Research to identify additional difficulties faced by minority ethnic groups and migrant workers because of the conflict in N. Ireland
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1. Report Structure

For ease of reading the report has been structured as follows:

1. Report Structure

This identifies each section of the report with a summary of section content.

2. Introduction

This section sets out the background and context of the research including the terms of reference and period over which the research was undertaken

3. Legislative and Policy Context

A summary of the key outputs and outcomes of the research including recommendations is provided in this section, with appropriate linkage to the main body of the report

4. Full Report

This section sets out:

4.1. The legislative and policy context which regulates informs and guides the strategies and action plans in relation to community / good relations duty, anti-discriminatory practice, integration and combating prejudice.

4.2. The Research Methodology, including the rationale for the design and research methods adopted.

4.3. A summary of the review of existing documentation and research literature which informed the research design

4.4 Research Results and analysis. This section sets out and discusses the key themes emerging from the research

4.5. Recommendations. This section includes general recommendations in the wider strategic context and provides specific recommendations within the context of the SW Cluster Peace 111 Action Plan

5. Appendices.
This section includes the research instruments; a more detailed literature review undertaken, which may be of interest to students, researchers and policy makers, and a comprehensive bibliography of existing material in the area of interest.
2. Introduction

2.1 Background to Research

The EU programme for Peace and Reconciliation in N. Ireland and the Border Region (2007-2013) commonly referred to as the Peace III Programme is a distinctive European Union Structural Funds Programme aimed at ‘reinforcing progress towards a peaceful and stable society and promoting reconciliation.’ The programme is managed at local authority level by local cluster partnerships.

The South West Cluster for the PEACE III Programme includes the district council areas of:

- Cookstown;
- Dungannon and South Tyrone;
- Fermanagh; and
- Magherafelt

On behalf of the South West PEACE III Partnership, Magherafelt District Council commissioned STEP (South Tyrone Empowerment Programme) to research the issues and difficulties facing migrant workers and ethnic minorities living and working in the South West Cluster due to the legacy of the Troubles.

The PEACE III Operational Programme acknowledged that problems of racism and racially motivated crime have many similarities to the early years of immigration in other EU countries, but recognised the specific circumstances of N. Ireland which lacked experience of ethnic diversity and the opportunity to develop more mature relationships with new immigrant groups. It acknowledged the impact of sectarianism and segregation in exacerbating the problem by heightening territorial awareness and contributing towards intolerance with a greater impact on minority ethnic communities, particularly newly immigrating communities confused about the symbols and issues around the conflict.

The SW Cluster Peace III Action Plan 2008 – 2011 (Action Plan) had already outlined a detailed programme of work to be delivered within an overall budget of approximately £3.4 million.

The Action Plan details six programmes

- Programme A – Challenge sectarianism and racism

Programme B - Priority Estates and Villages
Programme C - Ethnic Minorities
Programme D - Cross Border Relationships
Programme E - Victims and Survivors
Programme F - Partnership Development

These incorporated the five cross cutting themes identified by SEUPB

- Addressing poverty to build integration and inclusion of vulnerable groups
- Cross Border links
- Equality and Equity
- Sustainable development
- Partnership Working

2.2 Terms of Reference

The terms of reference for the research were drawn up within the context of the existing action plan. The key objectives and outputs of the research identified in the tender terms of reference required the research team to:

- Map the ethnic minority communities in the South West Cluster per council area
- Review existing reports on experiences of ethnic minorities in N. Ireland or border areas and identify issues where their difficulties and needs are exacerbated or complicated due to the legacy of the conflict in the SW Cluster area
- Develop a survey which captures quantitative data and attitudinal data for ethnic minorities on how the legacy of the conflict impacts on their daily lives.
- Design a consultation programme which engages in a meaningful way with a representative number of individuals from each Council area from the target groups; (Migrant Workers and Ethnic Minority groups) living and working in the SW Cluster area.
- Based on the findings of the research programme make recommendations on support projects which address the needs of ethnic minorities exacerbated by the legacy of the conflict.
- Produce a written report encompassing the above outputs.
2.3 Period of Research

