identity, based on factors including phenotype and cultural and racial heredity (Karlsen, 2004). Such definitions are often seen to be absent from the context of research on immigration due to differing social consensus of a definitive description of their meanings. One of the widely accepted definitions for ethnicity is: 'The fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). Culture, refers to the behaviours of such social groups as it is defined as: 'The ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). Race, Ethnicity and Culture are used to categorise populations dependent on the similarity of their shared traits and behaviours. However, heterogeneity and homogeneity relate to the composition of such populations.

Homogeneity is defined as 'The quality or state of being all the same or all of the same kind' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017).

The writer perhaps wrongly felt it necessary to include a discussion of these terms but the issue is in the categorisations which underpin our understanding of immigration and subsequently our research on it. For example, do people in the host population see people of a particular skin colour as being homogeneous to themselves and to be treated as being alike? Do people in an immigrant grouping see themselves as so similar to each other and different from the host community that this dictates the connections they seek? It does not matter whether these similarities and differences are to do with origin, religion or sexual orientation. For the purposes of this study in particular, it is essentially a matter of who sees who as the same or different to them.

Immigration refers to the geographical transition from one country to another (Oxford dictionaries, 2017). The bulk of current research focuses on first generation immigrants, also known as those who have immigrated personally either alone or as a family group and were born outside of the country to which they have immigrated. Crime, for the purposes of this study is a reference to police recorded crime and is easy to define, being the actions proscribed by the applicable criminal law in a nation. However, the scope of the criminal law and enforcement varies, based on many factors including; geographic location (LeBeau & Leitner, 2011; Ferreira, João & Martins, 2012), social characteristics (Hamzah & Lau, 2013; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna & Bushway, 2008) and persons' demographics (Tittle, Ward & Grasmick, 2003; Keshavarz Haddad & Markazi Moghadam, 2011). Whatever the law 'in the books' the important issue is what the law 'on the streets' is perceived to be (see Malinowski 1926 for an early anthropological view of the matter). The difficulty of transition that comes with an immigrants' journey in this respect is the key aspect of understanding for this research. Different countries have differing social, political, economic and cultural variables and issues can arise when attempting to fuse these together. A first-generation immigrant will have the task of transcending those factors and joining an environment with often contrasting social circumstances that may lead to their crime perceptions being affected. This creates the requirement to examine previous theories and social phenomena which attempt to illustrate the connection between immigration and crime. Overlaid on this are expectations of how the criminal law is to be enforced. How much force can one expect the police to use? Which crimes are deemed serious enough to be enforced vigorously? Coming from a country in which the police are poorly paid and corruption is viewed to be as endemic, how does the immigrant behave towards British police? How do the police interpret immigrant behaviour which results from these immigrant expectations?

2.2 An insight into immigration in the UK

When discussing immigration, it is important to understand its meaning and history in order to add context to this thesis and particularly context to immigration in the UK. Transportation and political changes have, in the past, changed the means of migration to the UK. Contrary to contemporary genetic research, which argues that immigration is not a new phenomenon based on differences in DNA found from historic remains (Schiffels et al., 2016), some scholars believe that in the Iron Age, before any records of populations began, the population of the

UK was homogenous (Walvin, 1984). Yet over time, particularly with advances in sailing vessels, there have been small instances of immigration into, and migration out of, the UK. As options of travel proliferated, so too did the flow of immigration of people searching for new opportunities (Cohn, 2009). Invasion was usually at the centre of immigration in the UK in earlier periods, starting with the expansion of the Roman Empire, followed by invasions of Germanic groups and then Viking and Norman invasions (Making Histories, 2012). It wasn't until the 16th century that we saw the most significant period of early cross-country travel, with the boom of slave-trade in the UK. There was a momentous rise of the importation and exportation of African slaves which continuously altered levels of population (Walvin, 1971; National Archives, n.d). Even with this increase of population movement, we can see that all of these periods of immigration have been 'small and demographically insignificant' until the population depletion after the Second World War (Migration Watch, 2014) which reveals the reason that the immigration-crime relationship is a relatively new concern in the history of immigration. Since then, immigration has steadily overtaken emigration rates in the UK, seeing the most significant increase in the 1990s (Hatton, 2005). Since the 1990s, academic research on immigration has mainly been focused on the economic impact of management of immigration and responses towards the illegal migrants (Girma & Yu, 2002; Ghatak & Piperakis, 2007; Dustmann & Frattini, 2014), not only from a trade aspect but also from the approach of the cost of crime immigration creates (Butcher & Phiel, 1998). As we can see, immigration into the UK has steadily increased to an immigration 'high point' in the 90s. 'Despite concerns over the supposed immigration and crime relationship, and consequent attempts to stem the flow of foreign-born migrants, immigration continued at record high levels throughout the 1990s' (Wadsworth, 2010, p.532). Yet, in the last few years immigration influx rates, referring to the rate at which migrants are entering the UK, have slowly decreased regardless of an increase of refugee applications (Office for National Statistics, 2017).

In terms of the two immigrant groups in question; Polish and Nigerian, it is important to understand the size of these sub-populations and their reasons for migration to the UK. Although this thesis discusses the experiences of the participants, it is appropriate to address the populations in broader terms in order to add context to the discussion of migration to the UK. Historically the UK has been host to people from India and The Republic of Ireland being the two main sources of foreign born populations. However, since expansion of the European Union in 2004, the population of Polish migrants has steadily increased, meaning that Poland is now the main source of non-UK born residents in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2016). At present, there are approximately 984,000 Polish nationals living in the UK (House of Commons, 2016), with the suspected reason for migration largely being the exploration of new work opportunities (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2009). There is a large amount of data and literature regarding Polish migration due to their prevalence, however, there are limited accounts of the reasoning behind Nigerian migration to the UK (Charsley & Storer-Church, 2012). What is clear is that there has been an increased interest of the recruitment of Nigerian students from higher education institutions (Nunn & Price, 2005; De Haas, 2006). Other reasons for Nigerian migration include; asylum seeking, work opportunities and marriage prospects (Anderson & Rogaly, 2005; Charsley & Storer-Church, 2012). Currently it is estimated that there is a 2.3% share of Nigerian born residents in the UK compared to the 9.5% share of Polish born residents (Migration Observatory, 2017). It is

suspected that the reason for such a significant difference lies within the ease of migration to the UK from a European country.

2.3 The immigration-crime relationship

Immigration may increase crime rates if immigrants commit more crime and/or the host population commits more crime when there are immigrants around. For the purposes of clarification, a term 'crime rate' is hereby used to refer to the number of crimes per resident. Higher populations of immigrants will experience higher crime counts, therefore a reference to such would not allow for a comparative exploration of immigrant groups of various sizes and researches looking at crime counts must be approached with caution. Some previous research implies that immigration inflow and crime rates (and counts) are positively correlated. On initial investigation, this finding is consistent across research carried out in a number of European countries. Alonso-Borrego, Garoupa and Vázquez (2012), researched how immigration affected crime counts in Spain: They initially found that, as immigration inflow increased, so too did crime counts; a widely accepted, common assumption (Sampson, 2008). Evidence which previously existed in linking immigration to crime has mostly been discredited due to faulty and limited measurement leading to partial statistics, which do not show a true picture of the association (Moehling and Piehl, 2009). And so, with deeper exploration and refined data collection strategies, Alonso-Borrego, Garoupa and Vázquez (2012) concluded that even if an area is highly populated by immigrants, it is the characteristics of the immigrants themselves, such as age and cultural values, which determined any change in crime pattern. However, at the time this was just a hypothesis derived from the empirical research collected with the faults described above- there is no in-depth data to support the causal link between the two factors. Bui and Thongniramol (2005) also found that initial review of data suggested a linear relationship between immigration inflow and crime rates until personal characteristics such as gender, race and ethnicity are considered. Statistical research by Bell and Machin (2011) also suggests that there is more complexity in the crime immigration relationship when taking into account demographic and social factors. It is not as simple as reviewing the simple correlations between immigration and crime rates and assuming that correlation proves causation. Different mixes of ethnicity, culture and environment promote different behaviours and opportunity for delinquency and crime.

Bell, Fasani and Machin (2010) looked at two major waves of immigration in the UK; one in the early 2000s when a large population of refugees were granted asylum and another from 2004 when EU migrant workers were granted access to the UK. They compared immigrant influx rates against recorded crime rates to test the hypothesis that increases of immigration rates caused an increase in recorded crime rates. Their statistical evidence showed that, in simple terms, areas with a high population density of migrants from the 2000s saw a slight increase of property crime rates but no significant change to counts of violent crime. EU migrant worker influx showed no impact on recorded crime rates. Relevant explanation suggested that the increasing migrant opportunities in the labour market decreased material deprivation across immigrant groups and diminished the likelihood of property crimes. The consensus based on statistical data sets was that immigrants are no more likely to commit a greater volume of crime than the host population if they are presented with equal opportunities (Nowrasteh, 2015).

While evidence of a positive correlation between immigrant inflow and changes in crime rate was limited, research over time increasingly began to focus on explaining crime rate changes with a reference to influxes of immigration. The absence of suitable theoretical resolutions of the relationship, meant that previous criminological enquiry and statistical research were insufficient to explain the association between rates of immigration and crime (Farrell, Tilley, Tseloni & Mailley, 2010). By virtue of the common perception that immigration inflow consequently increased crime rates, 'many were surprised in 2006 when sociologist Robert J Sampson published an op-ed piece in the NewYork Times questioning whether the U.S. drop in crime could be the result of an increase in immigrants' (Wadsworth, 2010, p.533). This is not the only attempt to explore this possible link as many other researchers have looked at this on a global scale, as the immigration-crime relationship is revisited in research to investigate new hypotheses on its effects (Stowell, Messner, McGeever & Raffalovich, 2009). These scholars note that there have been numerous attempts to explain international crime drops over the past two decades with hypotheses including; strong economies, increasing population age, increased police, changes in weapons laws and most relevant to this research, increased immigration. Farrell's (2013) research aimed to test this evidence with a cross-country comparison approach whilst assessing whether interpersonal crime was being replaced with cyber-crime which could eliminate all previous hypotheses. It was found that immigration to the UK was not was not believed to be the cause of a prior increase in crime, but did show reasonable evidence to suggest that it was a contributing factor in the decrease of crime even when applied to different countries.

As can be seen from these studies, the prominent issue which arises from previous research on immigration and crime is that no direct correlation is present in terms of a single determining factor being causal to an increase of crime, instead research is revealing a decrease. The usual critique of these types of empirical study is the limited number of variables which can be included. Previous research is often criticised for being too narrow in approach, mainly due to the absence of appropriate sources of national data. Official data often precludes a true separation between legal and illegal immigrants and within that, divisions of their race and nationality (Polczynski, Laurikkala, Huff-Corzine & Corzine, 2009), thus meaning that immigrant sub-groups and specific crime types are rarely discussed in detail.

2.4 Contributing theory

From reviewing previous literature on the existing correlations of immigration and crime, it seems that empirical statistics suggest that immigration inflow does affect rates of crime, yet, the findings vary in their suggestions as to whether this effect is an increase or a decrease in crime rate. There is little known of whether this is a causal relationship and if so, how it occurs (Reid, Weiss, Adelman and Jaret, 2005). For this reason, it is justifiable to look at the existing theoretical approaches that attempt to explain the immigration-crime relationship, whatever it may be.

Numerous theories can be applied in order to offer explanation for the criminological relationship. However, the social disorganisation theory is one of the most popular approaches in trying to explain the way levels of immigration

can affect crime (Bircan & Hooghe, 2011). The social disorganisation theory implies that high levels of deprivation and population heterogeneity, in specific localities, inhibit the possibility of shared morals and needs, thus reducing community cohesion and encouraging delinquent behaviour (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson and Wilson, 1995). Use of social disorganisation theory suggests that immigrant-crime patterns cannot be analysed on large aggregate scales (Lee & Martinez, 2002). Instead, criminal behaviour should be assessed on more detailed geographic levels to grasp the factors which contribute to the state of community structure in terms of cultural differences and social cohesion. Lee and Martinez (2002) conducted spatial analysis research into heterogeneous societies by collecting data, specific to homicide rates, in these areas over an eleven year period. With these data, they pinpointed the exact location of each homicide and compared this to the distribution of ethnicities of the two neighbourhoods studied. On the perspective of social disorganisation, they predicted that heterogeneous communities would exhibit greater levels of crime than homogenous ones. The reasoning was that, 'immigration increases residential instability and ethnic heterogeneity, which weakens social control, thereby increasing crime' (p.366). The ultimate conclusion was that aside from factors of deprivation, criminal behaviour was a greater possibility when there were many different ethnicities residing in close vicinity to one another. To provide further evidence to this statement it is also important to analyse crime by motive, especially race related crime (Nielsen, Lee & Martinez, 2005). Although this attempts to identify the significance of the role of social disorganisation in the immigration-crime relationship on an empirical level, it is not readily generalisable to other communities as there are other community characteristics involved which could affect the state of the relationship. More recent research would suggest that this is the case; Ferraro (2016) implies that previous research into the effects of immigration on social disorganisation is outdated in its approach as immigrants are now inhabiting areas other than just the major cities. This suggests that the smaller towns do not have established social responses to the influx of migrants, they will be less apt to deal with social needs, and crime is more likely to occur. However, by factoring in these new locations (places where non-natives have increased by over 150 per cent in the last 15 years) into a sample of areas previously populated by large numbers of the foreign-born, Ferraro (2016) conducted an analysis of the characteristics of an area, which had seen immigrant inflow outside of the typical metropolitan setting, alongside crime data sets. On the basis of investigating the social disorganisation of these areas, six characteristics were categorised; immigrant concentration, new destination places, socio-economic disadvantage, residential stability, employment structure and population structure. With these in mind the results showed that with increased immigrant numbers, there were declines in academic achievements, and average family incomes, and an increase in material and social deprivation. Despite this, compared with crime statistics, it was found that there was a significant decrease in property crime. The results did, however, show a minor increase in the median number of violent crimes per citizen, yet this can be considered irrelevant to the immigration-crime relationship due to it being disproportionate to the level of population growth. Ferraro (2016) believes that the rise in violent crime is not only due to social disadvantages but also population composition and age ratios.

There is, in conclusion, a range of viewpoints amongst sociological and criminological researchers as to whether community structure and social disorganisation are plausible explanations for community regression; one argument, based on empirical evidence, is that community factors such as income, education, employment and mixture of

ethnicities can affect criminal activity. There is also a lack of statistics available to suggest that crime may occur in these localities regardless of their composition (Martinez, Stowell & Lee, 2010). On reflection, this might suggest that immigrants tend to populate areas suffering from social and material deprivation and that these areas, whether populated by immigrants or not, usually show high rates of crime (Joe Laidler, 2009; Spenkuch, 2014). This poses the question of whether immigrants are more inclined than natives to commit crime or whether populations of immigrants move to communities where crime is relatively high anyway (Bell and Machin, 2011). If immigration and crime rates rise simultaneously, it becomes the common assumption that immigration is the cause of such spikes in crime which sparks concern from the government's law enforcement strategies (Mears, 2002). There are, however, other significant and contributory factors in need of consideration here on a micro-scale, which can determine the true effects of social arrangements on crime.

Wortley (2009) outlines three theoretical models that he believes are key to explaining the immigration-crime connection. The first is 'The Cultural-Conflict Model' (p.354) which implies that migrants have no motive to enlist in criminal activity. However, ones' cultural and religious affiliations may clash with their new country's laws and policies and previously established community values. The second of the theories, 'The Importation Model' (p.352), opposes this in the way that its conceptual basis lies in the belief that migrants enter a host country with the intention of entering criminality. This could be through international crime organisations like trafficking, gang culture or terrorism or even the illegality of immigration. However, this theory is only applicable in a minority of cases, it is not a generalisable theory which means that it can only offer suggestions towards a possible relationship between immigration inflow and rates of crime. The third of the theories is 'The Strain Model' (p.343), which ultimately suggests that a major cause of criminality amongst immigrants is due to the marginalisation of their ethnic minority within strong native societies. This suggests that immigrants who are involved with negative social experiences such as; 'discrimination and institutional barriers' (p.343) with regards to housing, employment, education and other social opportunities, will be more inclined to begin criminal careers due to alienation of native values (Bell, Fasani & Machin, 2010).

This economic factor is a common theme within many theories which attempt to explain how immigration effects crime. In recent years, the percentage of foreign born workers in the UK has risen significantly, with immigrants making up 16.7 per cent of the total work force (Migration Observatory, 2016). This percentage seems relatively low in retrospect of the total work force and the population of foreign born people living in the UK. Yet, there is an 'upward trend' of work related immigration to the UK with 290,000 foreign born residents stating the motive for their immigration to be work based opportunities in 2015 (Office for National Statistics, 2016). The Office for National Statistics (2017, p.15) states that 'work remains the most commonly stated reason for immigration to the UK'. From their research for The Migration Observatory at The University of Oxford, Bell (2013) also suggests that labour market opportunity variables play an integral part in the determination of criminality levels amongst immigrants. For example, the theory suggests that poor or limited labour market opportunities increase the likelihood of criminality. This is due to the rational choice theory, suggesting an individual with less labour market opportunities would have less to lose than someone with more (Machin & Maghir, 2004). However, this research

argues the case that it is not generalisable to the whole of the immigrant population and possibly not applicable to some of the individual populations. Opportunities are only diminished when skills and other attributes are not transferable to the UK labour market. For most cases, migrants may find it easier to find work in the UK due to the less demanding criteria for their career options. When using this theory to analyse census data compared with crime data, it cannot be said that for all countries there is a shared idea of criminal behaviour being due to migrant populations. It is becoming a common belief that if immigrants are presented with the same opportunities as natives, for example a sound source of income and stability, then they will be no more likely to commit crime (Dearden, 2016) which would assume that crime is a direct result of the economic deprivation of immigrants. Although, it is important to consider here, that this may have been the case previously, yet, 'even less-skilled and less-educated immigrants may not face the same economic limitations today that they would have faced in earlier decades' (Reid, Weiss, Adelman & Jaret, 2005, p.775). This means that this theory could be becoming progressively less relevant as society's dynamics are ever-changing on an international scale. It must also be considered that crime is not a single entity, it comprises many transgressions which are not all applicable or relevant to the immigrant-crime relationship. From reviewing previous literature, it would appear that research is interested in crimes against the person such as violence and theft rather than financial crimes such as tax evasion or fraud.

Therefore, these types of findings are not only restricted to explaining immigrant-crime relationships in the UK. A quantitative, community-level study was conducted in Belgium to test two hypotheses;

1. 'Crime rates will be higher in communities with a high concentration of non-Belgians'
2. 'Different ethnic groups will have a different impact on crime rates in their community' (Bircan & Hooghe, 2011, p.202).

These hypotheses effectively attempt to explore how immigrant population densities and the cultural differences from immigrant origins affect rates of crime. To do so, Belgium was partitioned into 589 administrative divisions, each harbouring a population averaging at 17,900 occupants. The hypotheses were tested by comparatively analysing statistics of police recorded crime figures against each municipality's population of immigrants at that time. From the previous literature, this seems the most common way used by researchers to establish a relationship between immigrants and crime. However, it must be noted that there is no evidential comparison between differing population densities of natives and immigrants to reveal differences of regression. This research also looked at differences in property crime and violent crime, as do other studies, in order to assess any offence-specific differences in the impact immigration has in different regions. It was found that inflow and current populations had no significant effect on crime as a whole, therefore Bircan and Hooghe (2011) deemed the assumption of a linear relationship to be irrelevant and implausible due to the statistics showing that crime rates are higher in urbanised areas and lower in rural areas; something which we already know from previous criminological thinking. They did however find that, using unemployment rates as a control variable, both violent crime rates and property crime rates increased. They suggest the conclusion to be that 'deprivation (and especially unemployment) is more important than direct immigration effects in explaining community-level crime rates...thus rendering the ethnic

composition of the community non-significant' (p.198). This further adds to the fact that trying to establish a causal relationship through crime statistics and immigrant population statistics is simply not enough. More detailed research must continue to be conducted to represent the differing factors observable at community levels, yet this can still hold limitations due to the issue of the hidden figure of crime.