The research was commissioned through public procurement tender (T/09/16) in May 2009 and the contract awarded in July 2009. The research was conducted between August and December 2009 and the final draft report provided to Magherafelt District Council in January 2010 in accordance with the terms of the contract undertaken.
3. Legislative and Policy Context

Regional level

The Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order 1997\(^2\) was the first major piece of legislation specifically to address discrimination within N. Ireland on the grounds of ethnicity. It sets out key definitions of, and prohibits discrimination on ‘racial’ grounds in employment, education, goods, facilities and services. The 1997 Order also established the Commission for Racial Equality. This was later absorbed into the functions of both the Human Rights Commission and Equality Commission for N. Ireland established by The N. Ireland Act 1998. Section 75 of this act also established the imperative that public bodies should pay due regard to equality in all areas of policy development for nine areas, including that of race.

Racial equality and good relations are the responsibility of the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM) in N. Ireland. OFMDFM produced a Racial Equality Strategy in 2005\(^3\) from which the Racial Equality and Good Relations Unit produced an action plan to eliminate racial inequality, and provide equal protection, equality of service provision, participation, dialogue and capacity building\(^4\). The Unit also facilitates the regional inter-agency Racial Equality Forum.

OFMDFM also launched the Shared Future strategy in 2005, which moved away from the narrow concept of ‘community relations’ between traditional Protestant and Catholic identities to the wider concept of ‘good relations’ between ranges of identities\(^5\) including ethnicity. A new Cohesion, Sharing and Integration (CSI) strategy which builds in both strategic policies is currently under discussion at ministerial level.

Local level

Local authorities have a major role in implementing policy that is conducive to a shared and equal society; the review of public administration envisages that this

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\(^2\) This was amended by the Race Relations (Amendment) Regulations (Northern Ireland) Order 2003 to include, among other things, provision against racial harassment.

\(^3\) Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2005), *A Racial Equality Strategy for Northern Ireland 2005-2010*, Belfast: OFMDFM.


\(^5\) Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2005), *A Shared Future: A Policy and Strategic Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland*, Belfast: Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister.
will be increased when new council structures take on a statutory duty for community planning of public services.

In Dungannon a good relations audit and Strategic Plan consultation in 2006 recommended⁶:

Dungannon & South Tyrone Borough Council should avail of the opportunities to build on past and ongoing work within the Borough to become a model of excellence in the promotion of the positive aspects of Good Relations through its policies and actions

It proposed an action plan for implementation of the strategy⁷ within the council and wider community. Priority 1.4 of the current Dungannon/ S. Tyrone Corporate Plan promotes equality of opportunity for all; Priority 3.1 seeks to promote good relations through tackling sectarianism and racism, staging good relations events and festivals and the ‘re-imaging’ of communities⁸.

Cookstown’s Corporate Plan commits to creating a ‘cohesive, inclusive and just society’ as one of its six corporate objectives, striving to promote and support good relations, provide civic leadership and achieve equality of opportunity⁹. To this end, the council’s Good Relations Strategy aims:

To develop and enhance Cookstown District as a place that’s fair, tolerant and comfortable for everyone who lives in it or comes to it ... and where people’s heritages and cultures are acknowledged, respected and celebrated¹⁰:

To be implemented by addressing ‘the reality of circumstances in Cookstown, making good relations the core business of the council and delivering through partnership’¹¹ underpinned by the principles of equality, diversity and interdependence.

In Fermanagh, promoting equality, good relations and social inclusion is one of eight corporate priorities.¹²

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⁶ Holywell Consultancy (2006), Good Relations Audit and Strategic Plan 2006-7, Dungannon: Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council, p.32.
⁷ Ibid., pp.33-38.
¹¹ Ibid.
We want to promote and encourage equality of opportunity and inclusiveness across all cultural strands in order to put in place a more unified and cohesive society

The good relations strategy lays out a range of aims and actions along the themes of positive citizenship, supporting communities, respecting diversity and enabling good relations13.

Magherafelt’s Community Plan14 includes migrant workers as a priority group, and while the council’s Corporate Plan does not mention minority ethnic or migrant groups, it states15:

\[\text{We value the diversity of all communities in the district and will strive to make sure that everyone shares in its success. We will treat all communities and people equally and work to improve access to our services}\]

Peace Building

Following the ceasefires of 1994, the European Union committed to supporting the development of peace building in N. Ireland and the border region of Ireland, through the Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in N. Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland. The programme has had three phases: Peace I (1995-1999), Peace II Programme (2000-2006), and Peace III Programme (2007-2013).

The current programme acknowledges the need to address racism in the post-conflict context because16:

\[\text{although both N. Ireland and the Border Region have lacked the longer term experience of ethnic diversity and the opportunity to develop more mature relationships, sectarianism, segregation and the conflict has exacerbated the problem by heightening territorial awareness and contributing towards building a culture of intolerance which is impacting on minority ethnic communities}\]

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Tackling racism is clearly coupled with tackling sectarianism in the process of building positive relationships at the local level in order to reconcile communities, but it also clearly links to developing a shared society accessible to all\textsuperscript{17}.

Consequently Priority 1 of the Programme seeks the involvement of minority ethnic communities and seeks to improve trust and tolerance and decrease levels of prejudice, whereas Priority 2 works towards a shared society and shared services accessible to all\textsuperscript{18}.

**Conclusion**

It is clear that a strategic policy framework is emerging which can enable and develop opportunities, processes and actions to build a more inclusive, equitable and integrated society which embraces diversity. The delay at political Executive level in agreeing the regional Cohesion, Sharing and Integration (CSI) strategy poses planning difficulties at sub-regional and local level and weakens local political leadership in challenging sectarianism and racism in practice.

Nonetheless in each of the council areas in the SW cluster the basic strategic building blocks are in place upon which strategic actions can be undertaking to tackle racism and sectarianism holistically, and develop competence and confidence in diversity. The evidence suggests that where there is political will, planned actions with clearly identified outcomes, and the resources to achieve them, significant progress can be made.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p.43.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., pp.56, 63.
4. Main Report

4.1 METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The South Tyrone Empowerment Programme (STEP) conducted the research in partnership with local groups in each of the areas of the cluster.\textsuperscript{19} STEP provided the local partners with training in research skills, delivered by the Institute of Conflict Research, who also provided external quality assurance of the research design and analysis. STEP adopt this collective participatory approach to social research to increase the involvement of communities in the process of change and increase capacity at grassroots roots level for conducting quality research on their own behalf, adding to the resources of local communities. Those participating in the training, with the approval of Magherafelt District Council, were then able to generate organisational income from STEP by undertaking supervised aspects of the research design, dissemination, and focus group participation.

The research was designed to explore the impact of the legacy of the conflict on people who do not belong to the majority groups in the region and the implications for their equitable integration into society in N. Ireland. It examined how the conflict has configured social, administrative and political structures and behaviours in N. Ireland and how new populations have to adjust in order to negotiate these phenomena. Quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to establish patterns of barriers to new populations and to draw out the lived experiences of migrant and minority ethnic populations within the SW Cluster area.

A literature review was carried out to examine the main issues and themes to inform the research. These included studies of the impact of the conflict in N. Ireland in terms of segregation, structures, patterns, attitudes to other groups and coping mechanisms; the phenomena of sectarianism and racism; the experiences of minority ethnic and migrant populations, existing research and other documentation specific to the cluster areas under study.