2.5 Immigrant victimisation

In many of these existing theories the immigration-crime relationship is peripheral in the way that the immigrant is usually discussed as the offender or a hindrance to the economic climate. It is only in recent years that the possibility of immigrant victimisation has been explored as a further extremity to explaining whether, or how, immigration impacts upon crime (Papadopolous, 2012: McDonald & Erez 2007). Discussing victimisation involves the identification of characteristics which differentiate the possibility of an individual being a victim of crime (Tseloni & Pease, 2015). Therefore, it must be established as to what distinguishing features could possibly lead to immigrants being more vulnerable to victimisation.

Referring to one of the primary forms of delinquency, many scholars believe that immigrant youths are subject to an increased rate of peer victimisation through bullying (von Grünigen, Perren, Nägele & Alsaker, 2010). Sulkowski, Bauman, Wright, Nixon and Davis (2014) investigate the likelihood of victimisation between immigrant and native youths by administering victimisation surveys across a sample of 13,177. 2,929 of these participants reported that they had been victimised frequently on a monthly basis. Just under ten per cent of this sample was made up of youths (approximately aged 13) who had immigrated in the past 24 months, this is a small percentage compared to the 90 per cent native population and this was taken into consideration when discussing the results. When asked for the reasons why the participants were victimised it was ultimately found that immigrant youths were more likely to be victimised due to 'their race, religion and family income when compared to their non-immigrant peers' (p.659, 660). This is a helpful addition to understanding the specific challenges immigrants may face in later life by virtue of their cultural and demographic differences causing social segregation. However, the research also showed that immigrant youths were as likely as non-immigrant youths to experience victimisation due to other social characteristics. The inconsistency of results in this hypothesis suggests that there is in fact no definitive evidence that immigrant youths experience any more victimisation than native youths do (McKenney, Pepler, Craig & Connolly, 2006). However, from this previous research, it can be suggested that the vulnerability factor brought about by being a youth, coupled with specific attributes of their immigrant status, makes segregation more likely for immigrant youths. As well as this, it must be mentioned that the victimisation surveys have a reputation of diminishing validity due to issues of the way the respondent wants to portray themselves (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007). In this case particularly, youths may feel embarrassed about disclosing how often they are victimised because it requires self-reflection. This, compared to other research on immigrant social interactions, leads us to understand criminal behaviour developments, by studying younger age categories; whether each piece of research leads to the same conclusion or not.

Immigrant victimisation still plays an important part in gaining a true perspective of multi-ethnicity crime rates. It is believed that immigrant victimisation is one of the sole causes of underreporting in ethnic minority environments. In previous research by Camarota and Vaughan (2009), it emerged that if an immigrant is subject to victimisation, they are less likely to report the crime, especially if the offender in the case was also an immigrant. There was no evidence to suggest why this was but one assumes an intra-cultural way of dealing with these types of issues or there is a lack of confidence in police response. Although it is suggested by some scholars that immigrants are no more likely to be victimised than native-born citizens, it must be addressed that acculturation and lack of knowledge of the host country's Criminal Justice System, play a significant role in the experiences of repeat victimisation for immigrants (Grubb & Bouffard, 2014). However, we can see that for certain crimes, such as racially motivated crime, cases are being increasingly reported to the police. Since the UK European Union membership referendum in June 2016, the media have been largely focused on reporting the detrimental effects this is having on immigrants and ethnic minority groups becoming targets for hate crimes. The Independent reported that the Equality and Human Rights Commission warned there could be severe backlash from the activation of Article 50 in the form of hate crimes (Connolly, 2017). Only a month later they reported that hate crimes have increased by nearly 100 per cent since the Brexit decision (Sharman & Jones, 2017). The BBC reported similar findings from analysing Home Office resources, showing that the 'majority of police forces in England and Wales saw record levels of hate crimes in the first three months following the EU referendum'; the three forces with the highest levels of reports being London Metropolitan Police, Greater Manchester Police and West Yorkshire Police (Casciani, 2017).

2.6 Political media depiction of immigration and crime

'All countries in the world today face the reality of controlling or managing migration... economic pressure push for openness to migration while political, legal and security concerns argue for greater control' (Hollifield, Martin & Orrenius, 2014, p.3) It is possible, perhaps inevitable that the relationship between immigration and crime has been negatively constructed through the means of political and media campaigns and sociological strategy such as Brexit. Some scholars argue 'the idea that immigration increases crime rates historically occupied an important role in criminological theory and has been central to the public and political discourses and debates on immigration policy' (Wadsworth, 2010, p.531). The rise of anti-immigrant parties on political platforms has had profound effects on the general perceptions of immigration and crime (Dinas & Spanje, 2011). Burscher (2015) conducted empirical research into the likelihood of voting for anti-immigrant parties due to news exposure. He found that political campaigns created a surge of mass media portrayals of the deviant behaviour of immigrants. It was discussed that this type of coverage created a sort of moral panic due to the disproportionate reporting; by dampening the coverage of native crime and increasing the coverage of immigrant related crime. Here we see that exposure to issue-related news depictions are a direct cause for native populations to adopt an anti-immigrant stance. Burscher (2015) believes that this is due to the prevalence and popularity of 'nationalism' which closely relates to the fear of outsiders as immigration is said to risk the disruption of pre-established communities and values (Huysmans, 2006). This can be seen as a cause of a lack of integration and acceptance of immigrant populations which has implications for the instigation of racial crime. Empirical research conducted by Nunziata (2015) also found the media to be biased in

their representations of immigrants and their association with crime. On a deeper level, it was found that the injections of immigrant populations were generally seen in areas where high crime rates already existed. Thus, suggesting that 'the public's misperception of a causal effect from immigration to crime can only be partly imputed to the positive cross-sectional correlation found in simple pooled regressions with no regional fixed effects' (p.729). In other words, perceptions on the impact immigrants have on crime have become more about the fear of crime rather than definitive effects on micro-scale approaches to research. Secondary research suggests that although immigration does not increase crime in a linear fashion, it is assumed that it does increase the fear of crime due to natives experiencing the fear of the unknown and distrust towards new immigrants in the community (Nunziata, 2015). When identifying the discussion of policy in previous research, it appears that most explanatory approaches stem from controlling the effects of illegal immigrant crime (Pinotti, 2015) yet, none seem to assume that policy needs to be revised in order to aid immigrants to disassociate with criminality or to limit their victimisation (Lee, 2013).

2.7 The present thesis

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, most previous research has been statistical in its approach to attempt to explain the relationship and impact of immigration on crime. This is advantageous in terms of generalising theories and making them applicable to differing societies, however the approach has not managed to unravel the implications of criminality for immigrants and their perceptions of crime; 'findings support neither the conventional conceptualisations nor the criminological theories that predict increased immigration will lead to increased rates of crime' (Reid, Weiss, Adelman & Jaret, 2005, p.775). It must also be noted that the US seems to be the main source for data regarding research on immigration and crime which adds further ambiguity regarding this topic in British context. Since we have established from previous literature that there is no consensus on the possible empirical relationship between immigration and crime, future research calls for the two factors to be de-compartmentalised: immigration should be subcategorised into different migrant groups and crime should be more specific types of crime. This is something which is present in the previous literature but not fully explored in terms of testing hypotheses to deduce specific reasoning for causal relationships. What is meant by this is that the objective relationship between immigration and crime, in terms of statistical findings, has limited connection with subjective views of the factors which contribute to correlations. Therefore, the aim of this thesis hopes to explore the subjectivity regarding the possible cultural connections of the perceptions of crime to assess whether this matches the objective findings. For this reason, it becomes justifiable to take a qualitative approach to explore deeper parameters of crime perception and understand the phenomena behind what the statistics show in order to test previous hypotheses. To do this, statistical research conducted by Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015), was used to inform methodological decisions in this research process regarding the aims and interview schedule. This is due to the fact that their conclusion contests previous research and suggests that differences in culture contribute to crime occurrences. In their research for the UK Data Service; The 'before, after and in between' of immigration - criminal interactions of foreign born people in England and Wales, they discern that in fact, there is no positive linear relationship between immigration and crime. For each sub-group of foreign-born, crime seems to fall as the

concentration of immigrants in an area increases. Variables other than immigrant status must be invoked to explain the low crime rates in areas densely populated by immigrant people. Therefore, the justification of this research is to test the reasons why the statistics show what they do by considering and assessing the logic behind the lower crime rates in areas most populated by immigrants. And so, by selecting this relevant piece of contemporary research to base this study around, it adds the opportunity of further validating the results as they will be not only be represented by a qualitative data set but also a quantitative one, based on the relevance of the qualitative findings. The review of previous literature helps to gain an understanding of the gaps for qualitative approaches to this type of this research. This type of understanding was essential to formulate the aims of this research. As previously discussed, the focus of this research was to identify immigrants' perceptions of crime from 2 immigrant groups and so it was necessary to outline the research aims, in depth, to create the most relevant research questions. The aims are as follows;

1. To identify perceptions of crime from the perspective of a group of Nigerian immigrants and a group of Polish immigrants.
2. To recognise the reasons for immigration to understand whether this has any effect on levels of criminality.
3. To understand the types of community which the participants live in and identify whether this has any effect on crime rate and awareness.
4. To identify whether differences in culture affect crime rates and awareness through the exploration of immigrant victimisation, perceptions of the police and comparison between the country of origin and host country.

The combination of these aims ultimately leads to the focus of understanding whether different contributing factors, regarding culture and country of origin, affect perceptions of crime. As already discussed, this is the main focus of this thesis as the goal is to understand whether there are contributing factors to the statistical relationship of immigration and crime and whether any factors identified are similar to those suggested in previous research.

Considering these aims, the following research questions were created;

1. How old are you? (Addresses demographics in order to add context)
2. How long have you lived in the UK? (Addresses demographics in order to add context)
3. What were the reasons behind you moving to the UK? (Addresses aim 2)
4. What is the community like where you live now – does it differ from other communities you are part of? (Addresses aim 3)
5. Do you think rates of crime are high or low where; you live now, nationally and how does this compare to your country? (Addresses aims 1, 2, 3 and 4)
6. Have you ever been a victim of crime; where, did you report it and where you happy with the police response? (Addresses aims 1 and 4)
7. Do you feel that your fellow nationals are more likely to be a victim of crime in the UK? (Addresses aim 1)

8. Who do you think commits the most crime in your area or community? (Addresses aims 1, 3 and 4)
9. Do other areas nearby have higher or lower crime rates? (Addresses aims 1 and 3)
10. Where would you like to move to in the future and why? (Addresses aim 2)

Chapter 3 Methodology

As previously mentioned, there currently appears to be a lack of qualitative investigation concerning the relationship between immigration and crime, in the extant literature on the topic. Such literature is often focused on attempting to identify associations between variables thought to be relevant to the immigrant-crime relationship. Important as such work is, there is limited exploration into why and how such associations are created and maintained. For this reason, the chosen research approach for this project makes use of specific enquiry and uses a qualitative methodology. If one wants to know how people see and interpret their experiences, a qualitative approach is the most, perhaps the only viable approach. The purpose of the research is to try and establish possible connections between the concentration of immigration and the impact this has on criminality from the viewpoint of first generation immigrants residing in areas with highly dense immigrant populations. Therefore, this further justifies the need for an investigation stemming from an interpretivist epistemological paradigm due to the lack of such approach in previous research. In reviewing the previous literature, it seems that from a criminological perspective, there are some expressions of a causal relationship between immigration and crime, in one or the other direction. Exploration of the factors relating to causal relationships of a social phenomenon is best executed through the use of qualitative data collection methods (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). Even if no direct causal relationship between immigration and crime exists, understanding how people see and interpret crime and justice is surely important.

3.1 Method choices

Qualitative data collection is concerned with investigating and understanding phenomena through personal experiences (Vogt & Vogt, 2014) and secondary judgement about the practical implications of such experience (Taylor, Bogdan & Devault, 2015). Semi-structured interviews were the tool of choice. Interviews can provide in depth responses to explore the phenomena in question and test hypotheses based on the relevance of the information provided (Ribbins, 2007). Taking this into consideration, the use a semi-structured interview design is also beneficial, as the responses are not the only data which can be collected. For example, in ace to face interviews, environmental cues and the interviewee's non-verbal behaviour can be analysed to further establish a context for their responses (Opdenakker, 2006). This is important to the present research, as the interviews took place in settings familiar to interviewees with attributes with which the interviewer had not been familiar prior to the study.

Semi-structured interviews also offer a more versatile approach to the interviewing technique, the flexible form of the interview schedule allows expansion from the initial questions, giving the participant the opportunity to digress from the predominant topic and discuss anything they feel may be relevant to the purpose of the inquiry (Longhurst, 2003). This level of flexibility also allows the interviewer to ask sub-questions and to prompt the participant to expand on the specificities of a previous response (Hermanowicz, 2002). It is important to mention here that professionalism must be adhered to by not allowing researcher bias to influence the process and by not guiding the discourse towards a particular ideology, as this can shape the response. That said, any interview context, especially where the interviewee wishes to please the interviewer, will have an effect on the research outcomes. These

'demand characteristics' are subtle and complex. On balance, the conversational tactics permissible in the semi-structured interview, promote greater coverage of relevant topics in the responses and ensure best input from the sample which contributes to a rich data set (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013). The justification for the prospective target sample derives from the outline of the research question; in summary, the title of the thesis aims to understand whether differences in culture create different perspectives of crime, therefore it is realistic to select samples from two different cultural backgrounds. This project aims to identify possible reasons behind lower crime rates in areas densely populated by immigrants of a single ethnicity as this is something that previous literature has indicated, particularly the research of Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015). However, it is recognised that that the perceptions of the respondents may contradict the statistical findings. Therefore, the most appropriate target sample comprises first generation immigrants, who reside in areas densely populated by other immigrants of the same national origin, as not only are areas with high numbers of first generation immigrants identifiable using freely available datasets, but the expectation is that first generation immigrants may exemplify distinctively contrasting cultural characteristics in their initial arrival period before the effects of adaptation and acculturation may commence (Berry, 1997).

3.2 Study sample

In order to locate participants who matched these criteria, it was first important to select the target categories by country or region of origin. Originally, this research aimed to make comparisons between four categories; UK born (host), Eastern European, African and Asian as identified and classified by the UK Census (Office for National Statistics, 2012), with the hope of analysing the contrast between homogenous areas and mixed-ethnicity areas and their differences in perceived crime rates. However, after the initial planning of the data collection process it was found that it would simply not be feasible to source and collect, rich and valid data from all four groups given the time-scale of the project. Therefore, a decision was taken to focus on just two groups; African and Eastern European. The justification for this selection was determined by the findings of the quantitative research from Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015) where it was found that areas densely populated by either Eastern European or African populations showed lower crime rates than areas populated by a mixture of ethnicities. They also found that when populations of Eastern Europeans co-habit with populations of Africans, crime rates are significantly lower compared to those with other co-habiting groups. This generates interest into the factors that contribute to these findings and so these two groups were selected.

It was decided to recruit a minimum of eight participants from each of these two groups. In terms of generalisability, which is unlikely to be achieved in a small scale qualitative project by default, 16 participants would fit within the typical sample size generally utilised by qualitative researchers in social sciences (Barker, Edwards & Doidge, 2012) and be fairly sufficient in understanding subjective views of the participants where the research is conducted, but inadequate in understanding immigrant people's views across the UK. Opinions may be entirely formed upon the basis of their personal experience from the area of the United Kingdom in which they live. For example, rural and urban areas are expected to provide foreign-born residents with different experiences of crime due to the differing

rates of crime (Wells & Weisheit, 2004; Burgess, 2008). It must be remembered that the purpose of this study is to try and offer a qualitative contribution to existing statistical findings, and so, 16 participants is sufficient to begin an exploratory project with the hopes of identifying any underlying understandings of the immigration crime nexus.

3.3 The research process

In terms of participant recruitment, the next stage of the selection process was aimed at locating potential participants based on the study's purpose. In order to do this, UK census data were used to identify Middle Level Super Output Areas which would fall in the top ten per cent by immigration of European, African and Asian immigrants and the associated postcodes that can be aligned with those areas. Once these locations were identified, a web search was conducted at the very beginning of the project to identify any establishments or community groups specifically tailored to the ethnicities and countries of origin in question as we must remember that different ethnicities can share the same cultural aspects, dependant of their location or initial residence or nationality. It was fair to assume, based on the population densities, that there would be formations of subgroups within the postal areas which occupied single ethnicity individuals. The web search consisted of key- phrases such as; Asian community centre, Eastern European community group and African social club. It was established that there were several community groups which catered to specific individuals with the same country of origin or similarities in culture. Often these groups were also divided into cultural affiliations. For example, when searching for Eastern European community groups, there were several hits for Polish catholic churches and when searching for African community groups, the hits were centred on Christian churches and University societies. Rather than just selecting one community group for each country of origin, it was seen as more beneficial to retrieve the contact information for around three or four contacts from each ethnic group, also contingent upon the possibility that there may be difficulties trying to contact just one establishment. Each community group had a web page offering an email contact address for the community chair or president; this appeared to be constructive, as with each group an invitation letter (see Appendix 3) was sent via email, explaining the outline of the research and inviting the community to consider participation. However, this line of recruitment soon proved unsuccessful. After waiting a period of two weeks, no responses were received from any of the groups who were contacted. It is possible that the letter was received with a perception of formality and lack of trust. Communities are unlikely to welcome strangers and help them if there is no previous relationship or rapport. Nevertheless, it was important to adhere to ethical professionalism and the procedures outlined in the ethics application for the research.

At this point, the research began to stall as the recruitment intention was failing because of the difficulty to gain access to the communities found in the search thus creating difficulty to recruit participants. It became apparent that the sampling method must be revised to start, with the consideration to first building a relationship with the communities and gain their trust to promote willingness to participate. It was assumed that the key to doing this would be to devise a bridging strategy whereby a third party, someone with the same country of origin as the target group, would be invited to act as a gateway to the community. Careful consideration led to asking for the help of fellow researchers; two fellow researchers one of Polish and one of Nigerian descent were approached and asked if

they were aware of any communities in which their fellows of similar birth origin gathered, and if there would be a possibility of contacting them. Fortunately, both were more than happy to help and offered to approach the communities and explain what the research was about and enquire whether potential interviewees would be interested in participating. This proved highly successful as access was then granted to a Nigerian and a Polish community group. Ultimately, the participants were chosen by the relevance of their personal attributes, being their birth origin, and so the importance of trust of and familiarity with the relevant bridging contacts. The success of this tactic is owed to the participants feeling less threatened to initially engage with someone who shares the same ethnic heritage. In this case the criteria for the sample were dependant on the participants' country of birth; understandably this can become a challenging factor in participant recruitment, as individuals may feel they are being indirectly victimised or stigmatised due to their origin and ethnicity, which can deter their participation as a result.