A research questionnaire was designed, informed by previous surveys, the literature review, the experience and knowledge of the research team and of project partners, to identify patterns of experience. Personal details were codified and specific questions ranged in Likert Scales to facilitate quantitative analysis. A

\textsuperscript{19} These were the Community Organisations in the South Tyrone Area (COSTA) the Magherafelt Welcome Centre Cookstown and Western Shores Area Network (CWSAN) Fermanagh International Communities Group and Magherafelt STEP outreach.
minimum of 75 questionnaires were distributed in each area to capture the potentially different experience of the following target groups:

1. White English-speaking minority population
2. White non-English speaking minority population
3. ‘Non-white’ English speaking minority population
4. ‘Non-white’ non-English speaking minority population
5. Majority population

In addition, the research classified groups in relation to different levels of legal entitlements as follows:

a. UK citizens
b. Citizens of EU countries prior to 2004
c. Citizens of EU countries that had acceded since 2004
d. Citizens of non-EU countries

The experience of people from minority ethnic and migrant communities is affected by immigration status and eligibility for social support, which adds to the effect of vulnerability or potential exploitation. Therefore the research has examined how the themes of the research differ from group to group. The main groups to be considered are:

(a) UK, Irish citizens, European Economic Area (EEA) pre-2004,
(b) Citizens of countries acceding to the EU in 2004 (A820)
(c) Citizens of countries acceding to the EU in 2007 (A221)
(d) Citizens of countries outside the EEA.

The questionnaires were produced in English, Polish, Portuguese and Slovakian to enable the widest access to the minority populations as classified. Slovakian was chosen as language which represented a minority group without a significantly large community to soften the impact of exposure to the majority community. Portuguese, as an international language provided access to Europeans, S. Americans and Africans, and therefore to a wider range of persons of colour and differing ranges of entitlement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Target group</th>
<th>Entitlement group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1, 3, 5</td>
<td>a, b, c, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
<td>b, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia.
21 Romania and Bulgaria.
A number of interviews were conducted with 10% of the total questionnaire respondents. These included key informants in local areas, with particular knowledge or experience, including those who were themselves recent immigrants / migrant workers. Five focus groups were also undertaken to cross reference and feedback the results of the research to participants.

**Research Sample**

The research was designed to look at impact and studied dimensions of ethnicity, language capability, eligibility according to citizenship and level of community support. The sample was not intended to be a statistical profile of the diversity of identity in each of the council areas subject to the research. There is insufficient data in the public sphere to enable a random or representative sample of the target population. Questionnaires were distributed through work places; job centres; leisure facilities; advice and information centres; public shopping areas and schools, and of those returned 301 were sufficiently completed to enable inclusion in the quantitative analysis.

A summary of the data collected is given below.

- 301 completed questionnaires (in English, Portuguese, Polish or Slovak)
- 30 one- to- one interviews of which:
  - 19 minority ethnic or migrant interviews (including Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, Portuguese, Guinea-Bissau, Angolan, Chinese, Indian and second Generation Chinese identities) as well as those from outside of Northern Ireland but within the pre-2004 EU.
  - 11 key informant interviews (including service provider, business, police, community, community relations, local authority, political, education and migrant support sectors)
- Five focus groups in different languages:
  - Cookstown – Polish with 11 participants (in Polish)
  - Dungannon – East Timorese and Brazilian with 5 participants (in Portuguese and Tetum)
  - Dungannon – Slovakian with 5 participants (in Slovakian)
  - Fermanagh – Polish with 10 participants (in Polish)
  - Fermanagh – Filipino with 5 participants (in English and Tagalog)

The general profile of the questionnaire sample was as follows:

- 45% male, 54% female, 1% transgender
- 47% aged 26-35
• 10% UK or Irish citizens, 25% EEA pre-2004, 56% A8, 2% A2, 7% non-EEA
• 24% fluent in English, 26% competent, 39% basic and 11% no English
• 34% living in a rural area, 66% urban
• 32% from Dungannon, 15% Magherafelt, 36% Cookstown, 14% Fermanagh and 3% out of area
• 44% living in a majority (70%+) Catholic area, 18% majority Protestant and 38% mixed
• 24 countries of origin: U.K. (including N. Ireland), Republic of Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Lithuania, East Timor, Slovakia, Latvia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Ukraine, Thailand, Philippines, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Bulgaria, São Tomé, Italy, Brazil, India and Macedonia.

The research also mapped the location of minority ethnic and migrant worker communities in each district council area against existing area profiles of disadvantage; impact and legacy of the conflict and community segregation.

The survey data was analysed for patterns of correlation between specific identities, locations and circumstances to patterns of experience. These were analysed against the area profiles in relation to the legacy of the conflict. Conclusions were then drawn with regard to the degree of isolation or barriers experienced by certain groups or combinations of circumstances.

This enable a number of themes to be further explored qualitatively through semi-structure interviews

The findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses were formulated into conclusions which in turn inform recommendations for practical and policy approaches to integration in N. Ireland.
4.2 LITERATURE REVIEW – summary analysis

A range of literature was reviewed which encompassed studies of minority ethnic and migrant populations, their experiences, patterns of conflict in N. Ireland, theoretical works on racism and sectarianism and prevailing ideas on community cohesion and integration. The main points are summarised here, but a full literature review is available at Appendix 1.

Survey data, including the N. Ireland Life and Times Survey, European Social Survey and the Human Beliefs and Values Survey indicate that inter-communal relations between the two ‘traditional’ communities in N. Ireland have softened to some extent but remain unchanged in key areas of inter-personal relationships. This ambiguity of attitude is significant in relation to immigration, and there is a high level of self-assessed prejudice against migrant workers. N. Ireland also reports a higher level of bigotry in general than other states surveyed. Statistics indicate a high level of verbal abuse and damage to property reported by minority ethnic and migrant respondents here with a rise in racist incidents and xenophobic attitudes. Incidents of sectarian behaviour of this nature are simultaneously declining. This raises the question of potential transfer of bigotry-motivated behaviour to a new and more vulnerable victim set of ‘others’ and wider social tolerance / acquiescence in this transferred behaviour.

The experience of migrant workers in N. Ireland mirrors in many respects that described in the wider literature in the literature from elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland and other European states. Migrants often experience exploitation and discrimination in employment, particularly those without appropriate documentation or where eligibility for social support depends on the status. Skills and qualifications from other jurisdictions are not recognised, access to services is problematic, information for basic administration and access to services is limited and there is insufficient language provision, such as information and communication in alternative languages and provision of interpreters. Housing tends to be of poor quality and exploitation by landlords is common, and, while migrants tend to be younger and healthier compared with the host population, this declines at a rapid rate due to psychological and physical stresses, exploitation at work, poor housing and reduced access to health care. This pattern is common to studies at local, regional and national level and has been identified in local studies in each of the four council areas comprising this research. There has however been very little attention paid to the particular nature of N. Ireland as a consequence of its lack of internal integration; communal tensions in the context of identity as well as religion; and a legacy of almost half a century of violent political conflict.

Racism and sectarianism both formulate a system of division and exclusion. In N Ireland religious affiliation, national identity and politic allegiance intersect to
create a key marker for sectarianism. Racism likewise marks out other identities, including colour, national identity and language as creating a classification of person and group subject to lesser rights in a hierarchical social ordering. While the violent manifestation of this division may be confined to particular arenas in respect of both racist and sectarian attitudes, threads of acquiescence of the system stretch quietly throughout society. Some authors have identified aspects of sectarianism in N. Ireland as being indistinguishable from racism in that they are primarily a result of historic dominance over those in the community who are racially constructed as ‘native’ Irish. This analysis contributes to the view that Loyalist communities are more likely to be exhibit racist attitude and behaviour. There has been little research conducted to test this hypothesis.

In terms of racism and xenophobia, such ‘closed’ attitudes have been reported in other post-conflict contexts including the transfer of communal tolerance for violence use of violence in the harassment of minority ethnic and migrant populations, including paramilitary involvement no longer accepted in the wider contexts. Most authors on the conflict in N. Ireland agree that identity is a defining point on conflict in the region, leading to communal segregation and perceived religious affiliation as the identity marker, but consideration of identity differences within the framework of ‘ethnicity’ is very recent and under researched.