The choice of opportunity style sampling technique proved ineffective for this project and a decision was made to move towards the use of snowball sampling as the initial contacts provided the contact details of the heads of the communities. The heads of the communities were able to give further contacts of individuals they had spoken to who would be happy to participate. Snowball sampling can be extremely valuable to qualitative research, as Noy (2008) suggests that the lack of control possibilities over the sample can generate unexpected yet relevant responses. Both of the contacts which were given by the bridging contacts extended an invitation to their community groups in the hope to establish rapport and promote the opportunity to be a part of the research. Nguyen (2015) argues that maintaining a good rapport with participants increases the chances of openness in their interview responses and so it was vital to attempt to forge a relationship with the communities in question. Switching to a non-probability sampling technique, achieved the desired effects of recruiting participants from hard to reach groups. However, it is clear that both groups were reserved in their efforts to communicate and express their interest in participation. Even though the initial contacts gained access to the communities through their social and cultural similarities, the potential participants required further reassurance of what their involvement would include.

The observations made and the personal accounts of the verbal exchanges identified the main concerns to be the discussion of crime and the possibility that their personal information could be shared. This was managed by a friendly and reassuring approach; personal interactions within the community were vital to make the potential participants aware that they were not the focus of criminal accusation and that there were no obligations to participate (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). Nevertheless, even though these control measures were implemented, this sampling strategy still did not yield the required number of participants outlined in the intended research process. From the Polish group, seven individuals agreed to participate from a group of 20. Although the intended number was eight, considering the selection, 7 participants were sufficient for the aims of the study; the focus of the research is to understand the participants' perceptions of crime and it is recognised that the findings hereby cannot be assumed to be generalisable for the whole immigrant population or necessarily extended in respect to other Polish immigrants, for that matter. What was more disappointing was the lack of participants in the Nigerian group. The revised sampling technique originally produced seven participants, however following further

contact with these participants, two no longer responded. The reasons for this are, and will remain to be, unknown as previously mentioned the participants are under no obligation to explain their reasons for not wanting to participate. One more participant then decided not to partake in the research and cancelled the interview giving the reason that they did not have time to partake due to pressure of studies. This situation is understandable as the participants are volunteering their time and receiving no personal benefit, therefore it would seem that no matter how many measures are put in place, decisions to not participate are inevitable in qualitative research.

By examining the demographic qualities of both these participant groups, we can identify several personal characteristics which can be applicable to the content of the responses given in the interviews. The most important factor relevant to the analysis of the perceptions was the length of time the participants had lived in the UK and the age at which they immigrated.

Table 1: A table to show the participants’ gender and length of time the participants’ have spent in the UK as well as the age at which they immigrated; categorised by nationality.

PARTICIPANT #	GENDER	AGE AT WHICH THE PARTICIPANT IMMIGRATED - AND THEIR CURRENT AGE	LENGTH OF TIME SPENT IN THE UK (rounded up to year value)
Polish Participants			
1	F	24 - 38	14 years
2	F	24 - 33	9 years
3	F	7 - 77	70 years
4	M	10 - 22	12 years
5	M	9 - 20	11 years
6	F	31 - 37	6 years
7	M	10 - 20	10 years
Nigerian Participants			
1	M	26 - 28	2 years
2	M	25 - 26	1 year
3	F	23 - 25	2 years
4	M	30 - 32	2 years

The interviews themselves were arranged by means of electronic communication, at a time and location suitable to both the interviewer and the interviewee. The locations were all public places including University meeting rooms, local religious gathering places and local coffee shops. As previously mentioned in the ethical considerations of the research, each participant was asked to read, sign and agree to the outline of the research before the interview. The interview schedule consisted of 10 questions. The choice of these questions was entirely dependent on exploring the aims of the research question which was previously discussed, whilst also addressing the gaps in the previous literature regarding immigrant communities and relationships with crime. This encompasses the stability and ethnic

structure of communities as well as their association and experience with crime, since previous research shows how factors such as community make up and economic differences can affect the immigrant-crime relationship. Exploring the situational factors such as the length of time spent in the UK, their age and their reasons for moving were pertinent in gaining background knowledge into demographic factors which could be linked to the content of their responses. For example, their reasons for moving to the UK might be a determining factor to the area within the UK in which they reside. Interview questions four to ten were more subjective in their approach and aimed at gaining a better understanding of the personal viewpoints of the participants. The questions sought to identify a participant's experience of crime in their neighbourhood, the experience of victimisation, experience of dealing with the police and experience within other communities in the UK whilst identifying similarities and differences from their experiences in their native country. These questions draw attention to the cultural understandings of crime and how this relates to the participants' immigration into the UK.

Throughout the interview process there were communication barriers, in some cases, particularly with the participants from the Polish community. For both groups English was not their native language and so their experiences of learning English and their English skill levels differed dramatically. Even in cases where the participants spoke English at a higher standard, at times the dialect and colloquialisms were challenging to understand. The language barrier also proved challenging to the participants when trying to understand the questions. On many occasions the interview question would be asked and the participant would indicate the need for clarity and so the question needed to be simplified. This is understandable due to the fact that academic terminology is absent from their everyday vocabulary. Quite often, language barriers can hinder research as non-English speaking participants are excluded from research or response opportunities (Lee, Sulaiman & Thompson, 2014). The possibility of this exclusion and limited response could have been overcome by the use of an interpreter. Interpreters can offer further merit to research methodologies as it eliminates the possibility of poor elaborative skills, and so, increases levels of trust from the participant (Williamson et. al, 2011). However, this simply was not feasible at the time of the data collection due to lack of funding and a limited timescale of the project. This proved to be a learning process for the writer and a developmental consideration for future research with foreign-born participants.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Exploring the parameters of qualitative research brings great emphasis on ethical principles which must be considered. An application for this research (see Appendix 1) was approved by the School Research Ethics Panel and ethical professionalism was maintained by ensuring that the Statement of Ethics for Researchers by the British Society for Criminology (2015) was followed. In all overt social research, avoiding ethical breaches entails the implementation of preventive measures to ensure confidentiality, informed consent, anonymity, the right to withdraw and the storage of data are not compromised. If not approached properly, ethical issues are encountered when the preventive measures within these broad factors are absent or fail. 'The specific ethical dilemmas researchers experience within them [broad issues] are inevitably unique to the research project' (Wiles, 2012, p.72).

Bearing this specificity in mind, we can see that the gravity of ethical considerations within this research are particularly heightened by the nature of the subject in question - immigration. In the current political climate, immigration law and policy are a hot topic on many countries' agendas. At present, this is even more specific in Britain, considering the recent majority decision to leave the EU (O'reilly, 2016), and the prospective change in immigration legislation we expect to see not just on a European scale but on an intercontinental one. This suggests that the topic of immigration, linked with criminology, poses a great threat in terms of sensitivity and so the research must be approached appropriately as to avoid breaches in ethical regulations.

After the sample collection, each participant was given, and asked to read, a participant information sheet (see Appendix 4) which outlined the nature of the research. The sheet was an aid to explaining why they were chosen for the research, what the research entailed and how the data collected would be used. This was vital in ensuring clarity and understanding to what their role in the research would involve. After verbal consent was given to their understanding of their participation, each participant was given a consent form (see Appendix 5) to give their informed consent to their involvement. All the participants were happy to sign this. However, three participants raised concerns regarding the fact they did not want their name to be used in the write up of the findings. And so it became apparent that they misunderstood the word 'pseudonym'. These participants were directed to the anonymity section of the information sheet where it was explained that their personal details, with the exception of their domestic location as it was a key part to the research, would not be used in the research. Instead they would be assigned a participant number or alternative name. In future research, it may be helpful to re-word the information sheet to accommodate wider range of vocabulary to offer higher levels of clarity.

In all research, particularly when carrying out interviews, maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is paramount. This research was treated with utmost professionalism in its approach to adhering to ethical regulations. Considering the overt nature of this research, upon recruitment, participants were immediately made aware that they had a right to withdraw from the research at any time up until the date outlined on the participant information sheet. Verbally, clear instructions were given explaining that if at any time they felt discomfort regarding their involvement, they could use the researcher and supervisor contacts to withdraw from the proceedings of the data collection and research in a whole. As with all research, participants are more likely to withdraw if the professionalism of the data collection and storage techniques are not made clear to them. Because of this, a section of the information sheet was dedicated to explaining how the information would be recorded and stored. The data collection for this research entailed recording the interviews on an electronic recording device. Each file that was recorded was uploaded to a secure, password protected computer to be solely used for research purposes. It was outlined in the information sheet that any data collected would be stored for a maximum of 12 months for academic purposes. No other person was permitted access to the data stored. The participants were also made aware that their consent forms would also be kept in this time period but stored in a locked filing cabinet, only accessible to relevant academic personnel. All information regarding the participants will be destroyed after this time period to maintain the highest levels of anonymity and confidentiality.

When carrying out research it is vital to ensure the welfare and safety of all parties involved. Within this research, several measures were taken to prevent any type of physical or mental harm. As previously mentioned, the research topic carries a moderate number of sensitive topics. The logic behind them being deemed sensitive is the 'potential fear of stigmatisation' (McCosker, Barnard & Gerber, 2001, p.1) of immigrants' social identity and perchance assimilation to crime. When discussing an association between immigration and crime, there is a possibility of unplanned disclosure to occur before, during or after the interviews. For this reason, it was vital to use interactional techniques in explanatory discourse to reassure the participants that the information they discussed would not be distributed, unless it was revealed that an individual was at risk of harm. In this case, it was made aware to the participants that a relevant authority would be informed. Here we face the possibility that relevant information regarding crime, may have been excluded from the response if the participant felt the information may be shared. It was also highly considered that discussing rates of criminal activity and victimisation, may pose psychological harm therefore a section of the participant information sheet was dedicated to providing suitable contacts to provide relevant support. The supervisor's contact details were made available if the participant would like further clarification on the justification of the. The second contact was Mind UK, a mental health charity, with support services made available to the general public. They also have a team dedicated to working with non-UK born residents, which is a more specific type of support considering the sample.

As well as considering the welfare of the participants it is also imperative to understand the challenges a researcher may face whilst collecting data. A risk assessment (see Appendix 2) was created before the research process began, primarily to identify what risks would arise and what measure needed to be taken to prevent the occurrence of harm. Each interview was conducted in a neutral environment agreed with the participant. These locations included a church, a public library and the university. At each location, there was a university representative present to ensure the safety of both parties. As well as this, both supervisors of the research were contacted at the commencement and closing of the meetings to ensure an outside party was aware of the locations and times for safety reasons.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed to create a visual data set in furtherance of making the analysis process more feasible. Considering the focus on participant experience in the interview discourse, the most appropriate method of analysis was a thematic analysis. 'Thematic analysis (TA) is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes'), it is not singularly assigned to a specific paradigm, its practical application stems from the interest of coding data, in both positivist and interpretivist research. This analysis technique is extremely suitable for this research, as it 'can be used to identify patterns across data in relation to participants' lived experience, views and perspectives, and behaviours and practices' (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p.297). Thematic analysis is often praised as an approach due to the facilitation of exploration of specific ideologies, opinion and differing interpretations with the focus being held on the participant. However, the downside to this is that variances in interpretation could lead to misinterpretation and inaccurate analysis of the data set (Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013).

Chapter 4 Findings, Discussion and Reflection

The analysis process was relatively simple in its execution due to the abundance of codes and themes available which reflected of the aims of the research. As previously mentioned, each interview was recorded and then transcribed which created a visual data set to make the coding process more feasible. More challenging was the initial stage of the analysis and the transcription of the recorded interviews. Even though all of the participants spoke English, their accents, colloquialisms and specific dialect made for a lengthier transcription process. There were many filled pauses where the participant was trying to find the right way to explain something in English which meant the sentence structures were often difficult to pinpoint. It was also challenging as the vocabulary was often used in the wrong context or a word was mispronounced and therefore it was harder to decipher the meaning of the content.

The content available yielded four main themes. The first was the participants' sense of community. Discussed within this are the reasons why they live where they do, what challenges they face and the social structure of their area. The second theme related to the participants' feelings of safety which incorporates the participants' experiences of crime, particularly in comparison with their experiences in their native country. The third theme was involved with the identification of what the participants perceived as the causes of crime in their experience. The fourth theme was created by analysing the participants' decision making skills when choosing a suitable location in which to live. These themes, developed from the participants' responses, are key to investigating the perceptions of crime of both ethnic groups. For the purposes of making the participant groups easily distinguishable, in keeping with assigning pseudonyms, participants from the Polish group are referred to as 'Participant P#' and participants from the Nigerian group are referred to as 'Participant N#'. The reason for the clarification in the identification of country of origin when referring to the participant, is awarded to demonstrating clarity when discussing perceptions from two racially, ethnically and culturally different groups as the previous research displayed that there could be a significant difference in cultural perceptions between immigrant groups yet there is limited prior evidence to suggest what these differences are. The use of these two groups is a way to explore such differences.

4.1 Participants' sense of community

4.1.1 Factors determining location of residency

Although this research aims to identify immigrants' cultural influence on perceived crime rates, it is important to understand the motivations behind moving to the UK, in order to achieve a better understanding of their experience of transition and immigration. It highlights the justifications for their location of residency, which can then be linked to their experiences and contributes to their perceptions of crime and sense of community.

The initial social circles in which the participants find themselves, will be partially dependant on their motivations for immigration. For example, the interview process found that the motivations for moving to the UK fell into two categories; seeking greater financial opportunity and better standard of education. This is something which was evident from analysing the previous literature; immigration is mostly the result of pursuing greater opportunities.

What was of particular interest was that each of these categories were not found in both groups, they were exclusionary based on ethnicity. All of the Polish participants had entered the UK on the basis of finding work and improving their standard of living. The older generation came for their own or their partner's work opportunities. Participant P2 moved to the UK as a result of her partner's job, *'my partner starts working here...he finish study in Poland but it's not good perspective for work...I move here cause it's better place to live.'* Participant P6 shared the same feelings, stating that they moved for a *'better life'* to find a job and work hard to *'send money'* back to their family in Poland. The younger generation of participants obviously did not make the decision to move to the UK, they moved due to their families' wishes, yet it is clear that they are aware of the reasons. Participant P4 came to the UK when he was just ten and states the reason for his family moving was because the UK has better *'job opportunities and better opportunities for us [his family]'*. He went on to say; *'Dad decided on it and mum went along with it'*. This was the same situation for participant P5, who said his father also made the decision to move to *'get a better job'* stating, *'dad came before me'*. Participant P7 also came to the UK for the same reasons; *'new life like because my family have a couple of problems so they decided to move to UK to like earn the money...then we thought to stay here cause it's better...more opportunities like education'*. Participant P3 reiterates these reasons for moving by saying *'it's much easier to make a decent living in England'*. Since 2004, the UK has seen an influx of Polish economic migrants due to the job markets being opened to Poland as a new member of the European Union (Boski, 2013). Therefore, most of the Polish participants can be classified as economic migrants (Parutis, 2014) meaning that their initial social circles could depend upon the areas with a greater opportunity for work. Participant P4 shares his experience of this period of time in the early 2000s, stating that in Barnsley where he previously lived, there was *'a big influx of eastern European immigrants 2005'* because of the opportunity to work in the large factories.

The responses from the Nigerian interviewees were entirely different. The discourse revealed that their motivations for coming to the UK were to receive a higher standard of education and learning opportunities. Participant N4 says how it is very easy for Nigerians to come to the UK to study and says; *'the UK has lots of Nigerian students'*, whilst Participant N1 explains he *'came here to study'*. The short answer here shows how this is the primary focus for his time in the UK. Statistical analysis demonstrates that Nigeria is in the top 10 countries of UK higher education amongst immigrant populations (HESA, 2017). The reason for such presence is available from the responses of all of the Nigerian participants. It was revealed that the standard of education in the UK was seen to be, globally, one of the best. When asked why he chose the UK, participant N3 said; *'The thing is, I was actually looking at the education standard'* and he aspired to have *'an international degree'*. Participant N4 would agree with this in saying that the UK has *'one of the best education systems in the world'*.

Therefore, the question must be answered as to why the UK was selected over other prestigious higher education providers. The answer seemed to be clear. In the UK, a master's degree, for their chosen subject, can be completed in only one year. In other countries, like the USA and their home country, a master's degree is scheduled to take upwards of one and a half years (Universities in the USA and Canada, 2016). Participant N3 explains that *'back home if you have to do a master's degree it's gonna take quite some time...here in the UK its 12 months'*. We can see here that the feasibility of studying in the UK coupled with the course length benefits and financial savings, are direct

determinants of their motivations deciding their location of residency. However, it must be remembered that not all of the population of Nigerian immigrants in the UK have emigrated for education related reasons. Many Nigerians seek asylum in the UK and also come for work related opportunities (Office for National Statistics, 2017). It is expected that the reasoning behind this theme emerging from the available sample, was that the locality of the sample resided very close to a University. This means that again the participants' locality is based on their motivations and is often selected as university towns. Therefore, it is clear that the motivations for coming to the UK are a driving force in immigrant behaviour;

'I'm staying in town centre but its cause of proximity to school...you come here [UK] for a reason, if that's to study or to work or do business so whatever you coming here to do you just have to do it...people that I've seen around... everyone it's um is just focussed on what brought him or her to this country' (Participant N3).

In relation to these motivations, a third determining factor of location of residency can be justified by the ethnic succession theory. Stemming from theories from the Chicago School, it contends that the socio-economic positioning of a new wave of immigrants will display immediate signs of segregation. Nevertheless, as the groups adapt to existing customs in their areas, their social-economic position will tend towards parity with the indigenous society (Schwartzman, 2012; Herman, 2008). Whilst this was not a predominant theme which emerged explicitly from the responses in interview, there was some evidence of this. Participant P6 discusses how segregation holds immigrants back, she explains how some immigrants often stick to their own groups and do not attempt to learn anything new in order to integrate; 'we need open our minds', she explains. This invites one of two explanations; either this theory does not apply to all areas depending on population densities and class differentials, or it is an unconscious social phenomenon where the participants are not aware of the process they are part of well enough to highlight in their responses. We can see here a range of reasons for the geographical positioning of first generation immigrants but what does this mean in terms of perceptions of crime?

4.1.2 Social exclusion and consequent conflict

One of the most dominant findings regarding 'sense of community' was how social exclusion occurs and can cause conflict. The main finding which was exclusive to the Polish participants, was the notion of social exclusion and the barriers which immigrants can face in the UK, which as the previously discussed literature suggests may be a reason for the increase in crime rates. This was apparent due to the frequent mention of language barriers. The reason this is believed to be exclusive to the Polish participants is due to the differences in culture and education. We have to consider here the point at which English has become a second language for immigrants as this essentially reveals the level of social exclusion they may experience. The Nigerian participants explained that they learned English from a young age along with other languages. They outlined the reason for this being that their country is so big and culturally diverse that there must be common languages for all of the residents to speak due to the large number of tribal languages spoken. In contrast, this is an unnecessary practice for Polish people as their societies are less diverse, and so, English is more optional than a necessity in day to day life. All of the participants from the Polish

group revealed that they only began learning English to a good speaking level when they entered the UK. Participant P2 explained that English is not a common language you learn in Poland, its mainly German and Russian, she stated that she *'never learned English in Poland'*. Participant P1 and P7 also had the same experience saying; *'when I came here I couldn't speak [English] at all'* and *'when I first came... I couldn't speak English at all'* and they hoped to become more fluent by living in an English-speaking community. It was quite apparent from most of the participants that their standard of English speech had not reached a level of fluency. Yet, as previously outlined in describing the demographic characteristics of the sample, specifically the younger Polish participants, have lived in the UK significantly longer than the rest. Therefore, their English skills were much more advanced considering they have been in the English education system. So advanced to the point that Participant P5, who is now 20, and lived in the UK since he was nine, said *'I don't think I'd go back to Poland...the thing is because I moved here when I was nine, I don't know specific language in Poland'*.