Territoriality has been a historic and significant feature conflict in N. Ireland and its roots are deepest in the rural communities where the demographic change in territorial ownership has moved minimally over several centuries. The formation of group identity along conflict lines is more physically obvious in certain urban areas, where there are well-defined interfaces, but less so in rural parts of N. Ireland. This makes the defining markers of conflict, and territorial areas more difficult for ‘outsiders’ to identify whether they are new to N. Ireland or not.

Economic factors draw new economic immigrants initially to where the housing stock is most affordable, and therefore into direct contact with the more economically disadvantaged population already occupying the space and holding it against intrusion of all ‘others.’ Migrant workers and new immigrants encounter localities where conflict over territory has been most acute, and have to negotiate divided housing; education and social systems without any road map of’ insights into the mind of’ the communities to guide them.

While the issue of institutional racism is not confined to N. Ireland, key Instruments of government in N. Ireland are contested in a way that is experienced within the rest of the EU, other than perhaps parts of Spain. This is of particular relevance in reporting racist attacks, and seeking the protection of the police, to which victims of crime have an unequivocal entitlement.
Policing in N. Ireland is still in transition and the continued distrust and lack of acceptance of the police in some communities, together with the reality that the police, like the wider community have little experience of functioning in a context of diversity would appear to create further complexities for minority ethnic communities and individuals.

The post-conflict political system in N. Ireland was designed to manage the bipolar ‘traditional’ identities of the conflict, and did not envisage inward migration as a key opportunity that might arise from the piece so there is little room for involvement or inclusion of other identities is the ethnicity, class or interest based. The literature would indicate that in social terms, the conflict has produced subtle mechanisms for peaceful co-existence which rely on agree codes of interaction, but with an undercurrent of fear or underlying animosity, all of which is difficult for outsiders to interpret.

The existing mainstream literature of integration and community cohesion recommends common values, social solidarity, social order, reduction in inequalities and attachment to place as features of a cohesive society. In the context of N. Ireland none of these are agreed, and the level of integration between two largest communities is structurally limited and carefully managed in a process of conflict management.

The body of existing literature clearly sets out the range of obstacles for minority ethnic and migrant communities but the context of our divided society, the evidence of the legacy of the conflict and its impact on new populations can only be gleaned from inferences, and observations in the encounters with the structures that have been fashioned by years of conflict.

No specific studies have to date tackled the correlation between the contested nature of our own social cohesion and the degree to which others are excluded from our communities. This particular research study will therefore seek to explore the nature of the racially tinted barriers and inequalities experienced by minority ethnic communities; shed more light on the extent of the legacy conflict for the changing demographic picture of N. Ireland and build on the broader knowledge to provide opportunity to design and develop mechanisms to promote greater integration and community cohesion in N. Ireland which is still in transition from its sectarian and political conflict.
2.3 AREA PROFILES

Introduction

Mapping the settlement of minority ethnic and migrant populations across the areas of study is of necessity an inexact science. The 2001 Census pre-dates the main demographic changes from 2004 onwards with the accession of the A8 countries to the European Union, and the significant underreporting of minority ethnic population is well-documented and widely accepted. Various approaches have been used to establish the demographic profiles of the target areas with mixed results. In this mapping exercise, we have relied on cross-referencing a broad range of existing data, in relation to the interests of the research.

In general terms, the Labour Force Survey estimates in N. Ireland in the first quarter of 2009 there were 62,000 people who had been born outside the UK or Ireland, an increase from 18,000 in 1997. Between 2001 and 2004 the population of N. Ireland increased by 0.4% each year. From 2004-7 the percentage growth doubled to 1%. Inward migration, fewer deaths and more births contributed to this growth but population increase has been uneven across N. Ireland. Dungannon Council area increased by 2%, twice the regional average and Magherafelt by 1.7%, with the other areas of the research having above average increases. The rate of inward migration is however decreasing with 5700 new residents in N. Ireland in 2007-8, compared with 9000 in 2005-6 and 2006-7.