The development of the responses then revealed that lower levels of English speaking skills often posed interactional challenges. It is said that we can often underestimate the issues which non-English speaking individuals can face (Gannon, 2008). The social exclusion caused by language and cultural differences in discourse delivery, can have negative implications in the instigation of conflict and criminal behaviour. Participant P1 discussed this on a deeper level and gave insight into the way the cultural differences can cause conflict. When speaking about communication between British people and Polish immigrants she said;

'the language barrier, it might be a problem because we come across very, sometimes very harsh...we [Polish community] don't seem to say please...and that might cause the problem...sometime because I know how the English community work... when I'm with Polish people and I hear how they speak, I think why? Why you doing that, you causing problems...some of English people think oh my god they're very rude'.

She then went on to explain why learning the English language is so important to her; *'I never want to forget Polish...I don't have problems maybe cause I can go speak English and they kind of understand me...I teach my son now cause we living here and he needs to learn how is here'*. Even though this suggests that differences in vocal communication poses issues, there is little research which makes connection between language barriers and how the risk of crime against the person changes. Yet, from the research which does exist, we can see that immigrants who do not speak their host countries native language are more likely to be victimised, particularly during their first years of settlement. However, as their English proficiency increases, there is a greater likelihood of increased acceptance and lower rates of victimisation (Peguero, 2008). Participant P7 says *'the language plays a big part cause if you're not gonna communicate with other people like British people then there's nothing you can do'*.

The reliability of this theme is also backed up by the social observations made in the interviews themselves. It was clear from spending time with the participants that there was a distinguishable divergence between the behaviours of the Polish and Nigerian group; not just verbally but also physically. *'The nonverbal brain gives voice to all its feelings, moods and concepts through the concentration of muscles'*. These displays are mostly subconscious and

are a way of expressing one's identity (Givens, 2002, p.2; Fast, 1988). Therefore, gestures and discourse style are unique ways to identify patterns of culture impacting behaviour. It was observed that all but one of the Polish participants displayed a very restrained and defensive body language during the interviews. Many sat with their arms crossed or their hands clasped together, whilst others would not accept a seat and preferred to stand. This was something that did not change throughout the course of the interview; when responding to the interview questions there was very minimal behavioural cues, hand gestures were not common and the flow of the discourse was quite monosyllabic, showing little emotion. This type of body language, whether deliberate or not, signals negativity, lack of interest and most importantly a lack of trust for the second party (Coman, 2014). As was discussed in the methodology, this type of behaviour was expected to a certain degree considering the situation and the topic of the research question. The only participant who defied these findings was participant P3, she displayed much more open body language and was fluent in English with a Huddersfield accent to the point where there were no identifiable Polish factors. The reason for this could be that in the length of time she has spent in the UK, over 70 years, she has adopted many British characteristics. Upon reflection, the body language of the Polish participants might not just be attributed to cultural characteristics but the lack of confidence due to lower levels of English skills. What was compelling was the fact that the behaviour displayed by the Nigerian participants was completely opposite to the majority of the Polish group; they were much more relaxed and outgoing. The Nigerian participants demonstrated very open body language before, during and after the interviews. They would position themselves and take control of their own space and where they would sit without being directed. When questions were asked, the Nigerian participants leaned closer as if more engaged. There was excessive use of kinesics in the way of gesture and dramatisation of responses. What was also interesting was the style of discourse, there was much more emotional response portrayed compared to the Polish Participants. For example, laughter and sincere concern. This type of behaviour is said to convey interest and positivity (Coman, 2014).

Again, when we consider the importance of these differences we see how they can create cultural conflict and affect criminality. Body language can be an innate ethnic identifier: The way we move represents our personal identity (Argyle, 2013) and is often learned behaviour (Harper, Weins & Matarazzo, 1978), and so, it is not uncommon for people from the same race or culture to display similar kinesics: the disadvantage to this however is that stereotypes can be created and the body language misconstrued (Meadors & Murray, 2014).

4.1.3 Cultural togetherness

The types of cultural differences that have just been discussed, play a pivotal role in the cultural togetherness of homogenous immigrant groups. When considering the previously discussed research from Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015), we can see the importance of analysing the ethnographic composition of specific locations in accordance with crime rates. It is often thought that the more culturally cohesive an area is, the more it thrives in terms of decreasing crime rates (National Policing Improvement Agency, 2001; Afridi, 2007). In this section of the analysis, it seems justifiable to discuss the social cohesiveness, cultural togetherness and ethnographic composition from participant experience so that we can effectively compare it to their perceptions and experience with crime. The key

to analysing this comes from the responses from question 4 in the interview schedule. When asked 'What is the community like where you live now?', the range of responses teaches us how community structure effects social ties and cultural togetherness, which in turn affects crime perception.

'they got lots of people they've got um British they've got Asian they got Africans...right now they've got different people, families, singles...there's a big block of flats...it's different because basically you're on your own, you've got no neighbours...you get into the building and straight to your flat so you've got no time to be like having spend time with your neighbour except it's someone you know...someone you got to know outside that environment' (Participant N3).

'I live in a shared flat...on my street I've seen Asians I've seen some Pakistanis and also blacks so it's very mixed on my street' (Participant N1).

'mixed...working class estate...a lot of Polish people living alongside African...but only Polish neighbours I know are ones that live opposite' (Participant P4).

'you get Polish people...a lot of Asians, blacks, whites, everything...mainly white people' (Participant P5).

The responses here are particularly emblematic of the social structure in which the participants reside as it can be identified that the participants reside mainly in homogenous working-class areas with what appears to be minimal social cohesion due to the vagueness of their responses. Although, this point lacks evidence and the vagueness could be attributed to other contributing factors. Contrary to previous research it is clear that none of the participants reside in a homogenous community with common values, beliefs and cultural practices. This indicates the reliability of the previous findings in showing that, it is in fact a possibility that location is much more dependent on affordable housing, work and educational opportunities. The indication of locality in the responses displays that in terms of residency, participant's do not create homogenous communities in the initial transition period of immigration. Instead, they live in mixed ethnicity settings and come together in a common place with their people who share their country of origin. For example, all the Polish people stated that in the areas in which they live, there was few other Polish families, yet Polish families from all over Huddersfield would come and meet at a Polish Catholic church in the town centre. The Nigerian participants likewise stated that they lived in rented accommodation with a mixture of ethnicities but met with fellow Nigerians at university societies to practice their culture and religion. Participant P3 shows how in the initial stages of polish migration to the UK, barriers and social exclusions lead Polish people to create their own place of worship and come together there which has now continued to the present day;

'because of the language difficulties we felt that we couldn't join in the English Catholic community cause we didn't understand what was going on...the fact is we're much more active in the community here [Polish church] than where we live'.

Participant N1 also says that he is not very active in his neighbourhood but will find groups or individuals with similar interests to his own in order to fit into a community; *'we live by respecting and appreciating each other...joint love and respect for God'*, he goes on to explain how there are many groups that he is part of outside his neighbourhood, most revolve around religion and many are Nigerian societies across the town and university. Essentially, this demonstrates how the participants do not actively seek locations of residency in the same place as immigrants from the same heritage but do actively seek groups who share these attributes.

The popular underpinnings of the 'melting pot theory' rely on this assumption of heterogeneous societies becoming more homogenous (Bisin & Verdier, 2000). We can see that the number of immigrants in Huddersfield are rising on an annual basis due to global political changes (Huddersfield Local History Society, 2016). Yet, there are no outstanding statistical figures which indicate that wards within the town are more homogenous with Polish or African residents. Certainly, from these findings we can see how that congregation of immigrants has not yet reached a stage where it can be comparable to the melting pot theory because the composition of the participants' areas proves a more heterogeneous mixture of residents. This instigates the further analysis of the ways in which this affects the participants' everyday life.

Criminological research into immigration and the settlement of foreign born people has engaged many theories in trying to explain the process of both integration and segregation. The models of acculturation are key to explaining transitional processes for immigrant people. It is assumed that there are three stages of acculturation; 'contact conflict and adaptation. The first is necessary, the second is probable and the third is inevitable' (Berry, 1986, p.25). From these stages, there are said to be four possible outcomes; 'assimilation (movement toward the dominant culture), integration (synthesis of the two cultures), rejection (reaffirmation of the traditional culture), or marginalization (alienation from both cultures)' (Muhammad, Zahari, Shariff & Abdullah, 2016, p.371; Berry, 1986). Therefore, we would be more inclined to assume that assimilation hypotheses better suit the findings of this research rather than assimilation models in this case. This is due to the participants stating their adaptation into different communities by adopting their particular culture and language. Participant N1 explains how his religion teaches him to respect his neighbour and he understands there is community conflict and explains how he overcomes this; *'in every environment, in every place I've gone to there's always going to be some form of systematic segregation...I adapt and look for the unifying factor'*.

Participant P1 explains how she feels it is unnecessary to only spend time with other Polish immigrants, and believes that adopting elements of English lifestyle makes her life easier;

'I don't have that sense of just Polish community...I don't have it that I need to be with Polish and only eat Polish food...thirteen years down the line I think I've adapted very well to English style of living...I know there are some Polish places with only Polish people and they can't speak English for ten years cause they're only with Polish...the only sense of Polish community I feel is in Poland I suppose...we getting more English'.

Participant P3 provides evidence of assimilation as she shares how Polish families in the UK begin to neglect their Polish traditions down lines on generation and are less likely to go back to Poland do to the level of settlement and stability in the UK;

'they sort of grow into the place and its more and more difficult to go back as the years progress...their [second generation immigrants] Polish-ness wasn't as important to them as they brought up their children...unless the home is really very keen on preserving the language'.

Here we can see the importance of assimilation as it essentially fuels integration. The immigrants' perceptions from the responses indicate that the more an immigrant group attempts to adapt to the native group, the more they will be accepted by the host population and so the two groups can better commingle, decreasing the chances of marginalisation, rejection and social exclusion. Although it must be remembered that native perceptions are not included in this study and so this could be a bias conclusion. The issues of social exclusion have already proven that the absence of such adaptations cause conflict of cultures. This is something apparent in the responses when the participants expressed that mixtures of cultures create worse neighbourhoods to live in and close communities are more harmonious with less crime. Participant N2 shares his belief that culture conflict creates issues and crime is inevitable; *'when there is so much of a mixture [of people] everyone is careful not to offend...any other person...I think that's why when we have that mixture...we are going to have an increase in crime indeed'*. Participant N3 also shared this belief that mixed ethnicity areas cause conflict because of the cultural difference and explains how he feels on the subject matter regarding crime rates and area types;

'high crime rates in densely populated, particular ethnicities populating a particular area...it's true when you find um when you find a particular area, an ethnic group hugely populating a particular area that tend to communicate better and that could aid... if it's a neighbourhood where you've got different nationals, you've got different ways of doing things, you've got different ways of communicating then it's... I would say it's gonna be difficult...it does create problems because people from same ethnicity might, are definitely gonna feel comfortable working with a person from same ethnic group compared to someone else...I feel more comfortable, not like I'm being anything racial, not at all, but I feel more comfortable ...having to deal with someone who's African'.

Participant P6 also believes, based on her experiences of living in heterogeneous and homogeneous areas, that mixture of ethnicities creates conflict and in turn causes crime; *'mix of culture, mix of people...I'm not feel good here ...you can see everything, police...it's more danger...that's my idea because now we only have English people...and we have really really quiet area'*. Participant P2 also shares this idea that living in a predominantly English area is safer due to less mixture of cultures. When asked where she would like to move in the future she identified this type of area and said; *'English people are more safe than mixed'*. Participant P1 identifies the benefits of community cohesion and explains; *'if the community is good there is no crime'*.

This is something which has long been expressed in previous research, differences in language, religion and cultural lifestyles are disadvantages when looking at community structure through the eyes of criminological thought. The review of previous literature has offered many theoretical explanations of the issues this can cause but the question remains as to why such mixtures of ethnicity are present if the participants understand these potential issues. The only conclusion that can be offered is the above point of the fact that the transitional period into the UK is more so about immigrants finding their feet in terms of education, employment and suitable affordable housing than congregating as an ethnic community. This is not the same for all immigrant cases and locations as often these aspirational goals are available in areas hosting the same immigrant groups. Of course, the lack of community cohesion cannot be blamed solely on the proportion of ethnicities within each area. Break downs of community cohesion can also be attributed to factors including higher crime rates, poor population retention and physical segregation.

4.2 Feelings of safety

4.2.1 Awareness of crime

The participants' awareness of crime was one of the main aims to investigate through the questions of the interview schedule. This is because the awareness of criminality directly links to their perceptions of crime assuming that the level of knowledge they hold on crime occurrences will affect their perception about crime rates and crime seriousness. This means that their experiences and knowledge about crime in the areas they live, and the UK as a whole, will shape their perceptions on the frequency and types of crime which occur. When faced with the initial question of: *'Do you think rates of crime are high or low where; you live, nationally and how does this compare to your country?'*, the responses were all of a similar nature, interestingly from both groups.

With regards to their area, all of the participants mentioned that they were not aware of crime occurring locally and they had not witnessed anything criminal. Participant P1 outlines *'I've not had any experience'*, Participants P2 also says *'I don't have experience like that'*. Participant N1 explained, *'I have not seen any and I have not heard of much'* which suggests that he has little to no awareness of crime in his area. Although, Participant 3 explains that she hears about things happening, but has never witnessed or experienced crime; *'one hears of various things but I've never come across it'*. And other participants just said there was no crime in their immediate area. This would suggest that the participants' perception of crime is that it is an infrequent occurrence and they do not have significant experiences of crime within the UK.

It was apparent that, the little the interviewees did know about crime and the frequency of delinquent behaviour, came from secondary sources. The participants suggested that they heard about crime through other people in their social circle or the media. Participant P7 talks about how he is aware of crime frequency in general through the media; *'I'm watching news and every single day something happens'*, again the perceptions of crime created from the media are through various sources such as online, television and newspapers. Participant P3 claims this is her only source of awareness; *'anything I know about crime in our community at home is what we read in the paper...nationally well I'm not [inaudible word] to comment you only hear about statistics in the papers'*. In response

to asking what they thought of crime nationally, Participant P1 showed where her awareness had come from; *'I think media more than my experience...if it coming out from media it's a lot and it's all the time and it's all different crime'*. Media is seen to be the main source of public understanding and knowledge about crime (Marsh & Melville, 2014). But, up until now the focus of media in criminology has been related to propaganda, moral panic and creating a fear of crime (Shout Out UK, 2014). However, it is interesting to see that the media exposure of crime in this case, has no connection to a fear of crime for the participants. Some of the participants contended that crime is inevitable for handful of people from each race, religion or social background: Participants P1, N2 and P3 believe that crime is not the product of a specific community and that a minority of people in every race, religion and community group that will be more inclined to commit crime, but the majority are good. *'most people are just law abiding people who want to move here and improve their standard of life'* Participant 3 explains as she discusses the likelihood of immigrants committing crime. Participant N2 believes that *'crime knows no religion, and crime knows no tribe...every country has bad people, every country has good people'*, suggesting that cultural backgrounds are no determinant for crime, it is the individual responsibility. And participant P1 explains that she thinks *'there are bad people and good people everywhere'*. This shows how influences of gossip and media coverage about crime has not had a significant impact on the way that the participants view crime in terms of identifying patterns of criminal characteristics.

The most telling revelation from the responses, regarding the participants' awareness of crime, was that they did not know much of crime as they tried to avoid compromising situations and exclude themselves from criminal opportunity. Participant P5 explains that you can make a conscious choice about whom you decide to associate with based on informed decisions; *'as you get older you mix with more people and you kind of know who does what'*. Participant P4 agrees that awareness of crime events depends on *'who you get involved with'*. Therefore, we can see how the participants choose how they perceive crime by their everyday choices. Participant N1 explains; *'I try to avoid situations that could be compromising'*. Participant N3 also identifies this avoidance in saying; *'I try as much as possible to stay away from these things you know'*. Participant 5 ensures how lack of involvement reduces awareness and risk when he responds; *'if I'm not involved in anything I don't feel like I'm gonna be caught up in something'*.

In finding this, it can be concluded that the participants' awareness of crime is fairly minimal. The reasoning for this finding can derive from another recurring factor from the interview. It seemed, from the responses, that the participants had little knowledge of the Criminal Justice System and in turn, little knowledge about legislation and what actually constitutes as a crime. Even though the participants' had no immediate awareness of crime, the development of their responses suggested otherwise. In a response to another question, participant P2 detailed something she saw at the bottom of her street; *'I see the man in the car and open window and feel [smell] marijuana'*. Cannabis is currently a class B drug in the UK and carries penalties for possession as it is against the law (GOV.UK, 2016). It is clear that the participant is unaware of the extent of its criminal implications as she does not actively identify this as a crime. Another participant is unaware of the illegality surrounding behaviour involving drugs- when speaking about incidents in other areas he asks *'would you say selling drugs is a crime?'* the implications this has on his perception of crime could potentially be quite substantial; if he is unaware of whether behaviours he is seeing is

illegal, then he could have a distorted perception on crime frequency. This is the same for participant P7. When discussing the kinds of crime he might see in his area, he asks; *'does shooting in the leg counts?' and 'fighting is a crime as well?'*

What we can assume from this is that the poor understanding of crime categorisation and knowing whether something is actually a crime or not, could have had implications for their awareness of crime. For example, when analysing the above discourse, we can see that the participants are aware of crime happening around them, but not actually aware that it is a crime. This relates to the argument that crime is a social construction in society through the influence of the media on labelling processes of categorising crime (Brennan, 2016). Essentially, this suggests that if the participants are unaware of these behavioural labels, they will not associate behaviour with criminality.

4.2.2 Native experiences

When discussing crime and the awareness of crime, in the participants' area of residency, one common theme emerged from only the Nigerian participants. Whilst Polish responses showed no signs of crime differentials between their native country and the UK, all of the Nigerian responses highlighted that UK crime seemed to be relatively low, compared to their experience of crime in their country of birth. This not only applies to the prevalence of crime, but also types of crime which occur. When asked about their perceptions of crime, in consideration of the area in which they live and nationally, all of the participants shared the view that Britain was a safe place to live as their perceived risk of crime and victimisation was minimal. Participant N1 displayed his non-existent experience of crime in the UK to be positive;

'I call my family back home and tell one of the things I have enjoyed here...very safe...I have never been afraid of anything and have not had incidents at all...I think in terms of frequency in crimes being committed, I think that definitely back home is worse than here in the UK'.

Participant N4 suggested that there was a significant difference in crime rate between the UK and Nigeria; *'the UK does not have much crime compared to back home in Nigeria'*, as did participant N3; *'nationally in the UK I don't think it's high compared to other countries like U.S. and compared to some countries back in Nigeria'*. It became evident in the elaboration of these responses that this perception stemmed from previous experience of crime in their native land. When asked to develop their understandings, the participants felt crime was a frequent occurrence where they lived in Nigeria and the everyday crimes which occurred were much more serious than those in England. Participant N3 shares his ideas about the crime difference;

'I know the crime here [UK] it's a quite low...in my country, Nigeria where I come from, they've got lots of crime...it could be theft, it could be um highway robbery, it could be roadside robbery, it could be political robbery...some of these things you hardly find in the UK cause they've got systems that are there to check'.

Participant N4 explains how he witnessed crime every day in Nigeria and has even seen dead bodies at roadsides as a result of the seriousness of crime. Participant N1 backs this up by explaining; *'given where I come from...the UK is very good compared to back home...I've faced abuse physically and verbally, I've been duped financially...I've faced theft and robbery'*. These findings suggest that the participants have experienced an above average rate of crime in their day to day lives which can have implications of their perception of crime in general. In recent years, the Overseas Security Advisory Council (2016) have estimated the crime rates in Nigeria to be at a level of criticality, with a high frequency of serious crimes aimed at both natives and tourists. Murder and robbery are considered to be the most prevalent crime types in Nigeria (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2005) and 'It is now well known that Nigerians are facing the reality of living with fear of criminal activities everywhere in the country' (Adetula, 2013, p.404). Participant N1 explains this in a way that suggests he is always alert for something happening; *'there is that bit of uncertainty when I wanna go out, we are careful of being troubled by kidnappers who want to abduct you or...attack you at night'*. However, a lack of reliable, statistical evidence of Nigerian crime rates creates fails to support these claims, as crime is often misreported and underreported by law enforcement officials (Marenin & Reisig, 1995). Yet it must not be ignored that all of the participants shared the same perceptions of crime in their native country.

This evaluation of crime in Nigeria is a parallel description of that which the responses show. What was also ostensible from the interviews is what effect this can have on their perceptions of crime. In one response, Participant N2 explained that more serious crimes in Nigeria became normalised to him because it was an everyday occurrence, when talking about a particular incident in the UK he said;

'I didn't see that as abuse, I didn't see that as crime, that was like the norm to me...many black people who come over here [UK] they don't want to go back, why? Cause this is like heaven compared to what they been used to'.

Participant N1 described how he had experienced a minimal form of bribery in the UK but was not interested in pursuing it in the Criminal Justice System because it was less important; *'why I didn't accuse the lady was cause I had faced far worse back home in Nigeria...and this is the worst form of crime I have seen in the UK'*. This shows how the difference of perception of crime seriousness between native experience and UK experience has desensitised the effects of crime in the UK. The experiences of crime which the participants have had growing up, in their native country, will have moulded their level of normality (Bandura, 1977). Thus, other experiences will be rated against what they perceive to be normal. For example, a British person may perceive crime rates to be high in their area, however, a Nigerian person may consider the rates of crime insignificant in that same area due to the higher prevalence and seriousness of crime that they are accustomed. Therefore, we must consider how individual crime seriousness measures effect perceptions of crime rates. In terms of victimisation, foreign born people are seen to be less likely to report crime (Bell, Fasani & Machin, 2013). This was something which was demonstrated in reading previous literature and could be indicative of lower rates of victimisation or under reporting of crime (The Migration Observatory, 2013). The findings from this research would actually suggest the latter is a possibility, due to the perceptions of crime seriousness amongst individuals from Nigerian origin interpretively scoring lower than that of

natives. Statistical research has proven that there are often profound differences in crime seriousness scores between foreign born and indigenous people (Los, Ignatans & Pease, 2017). However, previous evidence of this has purely been empirically based. Therefore, this data set, and the reliability of the responses within it, is a consideration when attempting to explore reasoning for such difference. The conclusion here is that witnessing high prevalence of crime and particularly serious crime in their native neighbourhood, gives the perception that crime in Nigeria is much more of an issue than crime in the UK as they have had no experience of witnessing in crime in their current location of residency. This could be due to differences in opportunity, culture and policing styles which make crime more feasible, nevertheless this requires deeper exploration and the omission of this is due the lack of evidence from the responses.

4.2.3 Experience with the police

On the subject of feelings of safety, one important thing to mention is the participants' opinion and experience with the police, and whether this links to how safe they feel within the UK. The responses which built this theme are a result of the sub-questions which emerged from the question 'have you ever been a victim of a crime?'. If the participant answered no to this question, an appropriate sub-question was asked such as; '*have you or do you know anyone who has ever reported a crime to the police, if so, were you happy with the response?*'. With the majority of the participants highlighting that they had not been a victim of crime in the UK, a theme of police perception emerged from the relevant sub-question. From coding the responses, there are three things which must be discussed; Firstly, have they had experience with police in the UK? Secondly, is their perception of positive or negative nature? And finally, how does this compare to their experience in their own country?

4.2.3.1 Have they had experience with the police in the UK?

All bar two of the participants said they had no experience of dealing with or reporting to the police within the UK. One of the reasons for this is, again, the issue of language barriers arose within a few responses of the interviews. This time it was in relation to reporting criminal activity: '*with no English it's hard for me to call [the police]*' (Participant P2). This would suggest the need for more ethnic representation in the police force to cater to the needs of immigrant societies. Either this, or increased teachings of culture and possibly language, as many crimes could be going un-reported due to a feeling of exclusion and limitations of police relationships. Even in the case of participant P5, where the problem of reporting was not an issue because of his good level of English, the lack of knowledge regarding the police showed how crimes can go un-reported; '*you probably call them and they come right? I don't even know their number...it is 911 or something*'.

Another thing which arose was the confusion of importance, some of the participants mainly from the Polish group, felt that they would not contact the police in the UK if they could sort out the issue themselves as they were not sure what was important enough to report and did not want to waste police time. When speaking about deviant behaviour she had witnessed, participant P2 was asked why she did not report this to the police and she replied; '*I don't know if it's important or not*'. Participant P1 outlaid that although she felt something was important she didn't

think the police in the UK did and now she is questioning importance. When describing victimisation against other Polish immigrants she said; *'you hearing especially Polish people were harassed straight after Brexit...police is saying it's not that bad but you thinking yeah but it's happening to my friends...I don't know why they not helping us, maybe they don't think it's important'*.

It must be considered here that justification of importance can be dependent on cultural values and norms. What some cultures view as normal behaviour will not necessarily be important to them to report to the police, but if something objectively defies their social morals then they would be more likely to view it as important. Nevertheless, what they perceive to be important they may think British police do not and so do not report the crime. The justification for this assumption derives from the responses where one of the participants had experience with reporting racially motivated crimes to the police and felt that they were uninterested. Participant P4 explained that he and his family had an altercation with another couple who attempted to run them over after an argument. He said that he had reported this incident to the police but didn't find that they were very effective; *'They gave me a crime reference number and that's it' he repeated that they said 'we'll come tomorrow' saying that their tardiness in response was because there were no serious injuries, but he felt that this was ineffective; 'think if they had of reacted faster they'd got them faster'*.

4.2.3.2 Is their experience or perception positive or negative?

It could be coincidental that the only experience that the participants had with the police was a negative one. However, it must be considered as that is the only first-hand experience available. A surprising finding from the writer's interpretation, was that even though the participants had not had much experience in dealing with the police they would be highly likely to report a crime to police in the event that they are victimised based on what they had seen the police do. Participant P6 says *'you can call the police here [UK] and it's not problem'*. Participant P1 says that if she couldn't deal with a problem herself then she would definitely call the police; *'yeah I would...if I couldn't manage to do something...I would call English police'* she went on to explain that she used to feel scared of the police until she saw how the police in the UK operate and now she feels she can report things; *'when I start driving [in Poland] and I see police I'm like [makes gestures of being scared and nervous] and now [in England] I'm just like he's normal guy, he goes to work'*. When asked if this made her feel safer she replied, *'yeah yeah'*. Participant P7 also shares the fact that they feel comfortable in reporting crime to the police saying; *'I would always [report] cause it's right to say what happened'*. The same feelings were also evident from the Nigerian responses as Participant N3 shares when asked whether he would feel comfortable reporting a crime to the police; *'I will, a crime is a crime I will feel comfortable contacting the police'*. This further backs up the theme of feeling of safety as the participants feel they can rely on law enforcement to respond to crime in the UK.

4.2.3.3 How does this compare to the experience in their country of origin?

When discussing knowledge and experience of law enforcement in their countries of origin, the participants revealed a substantial difference in policing style. Their perception of contrast, displayed differences in efficiency and reliability of the police in the UK compared to the law enforcement organisations of their native land.

The Polish participants identified that the policing style in Poland was much different to that in the UK, explaining that Polish police lacked care and took longer to respond to reports. Participant P1 reveals how policing styles and the perception of police can differ on a global scale. When discussing the difference between police in Poland and police in the UK she said; *'the feeling towards police wherever you are, are different in every country and you either trust police or you don't...English police has more to come up with, so many different problems which Polish police doesn't have to because Polish police don't have problem'*, She explains this in relation to the level of immigration in the UK describing that Poland does not have that much and so the police in the UK have much more to contend with in terms of language barriers of offenders and victims and cultural differences. This suggests that the extent and diversity of the police workload in the UK is much different to that of Poland suggesting the reasons why immigrants may not feel smaller crimes are important.

It can also be seen from the responses that the perceived ethos and characteristics of Polish police differ from the police in the UK in their nature and approach. Participant P2 explains how the Police in England make her feel safer than the police in Poland because of their caring approach; *'in Poland I don't have good experience...if you have friend or you know somebody [in the Polish police] you can doing more'* this suggests a level of bias and inequality which creates resentment which she also discusses; *'here [the UK] I think it's good, police help. Police help more if it's at home...more efficient in England...police here is like more friendly, in my country it's like...we scared...here it's like smiley people that help you'*. Participant P3 was also aware of this as she explains how police in Poland are more concerned with punishment than creating compassionate community relationships;

'I understand they [Polish police] can be a lot more unsympathetic...if they catch you speeding you pay your fine there and then there's no arguing. I think they're a bit more strict than the police are here and they're certainly not as courteous'.

One of the responses suggests that this lack of care for offenders and victims could be the cultural desensitisation to high frequency crimes. Participant P7 explains; *'they [Polish police] might report and write down what you say but like a fight for them is nothing because basically it's happening every single day'*. Participant P5 also believes that the policing style in Poland differs to the UK because of how strict they can be, he explains; *'law enforcement is a bit more rigorous in Poland...got a friend who got fined for sitting incorrectly on a bench [laughs with disbelief]'*.

When evaluating personality traits of Polish police officers, it was found that they had above-average levels of impulsivity, which could lead to ineffectiveness and failure to comply with procedure (Próchniak, 2009). This could be one reason that participants felt the Polish police could sometimes be harsh in their punishments for less serious crime. The attitude towards the police in Poland was that there was not much known about them. The history of the

Polish police is strongly linked to the former communist regime. But since the transformation of the force has occurred in recent years, Polish citizens admit that they do not know much about officers of the law in their own country (Mawby, Ostrihanska & Wojcik, 1997). This is something that was identified in participant P3's response. She shared; *'I don't know much about the police in Poland'* then explains what it was like in the 1940s; *'that was all part of the communist regime and you were absolutely terrified of them and kept out of their way as much as you could'*. It would seem from the responses discussed that this fear is still present regardless of structural changes and that police in the UK offer more help which adds to the feeling of safety.

In contrast to this, the main point to be raised from the Nigerian participants was more about the lack of competency of government authorities in their country of origin. Each of the participants outlined how they believed the police to be a corrupt force which caused problems in society. Participant N4 states *'police in Nigeria are very corrupt yeah'* whereas Participant N1 offers a deeper analysis and explains how there is no point in reporting because of the prevalence of corruption. When talking about witnessing crimes in his country he shared; *'I didn't report and I wouldn't have cause it would have been like a waste of time...the police force is corrupt to start with...there's no trust in their competence to do the job'*. Participant N3 explains how there can be a fear of reporting because of the issue of corruption he says in regard to contacting the police; *'is it in any way gonna implicate me, is there any way gonna put me in danger...after reporting it am I safe, is my family gonna be safe'*. This shows how substantial the level of corruption in the Nigerian police force is and how this affects the trust of the citizens as they appear to be powerless.

'Corrupt practices in the police force are not a one-off event, rather they constitute a web of structural and accentuating factors, which are analysed within the political, economic, social, and cultural milieu' (Oluwaniyi, 2011, p.67) Police corruption in Nigeria *'occurs by coercion...ordinary Nigerians commuting on the country's roadways, buying or selling at markets, running daily errands are routinely subjected to police extortion and abuses on a daily basis'* (Agbibo, 2015, p.265). This extortion and abuse comes in the form of murder, illegal detention, rape and physical and verbal abuse as these are the most common allegations made by media sources and non-governmental organisations in Nigeria (Lenning & Brightman, 2009). It is said that in the lifecycle of their lives, every Nigerian will be subject to failures of police responsibility, yet this *'disproportionality impacts Nigeria's poor'* (Human Rights Watch, 2010). This issue of inequality and powerlessness, might be the predominant reason that the Nigerian group felt more trust for the police in the UK as their social status had developed in their transition of immigration.

Research into the fear of crime and victimisation in Nigeria shows that 47 per cent of people do not believe that the police are helpful, and in fact, believe that the performance of the police is continually declining. Consequently, we are seeing rising figures of vigilante groups; often being paid for their services: A staggering 81 per cent of people reported vigilante groups being active in their areas (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2005, p.8). Vigilantism is classed as *'crime often associated with parochial gangs and rampaging mobs. Yet the conditions that catalyse vigilantism are beyond the remit of these groups...vigilantes emerge as what is often considered a necessary evil, providing one of the only options for security'* (Martin, 2012, p.217). The decline of police helpfulness and the rise of vigilantism has led to self-asserted justice tactics, referred to as *'Jungle Justice'* by the Nigerian participants. Participant N4 says;

'jungle justice is big in Nigeria' and participant N1 explains; *'back home in Nigeria there's a crazy number of people taking part in justice...I can't depend on the law to get justice'*. This suggests that the collapse of police trust has forced citizens to take the law into their own hands. *'Many people have lost their lives through this form of lynching, and others have been hurt and humiliated in undignified ways'* (Okafor, 2016). Here we see how such a desperate and mistrusting attitude, towards their native law enforcement agents, have shaped a positive perception for police in the UK regardless of personal experience within the UK.

What can be concluded from this analysis is that the participants feel a great level of safety in the UK due to the trust and confidence they have in the British police. Although there has been minimal experience of dealing with the police, what they have heard and seen from secondary sources has moulded their positive perception of policing response. Again, it must be remembered that the aim of this research was to explore the immigrant-crime relationship through the identification of cultural experiences and immigrant perceptions. We can see here how this theme contributes to the exploration of perceptions of crime which show that cultural experiences mould the perception of crime occurrence and seriousness.

4.3 Perceived causes of crime

4.3.1 Location and cultural specificity

One thing which was identifiable from the responses was the areas which respondents believed had higher crime rates. Although this is not directly a cause of crime, investigation into the demographic, environmental and crime rate statistic can attempt to explain the participants' perceptions of those areas; and specifically, why this makes them high crime areas. When posed with the question, *'Do other areas nearby [to their location of residency] have higher or lower crime rates?'* there was a unifying factor in the responses. Some of the participants explained that specific locations seemed to have particularly high rates of crime and they perceived these to be bad areas. These areas included *Area 1* and *Area 2*; two districts of Huddersfield. Participant P1 explains; *'the Area 1 is not very fantastic in Huddersfield...I wouldn't like to live in Area 1...I wouldn't like to live there cause of the crime rate'*. The reason it is deemed to be unsafe due to crime is because of the type of crime which occurs and the high frequency. When talking about *Area 1* and *Area 2*, Participant P4 says; *'quite a reputation...people using weapons'*. Participant P7 corroborates this in his response as he says; *'it's more dangerous like Area 2, Area 1. Like Area 1 last couple of weeks there were like 7 crime like of stabbing person'*. Participant P2 is also aware of the use of weapons as she says; *'here they use gun'*.

We can see from the discourse that the perceived prevalence of serious crime in these areas is much higher compared to where they live, which justifies investigation into whether their perceptions match reality. *Area 1* and *Area 2* are geographically adjacent to each other which can suggest that many statistical evaluations will be similar in findings. According to the West Yorkshire police, in March 2017, approximately 365 crimes occurred within a small radius of both these areas. The most prevalent crime types, compared to the rest of the town in question (excluding the town centre), were violence and sexual offences, robbery, public order and possession of weapons (Police UK, 2017). Compared to the areas which the participants stated they lived, these crime rates by type are significantly

higher. And so, their perception of prevalence seems justified. What was also mentioned in some of the responses was the ethnic origin of the people who populated these areas- particularly *Area 1*. When asked who, he thought committed the most crime in these areas, Participant P7 said; '*Asian people cause...when I'm reading Examiner [local newspaper] and stuff there's like few people that I know from college that went to prison and they were like Asian*'. Participant P2 explains how she feels about the presence of Asian people in Huddersfield and that they are a segregated community; '*There's lots of Asian people who are going to school and after school go to mosque and they are close [relationship]*'. Participant N2 also recognises this and says the difference in culture and religion can cause conflict. He explains an experience he had in using the same faith centre close to *Area 1* where the Christian group were eating pork sandwiches and the Muslim community were deeply offended and dispute took place.

As of 2011, *Area 1* was predominantly populated by individuals of Asian descent, particularly Indian and Pakistani (Kirklees Council Observatory, 2015). It is interesting to conclude that both Polish and Nigerian participants identified these areas and ethnic relations to be specifically more involved in criminality, yet they did not mention each other's ethnic groups when discussing who they thought committed the most crime in their areas. This would suggest that Polish and Nigerian immigrants are more inclined to do well when living in closer proximity than they are to Asian groups. This finding is consistent with the statistical evidence outlined in the much discussed work of Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015). Upon analysing the ethnic population densities of *Area 2*, we find an entirely different result of that of *Area 1*. *Area 2* is mostly populated with white British residents at 52 per cent and all other ethnic categorisations each comprising than 15 per cent of the population. An indication as to why crime was so prevalent in this area was an association with gang culture '*probably when you have drugs problem and gang*' previous research shows us how criminality is highly likely within gang culture (Oatley & Crick, 2015) and the visible formations of these gangs are clearly a factor in changing perceptions of crime for certain areas. The definition of 'gang' centres around groups of people, often stipulated as being youths, coming together with the involvement of criminal activity (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). These types of phrases and definitions are often criticised for being discriminative and creating stigma, although this was the language referred to in the responses.

For several decades, criminologists have been concerned with the distribution and ecology of populations and attempted to cross-reference the geographical positioning of immigrant people with crime figures and trends. This is something which stems from the concentric zone theory, developed by the Chicago school (Scott, 2014). When we discuss this in relation to the two areas identified, there are two points to be made. Firstly, based on the zonal theory, we see that the areas which are predicted to hold a dense population of immigrants are just outside of the central circle. This appears to be true in the case of *Area 1* as it is right on the border of the town centre and is predominantly populated by first second and third generation immigrants. Yet, we can see how this theory is not always applicable to every city or large town and can be deemed dated in its approach. The reason is that, if the concentric circles were applied to a map of Huddersfield, we would see *Area 2* cross over 2 circles; the 'zone of workingmen's homes and 'the residential zone' (Burgess, 1967, p.51). The ecological characteristics firmly fit the description of the workingmen's zone, but do not apply to the initial description of the residential zone where it is said to be an urban environment with more desirable single-family properties. Deighton is an area with a substantial

amount of council housing and single parent families (Deighton and Brackenhall Initiative, n.d) which effectively means that the growth of the location in question has led to an absence of the residential area as formally described and adopted an expansion of the transitional zone in terms of similarity of crime occurrence since the emergence of new patterns. What this essentially means in terms of the participants' perception of crime is that there is no variation of environment type in order for crime to be comparable. In other words, the more deviant neighbourhoods in close proximity to the participant, the more the perception of crime will be affected in a negative way in assuming that these types of environment are catalytic for criminality. What was interesting however was that one participant's perception of criminal areas specifically matched the ideology of the zonal theory as he said; *'most people, most white people in every city, in every town, they tend to live on the outskirts of the town where you've got everything quiet...that's where you find less crime'*.

4.3.2 Housing

As well as the participants' social and geographical positioning, what was also identifiable from the areas that they live in, was their accommodation type. All the participants from both Polish and Nigerian groups indicated that they lived in social housing settings or private rented accommodation. All the Nigerian participants indicated that they lived in blocks of flats in close proximity to the university and the Polish participants indicated that they lived in council housing areas or terraced house rented accommodation. Due to policy and legislation regarding new immigrants' access to housing, their housing pathways can often be limited. This limitation can be defined by the constrained choice perspective which ultimately outlines that lack of opportunity, finances and other social aspects such as community composition, can make it harder for immigrants to find suitable housing (Robinson, Reeve & Casey, 2007). Despite the myths that immigrants are prioritised in terms of social housing applications, research shows that this is not the case. The demand for social housing continues to increase yet the number of properties available does not. This forces many immigrants to rent private accommodation (Manning, Battison, Dickens & Wadsworth, 2014).