This is reflected in a drop in registrations under the Worker Registration Scheme registrations from 7800 in 2008 to 9100 in 2007. N. Ireland continued to have the highest rate of registrations per thousand (20.8) in the UK, and Dungannon the highest rate in N. Ireland (10), with Cookstown 4th (5), Magherafelt and Fermanagh receiving 3 and 2 respectively. These figures support the view that inward migration in N. Ireland is a predominantly rural phenomenon.

In 2008, 9% of all births (2300) within N. Ireland were to mothers who were born outside the UK or Ireland. This compared with 3% in 2001. Dungannon emerges as the centre of this change, registering 20% of all births non-UK or

\[\text{References:}\]

23 Ibid., p.3.
26 Ibid.
Irish born mothers’ resident in the borough. Figures for 2009, not yet complete indicate a continuing trend, and potentially a pattern of settlement rather than migration. The number of pupils in schools in N. Ireland with English as an Additional Language (EAL) has also been rising, with 4300 in primary schools (2% of all pupils) receiving this support and 2100 in post-primary schools (1% of all pupils) in 2008. Dungannon had the highest rate of new pupils arriving from outside N. Ireland in 2008 (3.4%), the majority of whom are from within the expanded Europe.

Table 1 shows some key indicators across the four council areas: official migration estimates, Worker Registration Scheme registrations; Work Permits National Insurance Number applications for non-UK nationals; children in school with English as an Additional Language (EAL); births to non-UK born mothers and Health Card issues to non-UK nationals. Each is problematic, an some caution should be exercised in analysing the statistics, all of which are collected differently, but some basic comparisons and patterns of settlement can be derived from the statistics. Dungannon has the highest overall level of settlement; all have differing patterns of settlement, and Magherafelt has the lowest level settlement of the four areas.

Table 1: Comparative Migrant Population Indicators

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<tr>
<td>Cookstown</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>1627</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dungannon</td>
<td>4247</td>
<td>3350</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>6181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermanagh</td>
<td>3038</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2666</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magherafelt</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>1256</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1577</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 NISRA July 2009.
33 Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate May 2009.
34 Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate July 2009.
35 Department for Social Development June 2007.
36 Department of Education Northern Ireland March 2009.
37 NISRA July 2009.
38 Central Services Agency May 2009.
**Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough**

The population of Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council area comprises 54,300 people, 70% of whom live in rural areas\(^ {39}\) and more than 25% of whom live in the Dungannon-Coalisland area. The Borough is divided into 22 wards, ten Wards are comprised of more than 70% perceived Catholic population (including Coalisland North, Coalisland South and Washing Bay, are more than 90% Catholic)\(^ {40}\) and five more than 70% perceived Protestant, leaving only seven mixed wards. This represents a very high level of separateness and segregation.

Various estimates are given for the minority ethnic population, predominantly migrant workers and new immigrant families, of the Borough. Most sources suggest 10% of the population as migrants\(^ {41}\) including 2000 Lithuanians, 1000 Polish, 1100 Portuguese-speakers, 400 Tetum speakers, 300 Latvians, 200 Slovaks, 200 non-EEA and 300 other A8 nationals.\(^ {42}\)

Prior to 2001, Irish Travellers were the largest minority ethnic group in the borough; the community is concentrated in the Coalisland area. There is also a smaller Chinese community and Asian community. The latter has decreased with the loss of the local Hospital. In 2001 the inward migration was largely due to local demand for labour and comprised Portuguese, African, East Timorean and Brazilian nationals, but since 2004, Polish and Lithuanian nationals predominate with smaller numbers of Ukrainians, Latvians, Slovaks, Indians, Moldovan, Czechs.\(^ {43}\)\(^ {44}\)

As set out in TABLE 1 (p18) In 2008, there were 524 pupils in primary schools; 328 in post-primary schools with English as an Additional Language (EAL) and 20.4% of children born in the borough were to mothers born outside the U.K and Ireland. Health Card registrations for non-UK nationals over the three year period up to 2008 totalled 6181 registrations and 965 de-registrations - a net figure of 5216 with East Timorese Lithuanian and Polish, and as the top three countries of origin for applicants (2007). Between 2004 and 2009 the Home Office approved 3350 Worker Registrations and 460 Work Permits within the borough.