There are many theories which offer suggestions as to the reasons why immigrants reside in the areas they do; these theories are discussed in connection to their relative themes. However, to offer simplification, extensive research shows that first generation immigrant groups are more likely to move to areas with higher concentration of immigrants. And even though *'immigrant status is not directly associated with worse neighbourhood conditions... higher concentrations of immigrants are strongly associated with worse neighbourhood conditions'* (Basolo & Nguyen, 2009, p.99). It has already been identified that in this case, the immigrant people have not moved to areas with immigrants of the same ethnicity but they still reside and have experience in areas with other immigrants in rented or government provided accommodation.

These settings were seen in some cases to be associated with poor neighbourhoods. When talking about the criminality of certain areas, participant P4 said that there are some bad neighbourhoods in which he felt less safe and carried an increased risk of victimisation. When asked what types of neighbourhoods these are, he replied; *'I think usually I've found it's council estates... [specific location] used to be mainly council housing, really run down, one of the worst neighbourhoods'*. Participant P1 shares the idea about the increased risk of crime and conflict as

she describes her awareness of community issues; *'especially when living on council estate, I know loads of people who has problems'*. When participant P2 was asked where she would like to move in the future she said *'like not council area...when people don't have money they start crime'* as she identified these types of areas as being less safe.

This would be suggestive of the fact that social class is emerging as a factor of increased importance alongside different mixtures of ethnicity. It can be seen from the responses that council housing and poorer neighbourhoods have bad reputations, this opinion falls in line with previous research that suggests a higher proportion of home owners in particular neighbourhoods are less at risk of experiencing crime due to their financial position and environment in which they live (Hipp, 2007). Therefore, we must ask what are the implications these accommodation types for levels of crime. The majority of social housing was developed in the 20th century with council estates being developed nationwide. In terms of the initiation of crime and the rates of criminality, housing and street network design and construction itself can have detrimental effects. A lot of council estates have been designed in such a way that crime prevention strategists would deem them to be more susceptible to criminal activity. The distinguishable features such as the openness of the environment and the ease of access which are applicable to council houses can create criminal hotspots if prevention measures are not addressed (Armitage, 2013). On the other hand, Murie (1997) argued that the issues of crime concentration on council estates, is not just factored by design but also the socio-economic class of the residents and the structural set-up of the families. Rented accommodation can too have these effects: *'Households which can only obtain housing in the rented sector are restricted by what that sector can offer in terms of dwellings and living environments. They are often trapped in unsatisfactory environments. The poverty trap further reduces their options'* (p.29) thus increasing engagement in criminal activity.

Although we can see here some strong evidence which suggests that housing can have direct effects on criminal opportunity, none of the participants revealed that within these areas they experienced or witnessed crime of any type. This is of interest as it essentially contradicts theoretical underpinnings, yet, observations from the interviews can offer explanation as to why this may have been their response. Talking about crime is a sensitive subject and perceived judgments can discourage participants from revealing a true picture of their experiences.

4.3.3 Intoxicating substances

When asked, who commits the most crime in their area or community, the primary focus was not categorised by age, ethnicity or cultural factors but about personal decisions which influence behaviour. The main precipitator of criminality, apparent from the responses, was perceived to be intoxicating substances. It would seem from the responses that the use of intoxicating substances is not associated with a single culture or ethnicity. In fact, it is apparent that all nationalities can be involved in this type of facilitation of criminal behaviour. Participant P6 explained how drinking alcohol and taking drugs can affect an area's reputation and increase the risk of deviant behaviour; *'drinking taking drugs, the area have bad status...too many drinking people take drug...stealing fighting...everything that drugs and alcohol can doing...we have neighbour that's always shouting for everybody and*

be really nasty for everybody, probably something with alcohol'. This shows the perception that taking drugs and drinking alcohol is associated with the instigation of criminal activity. When asked about the difference in crime between different areas she had lived in, participant P2 identified Huddersfield as having higher crime figures because of the influence of drugs; *'I think here cause more drugs'*. Participant P3 also blames intoxicating substances for crime; *'reading in the papers, so many burglaries are committed because of people on drugs who are desperate for money...I think drugs are responsible'*. Participant P4 does not mention drugs but when asked what he thought caused issues in his neighbourhood he said people *'probably under the influence of alcohol'*.

For all immigrants' migration experiences, it is important to remember that the amalgamation of their native culture and the culture to which they have entered, will have effects on their everyday behaviours (Hunt, Saggars, & Wolska, 2004). This includes drinking patterns and frequency of drug taking. For example, all of the Polish participants identified themselves as being Catholic. Whilst they did not implicate themselves in the use of intoxicating substances, they suggested that others in their community frequently did. Participant P1 discussed how she did not feel the need to socialise with other Polish immigrants in some situations as she said; *'I wouldn't go to the parties where they gonna smoke weed and stuff like that'*. This suggests that it is frequent behaviour for Polish immigrants in close social proximity to her, to socialise and use cannabis. Participant P4 explained how he thinks the night time economy plays a part in alcohol increasing the likelihood of Polish offender; *'Polish people tend to socialise at home, they drink at home, but when they come here [UK] you know they get a bit of money and go out more'* he states this as a reason why conflict may arise with other groups.

'According to Catholic teachings, temperance is one of the four cardinal virtues' (Zielinski, 1994, P.332) Although members of the Polish community declare themselves as Catholic, they often disregard their teachings and disagree with the regulations outlaid by the church (Leszczynski & Wyborzca, 2012). The encouragement of sobriety in religious communities is often found to have an adverse effect on abstinence practices. Because alcohol is prohibited in strict Catholic settings and especially for minors, individuals take the opportunity to drink as much as they can in rebellion (Siemieniako, Rundle-Thiele, & Kubacki, 2010) possibly to better suit the contemporary society in which they live. This can often lead to binge drinking and a growth in the drinking culture. This is not dissimilar to the separation of religion and culture in the Nigerian community also. Of the 36 states in Nigeria, alcohol consumption is totally banned in only one (World Travel Guide, 2016). Even though there is a diverse mix of culture and religion in Nigeria which forbid alcohol consumption, it can be seen as one of the main unifying factors of social cohesion (Dumbili, 2013).

What this means is that, regardless of social and religious ties, cultural practices may change dependant on situational and environmental characteristics meaning that regardless of cultural practices, the participants still deem intoxicating substances to be a cause for concern in terms of criminality. Therefore, considering immigrant peoples' transition into English culture - where drinking is considered normal, it is not an unrealistic supposition that they will adapt their behaviours to better reach higher levels of social acclimatisation. In many of the responses the participants spoke about adapting to British customs and traditions in order to fit in better. Participant N4 says *'Nigerian people are very lively and not everyone likes that so you have to see who's around you'* and Participant P1

said; *'I'm in this country, I have to speak English, I have to do whatever you doing because I'm in your country and that's it'* as she discusses how life is easier when there are shared values. Therefore, based on the perceptions of the respondents, this would mean that more and more people are at risk of being involved in crime due to the personality heightening effects that drugs and alcohol can have (NHS, 2015; Reactions Weekly, 2017; Fishbein, 2000).

We can not only analyse this theme from a user perspective, but also from the perspective of the occurrence of crime, from selling and buying illicit substances. All of the participants who spoke about drugs being a catalyst for criminal activity were aware of the drug trade in Huddersfield. As previously mentioned Participant P2 explained how she sees a man in a car down her street wind the window down in possession of marijuana. Participant P5 explains how he knows lots of people who sell drugs from all different ethnic backgrounds and on some occasions, he has been approached to buy substances in his neighbourhood saying people come up to him and say; *'you wanna try some cocaine for free'* in the hopes of advertising to sell drugs to him which would involve him in criminality. From these responses, it would seem that ethnic and cultural factors are irrelevant in the likelihood of being affiliated with crime. Instead it seems that the opportunity for selling drugs is appealing and applicable to individuals from a range of nationalities and the crime is not exclusive to a specific ethnicity. This could stem from the rational choice perspective where in which the benefits of the illicit substance trade and the consumption of alcohol, far outweigh the risks (Boudon, 2003). It has to be noted here that although this is a disadvantage in terms of crime rates, it is advantageous in forging links between different ethnic communities as there is a similar interest for some parties. The point to be made here is that, regardless of cultural differences and ethnic affiliations with crime, alcohol and illicit drugs were the identifiable factor in contributing to the occurrence of crime. Therefore, it is the participants' perception that, ultimately, any individual is at a higher risk of being associated with criminal activity when under the influence of an intoxicating substance. This suggests that the proportion of ethnicities in a specific area are a lesser contributing factor when considering group and individual behaviours involving drugs and alcohol and that the identification of cultural customs is purely exploratory to add context to the participants' perceptions.

4.3.4 Victimization due to ethnicity

In terms of understanding perceived causes of crime, one of the questions in the interview schedule asked whether the participants thought that they and people of similar national origin were more likely to be victimised in the UK. The responses showed the complexity of combining their experiences with the experiences of the people whom they know. The immediate responses of most of the participants was no, they did not agree that their fellow nationals were more likely to be victimised. Participant N1 shares; *'on average Britain is very very polite, I don't think I'm more likely to be a victim of crime more than any other person'*. Participant P4 defends his objection by saying *'you can't tell straight away if someone's Polish or not'* suggesting that the likelihood is low because there are no distinctive differences on first appearance. In the first instance of the questions being asked, the other respondents either hesitated or said no, then when they thought about what victimisation actually meant there was a difference in response.

When we use the term victimisation, it is accepted that there are many typologies which can be addressed. For instance, victimology encompasses notions related to probability of victimisation, repeat victimisation and victim culpability (McLaughlin & Munice, 2001). Therefore, we see that victimisation is not one-dimensional and the participants had the opportunity to discuss a range of different crimes in terms of victimisation. However, upon further development of their response, many participants contradicted their initial disagreement and admitted that they had witnessed, experienced or perceived the possibility of victimisation due to their cultural and ethnic background. Participant P5, who originally said he didn't know about the rate of victimisation, explains that *'maybe some people discriminate them [immigrant people] a little bit...some people don't like immigrants in England'* and also says sometimes people may be subject to *'verbal abuse and sometimes physical'* due to their national origin. Participant P4 explains that the possibility of victimisation, in his experience, depends where you are and the people who are around you as he says; *'depends what neighbourhood you step into and how you behave...in my own personal experience and experience from my friends, if you live in the wrong neighbourhood you can get some wrong reactions'*. This response conveys an element of victim blaming as he suggests that it depends on how people behave on whether they will be victimised. Again, language was a pivotal factor in this theme as some participants thought that issues with language might lead them to being at higher risk of victimisation. Participant P3 believes; *'they [immigrant people] could be victims of certain types of crimes where the perpetrator has got an advantage over them with the language or something like that'*. This is something Participant P5 said he experienced in his early months living in the UK. He outlined that when he moved to his new school he was seen as different to the other students because of the language barrier and said he was victimised; *'well in high school yeah cause pretty much when I first came in I couldn't speak English at all'*. He then went on to say that they knew he couldn't speak English so they took advantage of that and called him names. Participant P1 says it is possible to be victimised due to country of origin, but more so due to recent political changes in the UK; *'there are some English people who gonna be nasty and say "oh you Polish"...after Brexit and that the people say hate crime because of our nationality'*.

We can see from the content of these responses that the crime which they perceived to be more at risk of being victimised by were crimes against the person - mainly verbal abuse. Therefore, we must analyse the content of these responses to identify the perceived causal factors which linked to the possibility of their victimisation. With the native ethnicity of the UK being predominantly Caucasian, the Nigerian participants felt that there could be increased risk of victimisation from differences of skin colour. Participant N3 holds the opinion that people may think; *'oh he's black something catchy about him'* whilst participant N4 says *'people can have problem with our skin colour'*, Participant N1 also mentions this racial prejudice saying; *'I know that there is a small fraction of people who might...hate black people maybe cause of history'*. This was something which the Polish participants did not mention experiencing as they were all white and so racial discrimination was less likely.

The main point to be drawn from this theme was the shared perception, from both ethnic groups, that they were more likely to be victimised based on formed stereotypes and historic culture conflict.

The Polish participants stressed that the stigmatisation of Polish migrants taking jobs in the UK was generalised and projected onto them. When talking about his experience of victimisation, participant P4 identified how the issue of

this stereotype fuelled conflict; *'like fights at school and after school...job stealer and that kind of stuff'*. Participant P1 believes this form of stigmatisation is a result of media portrayals; *'I think because it's level of education, they hear something in TV and tell you Polish people taking your jobs and you believe it'*. This form of abuse, whether the allegations are true, is still discrimination and classed as experience of victimisation. The suitability of the immigrant candidate can often be overlooked; even though they might have relevant experience and qualifications, they can face challenges and discrimination from not only the public but potential employers (Midtbøen, 2014). Participant N1 offers a reverse explanation to this, explaining how he would feel in the event that a person from another country took a job in his country;

'for example me as Nigerian from Nigeria and you [aimed at interviewer] comes to Nigeria...and you are offered a job. Even though I know you are better for that job, I feel aggravated because why won't I, a Nigerian in Nigerian get a job over a white person'.

Fundamentally, this connotes a feeling of betrayal and resentment of the homeland employment sector which accelerates resentment toward migrants who seek work and other opportunities.

The Nigerian group also felt that the higher possibility of victimisation stemmed from stereotype ideologies and stigmatisation based on people's initial experiences with Nigerian immigrants. They highlighted that Nigerians who are involved in crime and have displayed deviant and delinquent behaviour, may have created a poor image for the rest of the Nigerian migrant population living in the UK.

Participant N2 shares;

'you look at yourself as an ambassador for your own group...wherever I go I see myself as portraying Nigerians...before now, peoples' perceptions of my religion or my nationality might not be the accurate stuff...not all Nigerians are criminals, not all Nigerians are fraudsters, not all Nigerians are terrorists...every country has bad people every country has good people'.

Participants N3 and N4 also shared the same view with N3 saying;

'overtime we've been painted to be like we've been targeted to be like um the bad set of people...different people with different motives, a lot of people coming here to do the wrong stuff...that is why I try as much as possible, you know, whatever situation I am in, to always do the right thing...you wouldn't blame them [people with this stereotype] really'.

In a statement to the British media, the president of Nigeria spoke out about the reputation hindering effects that some Nigerian emigrants are causing abroad. When asked whether he thought Nigerian immigrants face issues of 'image' abroad, he admitted that Nigerians have made it difficult for other countries to accept them due to the high frequency of Nigerian, criminal affiliation (Freeman, 2016). 'Group-specific evaluations of decision makers

endogenously result from former interactions with group members' (Heinrich, 2005, p.45) meaning that native experiences of immigrant individuals will construct their opinion and create a stereotype for the whole group (Goel, 2010). This theme is key to understanding immigrant experience and the way that this shapes their perception of not only crime in general but how it associated with them and their transition into the UK. It is said that the type of negative impressions which native-born people have for immigrants will have a profound effect on how they view immigration as a whole which equally increases their level of prejudice (Timberlake, Howell, Grau & Williams, 2015; Reyna, Dobria & Wetherell, 2013). This ultimately increases the level of culture conflict in the UK which can be a determining factor in the level of ethnic segregation and lack of community cohesion due to British people's expectations on culture maintenance (López-Rodríguez & Zagefka, 2015).

4.4 Future focus

In terms of the participants' future focus, the previous discussion regarding the reasons for immigration into the UK, is still highly relevant when considering the participants' plans for the future. When asked where they would like to move in the future, none of the participants had the opinion that they would like to stay where they live now, in fact they all expressed their willingness to move to other locations. The reason that this is included in the analysis is due to the previously made points regarding the clustering of immigrant groups showing lower crime counts than areas of mixed ethnicity. It was suggested in previous literature that migrants who share the same country of origin will take up residency in close proximity to one and other due to their shared values and culture. The responses in this study suggested that this is important due to a sense of community although other factors for personal development were more important such as financial opportunities, education and affordable housing. We can see from the following responses that these factors were important in terms of selecting future areas of residency, more so over the levels of crime within the chosen area. This shows how the lack of awareness of crime that the participants have, as previously revealed, lessens the importance of crime rates being a determining factor for their future focus. The main identifying factor for the reason of moving, from both groups, was again better work, financial and education opportunities:

'don't really want to learn another language...would move to English speaking country...better opportunities in English speaking' (Participant P5).

'I would like move...but now where I live is close to school and my rent is quite low...[there are better] area for me and my children but more expensive as well' (Participant P2).

Participant P7 explains about a specific area he would like to move to; 'well I've done research on that place and it's like more income...I think like better living'.

'I would stay in UK for getting a job or maybe if I got married but wherever I get a job' (Participant N1).

This could be an indicator of their aspirations to progress their careers, and more so, their financial situation. This was not the only determining factor for where the participants see themselves in the future. Another focus with equal importance was the type of area in which they would like to live. Environmental characteristics were a recurring theme, detected from the responses, which determined the participants' locations selection. A small percentage of the participants, mostly from the Nigerian group, explained that they would either like to move back to their native country, or live somewhere more environmentally similar to it:

'I'd like to move to Canada yeah why? Because... in the UK... everything's just small, the roads are small, the cars are small, the houses are small, everything is just small, back in my country everything is just big so I think I'm pretty much been wired that way...so I think I'd prefer to move to Canada' (Participant N3).

'I would go back to Nigeria...imagine a perfect world with no borders and no immigration requirements' (Participant N1).

'I would go back to Nigeria after my studies' (Participant N4).

Many of the participants identified this type of environmental factor to be a determinant of their aspirational location of residency. Furthermore, they identified their ideal location to be a rural area, rather than an urban environment. Participant 4 says in response; *'somewhere with a lot more green...come from a big city and like peace and quiet'*. In cooperation with this, a more infrequent theme emerged from the development of these responses. In line with living in a more rural area it was perceived that there would be less risk of crime; *'less people less crime, less hostile environment'* (Participant P4). Participant P1 shares that when she lived in a more rural area she was less fearful of crime occurring; *'I wasn't scared at all cause it's small village'*, her perception being that the crime rates between rural environments and urban environments differ in their perceptions. These perceptions are inconsistent with previous research which suggests that 'Cities and neighbourhoods with greater concentrations of immigrants have lower rates of crime and violence, all else being equal...cities with historically high immigration levels are especially likely to enjoy reduced crime rates as a result of their immigrant populations' (Krubin & Ousey, 2017). Generally, statistical investigation shows consistent differences in crime rates, victimisation and crime reporting between classified rural and urban areas (National Center for Victims of Crime, 2016). Although crime rates in England have substantially decreased over recent years, the geography of crime suggests that for all crime types, rural areas have significantly less crime than urban areas (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2012;2016). However, another explanation for rural areas reflecting lower crime rates is the homogeneity of the rural structure whether it be ethnicity, religion or culture (Quinney, 1966). As previously discussed in this analysis, it is perceived that homogenous areas display a greater sense of social cohesion due to stronger shared values which consequently results in lower crime rates.

Although many of the responses identified a rural setting as having lower crime rates, it is questionable whether this is a causal relationship or not for their decision-making process. Are participants choosing lower areas because of

the perceived lower rate of crime? Or is the lower rate of crime a beneficial addition to their rural choice of location? In terms of this data set and the methodology of the semi-structured interviews, the latter would be the more plausible suggestion. The flexibility of the interview technique allowed the prompting of elaborations and sub-questions based on specific responses. The justification for assuming the latter derives from the fact that, most discussion of crime rates affecting their future choice of location, was as a result of sub-questions. For example, if the participant did not mention crime rates in their response, they were asked 'would crime rates play a role in determining where you would move'. Only then did they mention their opinion on crime rates being a determining factor for their future location of residency;

'I wouldn't feel comfortable in America cause of crime rates' (Participant N3).

'I would [look at crime rates] especially in areas, not about the country...cause I prefer to know I'm gonna be safe' (Participant P7).

'I would in like for example in an area where it was safe, I would check on the police things' (Participant P1).

This would suggest that, contrary to previous prediction, the level of criminal activity in an area would not be a priority in decision making for first generation immigrants. Here we can see a chain of decision making that ultimately defines the process of perceived ideal locations. The perceptions from these participants show that the predominant focus for future locations is the possibility of increased socio-economic factors. However, it is recognised that the generalisability of this is limited as this is only one factor in the decision-making process and not applicable to all immigrant's circumstances. The second most important factor in their decision-making process is then the type of area in which they will reside - rural areas dominated the choice over urban areas. Finally, at the end of the chain we see the factor of lesser importance; crime rates. The question to be asked here is why it is of a lower importance in their decision-making process. Based on the research that has been discussed, it is obvious that levels of crime are considered when re-locating. The reason why this is, is not specifically evident from the responses and is clearly owed further research. However, the perceptions here have contributed to exploring the ultimate research aim which was to understand how participants' experiences of crime and immigration is shaped by their cultural underpinnings and what this means in terms of their decisions. Previous research has lacked focus into the continuous travel and geographical movement of immigrant people based on criminality perceptions and it would seem that the formation of these perceptions are linked to contributing cultural factors.

4.5 Reflection

Variations of the ontological and epistemological standings of researchers determine the differences in approach to qualitative research, meaning that there is no definitive way of conducting qualitative research (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). Although this research displays consistent and relevant themes when understanding

immigrant perceptions of crime and the exploration of the immigration-crime relationship, there are some pressing criticisms regarding the way this research was conducted which ultimately limit its credibility.

It has been argued that there has been a loss of responsibility of proving validity and reliability of data from qualitative researchers which needs to resume in order to preserve trust in this research approach (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olsen & Spires, 2002). Quite often there is limited transparency in qualitative research in the way that resources, techniques and sample characteristics are omitted in written research equalling a lack of validity (Higginbottom, 2004). For this reason, it was important when discussing methodology, that all constraints and changes in approach were explained. This was an advantageous decision as it essentially reveals the challenges in recruiting difficult-to-reach participants. The issues faced have already been discussed in the methodology, but the reality of the issues is only identifiable after the analysis of the responses. As discussed in the methodology, the original sampling technique failed to access the relevant participants and so the techniques required evaluative assessment in order to improve its execution. The change of sampling technique was not without its faults, yet in the limited time-scale available, it was successful for recruiting the participants from both groups. Looking at community groups which catered for a particular ethnic population was risky due to the fact that the types of people who associated with those groups may do so to hold on to their cultural values. This means that evidence of assimilation and cultural changes for immigrant populations may be misrepresented. This is a recognised critique to this research and sampling methods of recruitment for difficult-to-reach participants must be explored in the development of this research. It is recognised that qualitative research is not a linear process in the same way that quantitative research is although quantitative research has its own complexities; 'the researcher may need to reconsider or modify any design decisions during the study in response to new developments or to changes in some other aspect of the design' (Maxwell, 2008). In making these changes, eleven participants were recruited with seven being of Polish decent and 4 being of Nigerian decent. Ideally, this should have been equally proportionate with 50 per cent making up each of the groups. Purely for the reasons that the more participants there is, the greater the chance of generalisability; and also, that there is less chance of one group's perceptions dominating another's and there will be equal levels of responses. The differences in sample size from each group can be recognised as a false representation of a wider group's perceptions, however the findings were extremely similar, which leads to the assumption that regardless of sample size, the participants gave sound insight into different ethnicities' perceptions.

Another issue which arose was during the interview process regarding the previously-mentioned challenge of language and accent barriers. During the interviews, some of the participants misunderstood the question 'have you ever been a victim of crime'. From the responses they gave, it seemed that they understood this to be asking whether they had ever committed a crime. What can be learned from this is that participants with language barriers may not understand specific terminology and so the wording of questions should be simplified for future research to avoid the need to elaborate or use closed-ended questions to gain a response in the event of a misunderstanding (Witzel, 2000). Although the questions themselves were suitable for the aims of the research in understanding immigrant perceptions, this issue of misunderstanding posed a further challenge in the face of validity to the research. In some responses, the participants did not always give a full or relevant answer due to their misinterpretation of the

language used in the question. This meant that, as well as elaboration techniques, prompts and sub-questions were offered to guide their understanding. Although these techniques were used in a professional and unbiased manner, it is often argued that the use of prompting misleads the participants and strays them from their own thoughts and initiatives (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012) which then disrupts the validity of the data set, causing it to be biased. Upon reflection, the ideal scenario to prevent these issues would have been to do a pilot test of the interviews on the bridging contacts so that they could offer feedback on the level of interpretation from another language. Any improvements made to the questions for each group would have been beneficial as it would allow access to the best form of data set for this research (Gill, Stewart Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). Nevertheless, these issues only further evidence the content of the responses in that immigrants face challenges of misunderstanding in their day to day lives which can create culture conflict and segregation.

Upon reflection of the interview questions, it was beneficial to ask the age of the participants and how old they were when they moved to the UK (exhibited in Table 1), as discussed in the analysis, this made a difference to English speech, experiences and perceptions. Therefore the identifications of these demographics adds some context to the responses. The availability of this information helped in finding that the longer a participant had spent in the UK, the fewer challenges they faced in terms of cultural conflict and they also differed in their perceptions of crime due to differences in initial experience.

In an ideal world where there is less time constraint and increased access to resources, this research would have benefitted from gaining the perceptions of four immigrant groups as well as a native group in order to cross-examine perceptions to provide a richer data set. It is also thought that these types of findings and research would be better generalisable if compared with experiences and perceptions in other countries. This research does not aim to address how influxes of immigrant populations contribute to crime rates as this is something statistical research has already explored. It is recognised that the exploratory nature of this research does not categorically identify an association between immigration and crime, in terms of how immigration effects crime rates, but rather offers understanding to the perceptions of crime from an immigrant population living within the UK. Therefore, the next steps to this research are; to travel to Latvia, an eastern European country to carry out similar research with the aim of further identifying differences of perceptions of crime and immigration patterns and to conduct research within the UK with a host population sample in order to compare and evaluate perceptual responses. Following this reflection, it can be recognised that this research is wholly exploratory of perceptions as a tool to inform of ideologies from a qualitative approach. Although it has been discussed that there are limitations to this research in the way it was conducted, it is still highly relevant in meeting the aims of the research title considering the consistency of the findings and how they can be used to influence future research and practices.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In analysing each theme separately with the exploration of sub-themes, we can identify in detail how relevant factors such as geographic location, cultural differences, societal structure and economic variables contribute to immigrants' perceptions of crime. However, the ultimate question to be answered is, what do these themes mean in the entirety of the data set and how do they contribute to understanding?

The aim of this research was to uncover the perceptions of crime and criminal justice amongst immigrant subgroups, understand how these relate to each other and what they mean in terms of the arrangement and concentrations of populations. The key focus of this research was to identify evidence of the immigrant-crime relationship from previous literature and explore the existing hypotheses regarding correlation by looking at immigrant perceptions of crime and what impact their culture has on their perceptions. Again this brings the thesis back to discussing how the objective nature of previous statistical research can use subjective findings to further evidence. To summarise, the findings of this thesis are subjective in nature as the aim was ultimately to explore possible cultural influences that contributed to immigrant perceptions of crime and how this relates to previous statistical findings. It is believed that the themes which have been discussed adequately support the findings from Ignatans, Zielinski and Los (2015) in that there are clear cultural influences which effect the perception and association with criminality. In contributing explanations of the immigrant experience we see that the main reason for immigration to the UK is centred around financial and educational opportunities. Contrary to popular belief, immigration actually strengthens the economic positioning of countries (Goldin, 2016) meaning that this is no longer thought to be the main issue surrounding immigration. Instead the focus has been shifted towards implications on crime. We saw from the analyses that both immigrant groups had shared perceptions of crime in that they believed the causes of crime to be involvement with intoxicating substances, rented accommodation and immigrants' victimisation due to their ethnicity. The most important finding to explain these perceptions was the community structure in which they lived. None of the participants lived in areas densely populated by their fellow nationals which previous research suggests, however they did occupy the same town. They felt that the mixtures of ethnicities in each area determined how criminal that area was.

The intention of this research was to explore relevant cultural factors which contribute to differences in crime rates, yet it turned out to be an exploration of immigrant experience which identifies the perceptions surrounding culture clashes, migrant transitions and comparisons of living in the UK compared to their country of birth. The perceptions which were uncovered provide rich background knowledge to the link of cultural influences on creation of the perceptions and how these perceptions affect an immigrants' association with criminality. Nevertheless, there were some issues raised within the themes which lead us to believe that practices and procedures in society need to be improved and developed in proportion with the rising concentrations of immigrant groups. In this case the complexity of the factors involved, such as housing conditions, are irrelevant and sometimes impossible to address in terms of implementation of change as they do not directly link to the immigration-crime relationship and require the input and support of public and private organisations.

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the factors which do, in order to suggest the development of processes to aid transition and promote knowledge in the first instance. Even though this study's aims were not entirely met in terms of establishing a relationship of immigration with crime, the questions which focussed on the understanding of crime actually revealed the most worrying theme, concerning this need for development, which was the lack of knowledge from both immigrants and policing bodies. Understandably, the police were not involved in this study, and so their knowledge cannot be factually commented on, however the perceptions of the participants would suggest that the police fail to understand the difference in immigrant needs. The participants displayed their lack of knowledge of the Criminal Justice System in the UK and admitted little to no experience of dealing with the police in the UK. Immigrants thus lack the police-public nexus, which leads us to believe that this lack of knowledge will be present from the police side also. What we can see from the responses is that immigrant people, with backgrounds included in this study and with their unrepresentativeness stemming from exigencies of the sampling process, are less likely to report a crime due to their lack of knowledge of crime categorisations. Not knowing what is important to the police and also not knowing how to communicate with them could create ambiguity in the reporting process. In terms of societal reactions to crime, it is vital to change this due to risk of repeat victimisation and an increase of the dark figure of crime (MacDonald, 2001). The suggested measures which can be taken to prevent this would be to have an increased proactive, immigrant-centred police initiative. It is believed that there is an inconsistency of training amongst the police in the UK when dealing with types of crime concerning ethnic minorities and immigrants such as hate crimes (Amnesty International, 2017). Therefore, a training programme should be devised to teach serving officers about cultural differences and the obstacles they can create in the detection, prevention and reactions of crime. Although this may already be happening across some forces in England and Wales, consistency in national training could be more successful. This promotes awareness of the issues to the police but still further measure should be taken to cater for the immigrant population. The suggestion here would be for the police to make an increased effort to get to know communities with higher concentrations of immigrants to further understand their cultural values and how crime affects them. Understandably, officers have to be more reactive to crime due to their workload, however, police community support officers have time to be proactive and to be out in communities getting to know residents of particular neighbourhoods (Cambridgeshire Constabulary, 2017). In doing this, this could forge a good enough rapport between the police and immigrants, so much so that they can use this as their source of knowledge, support and reassurance. Critics often argue that input from local police in the immigrant community can make residents feel victimised due to their race and make reporting less likely, therefore measures such as this call for support of revised policies to encourage trust and cohesion (Vidales, Day & Powe, 2009). The third measure is candidly the most unfeasible yet possibly the most effective - that the police re-organise their forces or employ relevant individuals to further represent immigrant populations. For example, an applicant for the police who can speak a second language or has other ethnic heritage, would be classed as beneficial to the force due to the rising number of immigrant concentrations across major cities and towns.

Most current projects regarding immigrants in the UK are based around attempting to integrate societies. What we can see from previous research and the findings of this research is that more problems are actually born through forcing integration. Instead, efforts should be made to promote recognition and respect for different cultural groups

as often the cultural differences can be so varied that the values cannot be integrated, only respected. Therefore, it would be fair to recommend further research using the approach of focus groups with a range of immigrant backgrounds to access the opinions and needs of the immigrant population in terms of support and guidance when talking about crime. This type of research is fundamentally the information which should fuel further changes to practice and policy as it gains a larger qualitative data set (Morgan, 1996).

The Society of Evidence Based Policing (2016) is striving for these types of change as it 'is made up of police officers, police staff and research professionals who want to transform policing through understanding what works'. For a long time, police practices and research have been separate, but as with all approaches, the correct mix of theory and practicality create successful solutions to problems (McKibbin, 1998; Grol & Wensing, 2004). With policing and even policy making, the proactive implementation of research surrounding immigration and crime should aid the development of multi-agency practices both internally and externally (Sherman, 1998; Jenson III, 2006). In summary, this research and previous research provides evidence that the immigration-crime relationship is ever-changing due to the complexity of the contributing factors. For practices to suit these changes, these factors need to be understood by all agencies involved and initiate knowledge based development in order to better accommodate today's society in the UK. Existing and previous practices will continue to be oblivious and uninformed if they do not recognise and develop in line with societal needs (Weisburd & Neyroud, 2013). What is discussed here are merely suggestions based on the common themes gathered in this research. In line with adopting a style with evidence-based practice, more research would need to be conducted to further understand the needs of immigrant population and what types of changes would benefit them from their experiences.

All in all, no real conclusions about the immigration-crime relationship or immigrants' perceptions about crime should be drawn from this thesis as it was aimed at being merely an exploratory study of cultural differences and perceptions, supplementing existing quantitative research. What can be drawn from this thesis is the need for future investigations on the topic of immigrants' perceptions of crime and their community spirit, as well as a need for the development of the researchers own academic experiences in respect to interviewing, which would be essential for future research of this type. Speaking to people from different countries who speak different languages and are not native English speakers has proven to be quite difficult and especially so when trying to understand such a complex relationship. The learning curve here is that more care and attention to aims needs to be taken when creating the research.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – School Research Ethics Panel Application

Researcher(s) details	Lauren Batty- Full time MSc Student Student number- U1353415
Supervisor(s) details	Dr. Dainis Ignatans
All documentation has been read by supervisor (where applicable)	YES
Aim / objectives	<p>-To professionally carry out a research design which contributes to ongoing academic research.</p> <p>-To investigate and test hypotheses which suggest theories relating to how immigration affects crime rates, whether positively or negatively.</p> <p>-To use qualitative research to understand the reasons why areas of mixed ethnicity prove higher crime rates than areas predominately populated by a single ethnicity.</p> <p>-To further explore and understand how different mixtures of ethnicity affect crime rates.</p> <p>-To use qualitative analysis methods to gain perspective and opinion from participants' relevant experience which contribute to the outcome of the research question.</p>
Brief overview of research methods	<p>This research will be conducted with the qualitative method of, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews in a public place to ensure safety to both the interviewer and interviewee.</p> <p>The sample of this research will be as follows;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 participants from an area densely populated by Asian immigrants • 5 participants from an area densely populated by Eastern European immigrants • 5 participants from an area densely populated by African immigrants

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 participants from an area with a population of mixed ethnicity <p>The sample criteria require all participants to be foreign born; unless they are from the mixed ethnicity area. Participants must also be over the age of 18. There are no criteria for other demographic qualities as they are not relevant to the aims of the research.</p> <p>All participants will be recruited through opportunity sampling where they will be asked to participate and provided with a participant information sheet (attached). They will belong to a community centre or establishment through which initial contact will be made. In the event that they would like to participate, they must sign a consent form (attached) to agree to the terms of the research and understand their rights as a participant.</p> <p>Each interview will take place in a public place convenient to both parties. For example, a local library, coffee shop or restaurant in the locality of the participant. The supervisor will be aware of the interview schedule. Each interview will last no more than 40 minutes and will follow an interview guide (attached). It will be electronically recorded and transcribed.</p> <p>It is important to adhere to ethical professionalism and so the University's Codes of Practice will be followed at all times.</p>
Project start date	01.01.17
Project completion date	01.09.17
Permissions for study	N/A
Access to participants	<p>4 Areas have been identified which match the criteria of the sample required. Within these 4 areas, community centres and establishments have been located via a web search, who cater to the ethnic demographics of the sample. Each of these centres will be contacted via postal letters or emails, dependant on contact details provided online, to make them aware of the research and invite them to recommend participants who would be willing to partake. Once</p>

	<p>participants have been located, the participant information sheet will be provided either by post, email or face to face (whichever method suits the participant). It will be indicated that the participants may have up to a month to decide whether they would like to volunteer or not. Confirmation of participation relies on the participant either contacting myself or my supervisor. This is outlined on the participant information sheet. Once the sampling process has been completed, the participant will be contacted; either through the community centre or their personal contact details given at the time of confirmation of participation, to arrange the interview at their convenience. It is notable that individuals who are being asked to participate may have limited English skills and so, participation may only be confirmed if the participant has competent, English oral and reading skills.</p>
Confidentiality	<p>Confidentiality is paramount and so the following precautions will be taken to ensure data protection is implemented professionally.</p> <p>All participants will be made aware that their responses to the interview questions will remain confidential, meaning that no data will be shared with third parties or knowingly or unknowingly leaked. This is with the exception of their responses being presented anonymously in the research paper. It is also with the exception of the participant disclosing information which reveals that harm may come to them or another person. Both exemptions are clearly stated in the participant information sheet and consent form.</p> <p>To ensure that data protection is not compromised, all electronic data and hard copies of interview material will be stored securely and no access to other persons shall be granted. Participants will be allowed to access their own data at any time by using a password randomly assigned to them.</p>
Anonymity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -As stated in the Participant information sheet, random pseudonyms will replace any identifying information regarding the personal information of the participants. -Places discussed in the interviews will not be anonymised due to the reason that it is vital information in regard to the aims of the project. If however, addresses or personal locations are discussed, they will be assigned a pseudonym. -As stated on the participant information sheet, it may be necessary to use participant quotes in the

	presentation of the findings and permission for this is included in the consent form.
Right to withdraw	All participants have a right to withdraw from the research at any-time up until the research is being written ready for submission. This includes during and after the data collection process. Participants are made aware of this on the participant information sheet where it states the date that the findings will be written up. Each participant will be assigned a random password which they can use to discuss or withdraw from the research process. This aims to further protect their anonymity if they wish to do so.
Data Storage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -All hard copies of consent forms and interview notes will be kept in a locked filing cabinet; no other persons shall have access at any time. -Interviews will be recorded and transcribed electronically on a secure laptop device and stored in a password protected folder. No other persons shall have access to the device or the password. -After completion of the research, the data shall be transferred to an external hard drive and permanently deleted from the laptop device. -The external hard-drive will be password protected and remain available for a period of ten years and stored securely in the Human and Health Sciences school at The University of Huddersfield. -All consent forms will be electronically available on the external hard-drive and all paper copies sufficiently destroyed. -The only other person the data will be discussed with or shown to is Dr. Dainis Ignatans (project supervisor) or relevant authorities in the event that harmful information is disclosed.
Psychological support for participants	In the event that a participant may need psychological support from any type of distress they may experience during the data collection, they will be guided to the contacts provided on the information Sheet. The Supervisor's contact details have been made available in the event that the participant would like further clarification on the justification of the research. The other support information provided is the contact details for Mind UK, a mental health charity, with support services made available to the general public. They also have a team dedicated to working with non-UK born residents, which is a more specific type of support considering the sample.

Researcher safety / support (attach completed University Risk Analysis and Management form)	See attached Risk Analysis Management form for full details on hazards which may be present and the actions that will be taken to decrease risk of harm.
Information sheet	All participants will be asked to read the information sheet regarding the research before volunteering to partake. If any issues arise regarding understanding of the written text in terms of unfamiliar phrases, it can be orally explained. (Please see participant information sheet attached).
Consent form	After reading the participant information, if the participant would like to volunteer to contribute to the research they will be asked to give their consent to doing so. (Please see attached consent form).
Letters / posters / flyers	A letter will be distributed to each of the community centres/establishments, via post or e-mail dependant on their stated contact preferences, to invite them to recommend participants for the research. (Please see attached letter)
Questionnaire / Interview guide	The interviews will be semi-structured, meaning that there are questions to follow but sub-questions may arise depending on the direction of discourse. (Please see attached Interview Guide).
Dissemination of results	The results of this research will be presented in my dissertation.
Identify any potential conflicts of interest	N/A
Does the research involve accessing data or visiting websites that could constitute a legal and/or reputational risk to yourself or the University if misconstrued? Please state Yes/No If Yes, please explain how you will minimise this risk	No
The next four questions relate to Security Sensitive Information – please read the following guidance before completing these questions: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2012/oversight-of-security-sensitive-research-material.pdf	

<p>Is the research commissioned by, or on behalf of the military or the intelligence services?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p> <p>If Yes, please outline the requirements from the funding body regarding the collection and storage of Security Sensitive Data</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Is the research commissioned under an EU security call</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p> <p>If Yes, please outline the requirements from the funding body regarding the collection and storage of Security Sensitive Data</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research involve the acquisition of security clearances?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p> <p>If Yes, please outline how your data collection and storages complies with the requirements of these clearances</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research concern terrorist or extreme groups?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p> <p>If Yes, please complete a Security Sensitive Information Declaration Form</p>	<p>No</p>

<p>Does the research involve covert information gathering or active deception?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research involve children under 18 or participants who may be unable to give fully informed consent?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research involve prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research involve significantly increased danger of physical or psychological harm for the researcher(s) and/or the subject(s), either from the research process or from the publication of findings?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Does the research involve risk of unplanned disclosure of information you would be obliged to act on?</p> <p>Please state Yes/No</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>The interview guide outlines questions regarding the levels of criminal activity in different areas. It is possible that the participant may disclose private information. The event of this has been outlined in the participant information Sheet, which informs the participant that confidentiality agreements will only be broken in the event that there is, or will be a danger to them, or anyone else.</p>

Other issues	<p>Due to the controversial nature of the research topic (crime and immigration) it is important to execute this research as professionally as possible whilst adhering to ethical guidelines. However, it is also important to take a sensitive and understanding personal approach when communicating with the participants.</p> <p>I gained significant experience in this area when I completed my BSc Criminology degree; my dissertation was based on the topic of paedophilia and so, I interviewed participants on their understanding of paedophilia since the 1970s. Therefore, I am fully aware of the psychological issues which can arise from discussing topics personal to the participant.</p> <p>I have also completed an online safeguarding course with Kirklees Council which has given me the foundation knowledge regarding techniques to deal with personal disclosures from an understanding, yet helpful point of view.</p>
Where application is to be made to NHS Research Ethics Committee / External Agencies	N/A
Please supply copies of all relevant supporting documentation electronically. If this is not available electronically, please provide explanation and supply hard copy	

Appendix 2 – Risk Analysis

ACTIVITY: Interviews and Transcriptions			NAME: Lauren Batty	
LOCATION: Huddersfield			DATE: 01/11/16	REVIEW DATE: 10/01/17
HAZARD(S) IDENTIFIED	DETAILS OF RISK(S)	PEOPLE AT RISK	RISK MANAGEMENT MEASURES	OTHER COMMENTS
Display Screen Equipment	-Poor posture -Vision impairment -Fatigue	Researcher	A VDU assessment will be completed on the home workstation to identify and decrease physical risks. This will follow DSE guidelines provided by HSE. If hazards are encountered the following actions will be completed: -Change the brightness, visibility or clarity on the screen -Adjust the chair so that feet are placed flat on the floor and the screen is at eye level. Also, to ensure there is sufficient support for the back. It is irrelevant to complete an assessment for a university workstation as they are hot desks not used continuously for more than an hour.	
Conducting interviews in a public place	-Personal safety	Researcher	When interviewing participants, the interviews will be conducted in public	

			<p>places to reduce the risk of harm occurring to either party.</p> <p>-All interviews will be recorded with a third party (supervisor) to inform of the date, time, duration and location of the interview.</p> <p>-The supervisor will be informed when the interview has ended.</p> <p>-In the event that the interviewee displays, violent aggressive or unacceptable behaviour, the interview will be immediately terminated.</p>	
Psychological wellbeing	- Psychological issues which may arise from interview topic	Interviewee	-In the event that participant experiences psychological distress they will be directed to suitable contacts	Outlined in participant information sheet
Loss/ theft of data	-Security of data -Protection of personal equipment	Interviewee & Researcher	-All data will be recorded on a secure laptop device. -Personal information of the respondents will reside in an electronic, password protected file. -Under no circumstances will the laptop device be left unattended, before during or after the interviews. -All hard copies of information will be	

			<p>kept in a lockable filing cabinet.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Give participants a personal random password they can use to gain access to their information. 	
Slips trips and falls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Uneven ground -Trailing cables -Obstructions 	Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Conduct interviews in a safe environment -Be vigilant of hazards which impose risk -Review the suitability of work environments in terms of how safe they are. 	
Manual Handling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Personal, physical wellbeing 	Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Employ good manual handling practices set out by HSE -Use carrying equipment to transport materials required for interview to reduce the risk of injury. 	
Adverse weather conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Personal wellbeing 	Researcher & Interviewee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Re-schedule planned meetings with interviewees if weather conditions appear to be a hindrance to health and safety. -Be mindful of travelling to places by car in the event of extreme weather 	
Location selection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Choosing a suitable location for interviews 	Researcher & Interviewee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Choose somewhere easily accessible by both parties -Choose somewhere both parties feel comfortable being, for example, an establishment that 	

			<p>sells alcohol with not be suitable for someone whose religion does not condone alcohol consumption as it could be construed as offensive.</p> <p>-Do not agree to meet a participant in a location they have selected personal to them.</p>	
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Appendix 3 – Research Invitation Letter

Version 1: Dated 01/11/2016



To whom it may concern,

I am a post-graduate student studying a Master's degree in Criminology at The University of Huddersfield and I am writing to you to ask for your assistance in my research. I am currently investigating why crime rates differ amongst single ethnicity and singular culture populations compared to mixed ethnicity and multi-cultural areas. It has become apparent that your community presents a great opportunity for me to talk to people to gain their views and perceptions of crime and find out why there may be differences in crime reporting and crime rates. I would be interested to find out people's opinions about what matters to them to compare this to what previous statistics show.

I would kindly ask if you know of anyone in your community, or at your establishment who would like to participate to significantly contribute to this research. Participation is entirely voluntary and there are no obligations. I would like to ensure you that this research will be carried out with extreme professionalism meaning that confidentiality is treated with up-most importance.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information about the research or to clarify the participation role may involve.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours Sincerely

Lauren Batty
The University of Huddersfield
Lauren.batty@hud.ac.uk

Appendix 4 – Participant Information Sheet

Version 1: Dated 01/11/2016



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in a study about the factors which contribute to differences in crime rates amongst different race populations. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. It is important that you read the following information carefully and understand what it means for you. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors whose contact details are at the bottom of this form.

What is the study about?

The purpose of this study is to investigate the reasons behind differences in crime rates in areas populated by a single ethnicity compared to mixed ethnicity areas. This includes investigating how cultural perceptions of crime form different emotional responses to crime reporting.

Why I have been approached?

The reason you have been asked to participate is because you reside in an area that is populated mainly by your ethnic origin, meaning that you will have a better insight into the reasons behind differences in crime rates.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. There are no obligations for you to take part. If you do wish to contribute to this research, you will be required to sign a consent form to confirm that you understand your rights as a participant. These rights include the right to withdraw your participation at any time before the research paper has been written.

What will I need to do?

If you agree to take part in the research you will firstly be asked to fill in a short questionnaire and then take part in an interview at your convenience. Both parts of the research process will take no more than 40 minutes of your time, neither of which will ask you any personal credentials, only questions relevant to answering the research title.

Will my identity be disclosed?

All information disclosed within the interview will be kept confidential, unless you indicate that you or anyone else is at risk of serious harm, in which case I would need to pass this information to the relevant authority suitable of dealing with the issue. To further secure your confidentiality, you will be given a personal random password which you can use at any time, before the write up of the research to talk about your participation or withdraw from the research.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

Who can I contact for further information?

In the event that you feel you need emotional support regarding the topics raised in this research, you can contact Mind UK, a charity with services available to the general public who also have a team dedicated to working with non-UK born residents:

Mind UK
0300 123 3393
info@mind.org.uk
Text: 86463
Mind Infoline
Unit 9
Cefn Coed Parc
Nantgarw
Cardiff
CF15 &QQ

Alternatively, if you require any further information about the research, or would like to participate, please contact me or my supervisor:

Lauren Batty
The University of Huddersfield
lauren.batty@hud.ac.uk

Dr. Dainis Ignatans
The University of Huddersfield
D.Ignatans@hud.ac.uk

Appendix 5 – Participant Consent Form

Version 1: Dated 01/11/2016



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

A qualitative investigation into the contributing factors of lower crime rates in areas densely populated by single ethnicity immigrants, compared to higher crime rates reflected in mixed ethnicity.

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details, assistance or advice please contact your researcher.

- I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research as outlined in the information sheet version 1, dated 01/11/16

- I consent to taking part in the questionnaire and interview to contribute to this research

- I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason

- I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym)

- I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions for a period of 1 year at the University of Huddersfield

- I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will have access to the information provided

- I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please indicate in the tick boxes provided and print and sign below.

Signature of Participant: <hr/>	Signature of Researcher: <hr/>
Print: <hr/>	Print: <hr/>
Date: <hr/>	Date: <hr/>

Both parties will be provided with a copy.

Appendix 6 – Interview Transcription

I = interviewer

P = Participant P6

UNDERLINE = Quotes of relevance to research

1. I: if you don't mind me asking, how old are you?
2. P: old (laughs) twenty...one (laughs) sorry 37 almost
3. I: how long ago did you move to the UK?
4. P: six year almost, five and half
5. I: what made you move to the UK?
6. P: just better life
7. I: in terms of what?
8. P: well it's like I can help my mum send money
9. I: she lives in Poland?
10. P: yes, she lives in Poland and I can help this (2) when I live in Poland I'm not earn too much for this and I can't help my mum and now I can doing this
11. I: did you move on your own?
12. P: I'm just move with my husband only
13. I: the neighbourhood you live in and the communities you are part of, what are they like?
14. P: here it's more like old English people it's just all around it's like old people and we have 1 Russian neighbour and all rest is English who living down and opposite me
15. I: do you go to any place where you're part of a different community like a church or =
16. P: = well yes I going usually to English church and spend time with English people but I have like Polish community (2) like same church almost just only you have like Polish group that is spend time sometimes together
17. I: is that different, where you live or maybe the English church, is it different from the Polish group?
18. P: well it's because we are Christian we are almost similar but it's not like different between catholic (.) no not too much, we are maybe different about expression about the some understanding but I think it's still the same way like God
19. I: where you live, do you think crime rates are high or low?
20. P: here?
21. I: yeah
22. P: (3) I think when you ask people they tell you there is but I not sure it is true because I live here two years and now everything it's alright (2) we have one accidents like fire opposite in the house when old people live but we don't know what's going on actually (.) it's only old people who coming and just see it and spend time together but that's it I never ever hear something bad
23. I: where did you live before?
24. P: area A ... Area B
25. I: what was that community like?
26. P: we live in really quiet area its even if somebody told you *Area B* is bad but when you going down there sometimes we going to Polish shop or just only for some shop like *Supermarket A* whatever you can see its strange and danger (2) I'm not feel good here in the area it's like mix of culture or mix of people

27. I: what do you mean by that?
28. P: it's mean like (2) it's not only proper English around not only for English people, you have European people you have Caribbean people you have (2) any ethnic group actually and you can see it's more danger, it's more danger (.) you can see every time police you know something happen (.) well actually we live in the quiet side but we have opposite drug dealer probably, we have many times like police knock to our doors and it's like "you call police?" [quoting police officer]... "no" [quoting herself] probably it's for opposite
29. I: so, are you saying that's because of the mix of cultures?
30. P: I can't tell you yes and I can't tell you no but that's my idea, it's because now we have only English people, one Russian, sorry one Polish and we have really really quiet area now (.) I can tell you even when I'm going to visiting my friends it's like different area it's like *Area C* or *Area D* they're so quiet area and most of them it's only English people.
31. I: so you feel like when it's mostly English it's not that bad but it is when there's a mixture =
32. P: = yes =
33. I: = do you think there's a specific mixture?
34. P: I don't know because I'm never living next to but (3) I'm not sure actually because I know few people when we (.) it's like we live nearly *Area E* and my friends can tell you "oh *Area E* it's not good area" [quoting a friend] but I know my friends live nearly *Area E* they are alright with this and I don't actually know but I think is (3) well maybe it's funny but what I'm thinking is if you try find areas where most Polish people (.) I don't wanna talk like this but it's only example like just only Caribbean people they all stick together in one community (.) I think if like they drinking and start taking drugs I think it's working like the area starting have bad status (.) and it's like why I only speaking like I come here [UK] I try to speak English people, contacts, learn something new don't be like "oh I'm Polish and I want only Polish people near me" [quoting example speech] I know it's not good.
35. I: so you've talked about the crime where you've lived, what about that compared to when you lived in Poland?
36. P: when I lived its actually really quiet area but my family live well they don't live now but I remember when I be in childhood, I remember my family live in really badly area when it's too much drink well they people who drinking and people take drugs it's like, I'm not sure you have here this, but it's when you are jobless or something like this and you can't doing job because you don't want or you are addict about drugs, alcohol and everything, it's like my government doing special place for these people (.) and when my family live nearly in my family city they see at the side, opening like this place one of them, they live with like metal house, we call it metal house it's like big massive [inaudible word] with like few small room and later on when they try come back to normal life [people in the government initiative] like find job and everything they give you some house as well it's like flats area, they come back but yes its worse I think for me
37. I: what types of crime?
38. P: it's like stealing, fighting well for me it's really simple nobody kill but everything what drugs and alcohol can doing
39. I: this is quite a personal question and you don't need to answer it (.) have you ever been a victim of crime?
40. P: no
41. I: have you ever reported a crime?

42. P: (deep in thought) no never
43. I: do you know anybody that has?
44. P: not really actually... no
45. I: I just wanted to understand how you think the police would deal with crime in the UK
46. P: well it's like I'm not sure it's good example but like we have nearly like few door nearly ours, we have neighbour who always shouting for everybody and be really really nasty for everybody (.) well probably he have problem with alcohol or something like this (.) but I remember when my neighbour just called police because the bad neighbour start just, I'm not sure what he doing, but I think he just throw something about window with really danger and later on he just kick through the door in my neighbour and that what I remember (.) and police coming, they report everything, give the chance for this man like "calm down, if you not calm down we come back we take you" [quoting police officer] (.) but later on they come back again because this man being really really drunk and they take off him for special place for people if you're really really drunk and you not calm down they take you for the special place for 24 hours (.) it's not like jail it's like place where they (struggles to think of the right word) (3) I don't know what you call this but it's place where they calm down, you have like paper work about this you been in this place that's bad (.) But later on he come back and just well maybe not good but try calm down.
47. I: what did you think of the police response then do you think it was good or =
48. P: = yes definitely yes they are
49. I: would you have confidence if a crime happened that you'd report it to the police?
50. P: yes
51. I: what about in Poland, what are the police like there compared =
52. P: = well (5) it's like you can tell when I work in shop like stationary shop we have like somebody coming and steal few pieces its nothing more but it's not about this (.) every time when I'm seeing somebody doing this you need report this (.) and we just call for police (.) I'm not sure because we really have shop nearly police like one street only, but I'm not sure (.) they been really quick they doing everything good we just close shop and wait for police because you need doing this actually (.) but this is really similar thing but what I can tell you I think they work really good with this (.) well I'm not sure how work here [UK], well actually I think its similar cause last week I see on *Supermarket B* they find somebody over here they just closed shop and it's like really actually similar (.) but I'm not sure I know the difference is (.) it's not criminal actually but like in Poland if your child off school not going to school it's not problem, but here [UK] I know its problem, they're different I know and I know it's not criminal thing but I thinking where's the difference it's like (.) I don't have too many experience but my friend told me or my colleagues told me you can call the police here [UK] and it's not problem, in Poland I'm not sure, I'm never doing this, sometimes it really wait longer but probably that's my opinion but it's being depend how busy they, how big is city, how many staff they have (.) you can't know everything about this
53. I: do you think that other Polish people living in England are more likely to be a victim of a crime?
54. P: I don't know nobody to have problem with this, but when I read news or something like this I can tell you some is coming here cause they just try hiding yourself here. But I'm not sure actually, you know sometimes news its only news because they need bad and

sometimes true as well (.) But I don't know nobody who coming here and have problem with criminal things you know what I mean

55. I: who do you think commits the most crime, I know you said you don't have a lot of crime in your area now but say when you lived in *Area B*, was there a group of people that would commit the most crime =
56. P: = well actually that's good question because what I remember, even in this, now we remember this situation we have nearly our flat well our house we have a Caribbean food and they always doing party, and probably if you're doing party you drink or take drugs and actually it's not only Caribbean because Polish people coming and have good party with them (.) they mix together and they doing trouble together (.) I can't tell you who is more like Polish or Caribbean but they have good party time together but they have as well big trouble together and I remember when police coming they take few people too (.) I'm not sure it's Polish or Russian but I know it's like similar Russian or Polish people and two Caribbean guys as well (.) and what I remember its more Caribbean and Polish, when they mix together they aren't similar (.) I'm here [UK] like five and half years and I never see like proper Polish people like doing criminal things here but it just only my opinion and experience
57. I: do other areas nearby have higher or lower crime rates like where you live are there areas around you =
58. = probably there is but actually I don't know which one cause I don't know too much I know only my area and close area here like I live nearly town centre I know more here but its only town centre usually
59. I: where would you like to move to in the future?
60. P: well (4)
61. I: if you were going to move anywhere, where would you move?
62. P: well we really, because we have most friends here we really want stay here but probably our situation it is we have parents actually older parents now in Poland (.) if we like bring, like we need to bring back and care for him, we need we don't have choice
63. I: if you were to move would you look at the crime rates before you moved =
64. P: = oh yeah definitely =
65. I: = to see what kind of area it was =
66. P: = yes
67. I: what about if you move somewhere (.) you just said that if there's a mixture of people you think there's more crime, would you look for an area that's single ethnicity?
68. P: yes (.) well I'm not sure, I don't wanna sound like (.) let me can tell you now when we live nearly *Area B* we can see because when we going for walk whatever you can see if we have like just only Polish people (.) like I say to my husband if you want be part of English community like we coming here we want learn something, meet new people have new friends and everything we need have open our minds, eyes and everything. But when you can see when they are together they are doing just only community like Polish are example or just doesn't matter even English sometimes it's like (.) but definitely we choosing around when we looking for our area we just looking for something small similar, people say "oh you moving to *Area F* that's bad area" [quoting a friend] because some reason I think that's not fair we don't feel like this we can try, we can try and we know they have mixed people nearly because some houses down we have some Asian people but actually its really quiet. It's like *Area B* where you have Caribbean, Polish, English, Russian together I think it's too much for me but that probably just my opinion

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