---

\(^{39}\) Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council (2009), *Dungannon and South Tyrone Corporate Plan 2009-2011*, Dungannon: D&STBC, p.5.

\(^{40}\) 2001 Census.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., p.6; Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council (2009), *Profile and Statistics*, Dungannon: D&STBC, para 2.

\(^{42}\) Holder, D (2008), *Demographic and Labour Market Profile*, Dungannon: D&STBC.

\(^{43}\) Blueprint and Locus (2007), *Dungannon Socio-Economic Profile*, Dungannon: D&STBC.

\(^{44}\) Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council (2007), *Statistics*, Dungannon: D&STBC.
There is a general consensus in the Borough that race hate crime is a recurring problem and adds to community tensions. The Community Safety Partnership reports race hate crime as increasing and while the district policing board acknowledge detection rates are low, but getting better, they attribute significant under-reporting due to language barriers, and migrants being located in areas that are not acceptable to the police. But also acknowledge lack of appropriate recording by police. The District Council initiated a Race Hate Reporting Scheme which was very successful but was not sustained.

Interviews conducted by NIHE (2009) with 78 migrant workers in Dungannon found that of those surveyed, local facilities used were pubs (65%), sports facilities (56%), library (53%), church (53%), local clubs (42%), cinema (36%) and community centres (17%). In terms of relationships with local people, less than half those interviewed felt local people would help them if they needed help; would invite them to their home; they were made welcome, or treated as an equal. Almost one in every three interviewees felt that their labour was wanted but not them, and one in five considered local people to be generally prejudiced against people from other countries.

Health Card registration data is now available at Ward level, which gives an indication of settlement pattern. Table 2 identifies the local settlement pattern giving the percentage of perceived Catholic population for each Dungannon Ward from the 2001 Census, as an indication of the degree of segregation Health Card registrations by Ward 2006-7 and Multiple Deprivation measures from 2005.

Caution should be also exercised in statistical interpretation of information covering different time spans. Nonetheless, he cross-reference helps to build a picture of actual settlements against perceptions but no conclusions relating to cause and effect can be drawn from the comparisons. What can be noted is the absence of any clear correlation between the pattern of migration settlement and the categorisation of the ward as ‘Catholic/ Nationalist’ or Protestant/ Unionist. Some correlation can be observed between migration settlement and more deprived areas (Figure 1). There is a wide body of post-conflict research supporting the position that areas of economic disadvantage in Dungannon were the areas most deeply affected by the conflict.

---

48 Ibid., p.28.
49 Research by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, unpublished at the time of writing (2009).
### Table 2: Dungannon Wards, Religious Affiliation, Settlement and Deprivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>% RC 2001</th>
<th>Non-UK health reg/1000 2006-7</th>
<th>Deprivation Measure 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altmore</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augher</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aughnacloy</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballygawley</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballysaggart</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benburb</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledon</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castlecaufield</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clogher</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalisland N</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalisland S</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newmills/CIW</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolhill</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaghmore</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumglass</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fivemiletown</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killyman</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killymeal</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moy</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moygashel</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullaghmore</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing Bay</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


![Figure 1: Migration, Segregation and Deprivation Dungannon](chart.png)
Fermanagh

The population of Fermanagh is 60,600, of whom there are estimated to be between 3000\(^{51}\) and 3700 migrant workers\(^{52}\). The District is sparsely populated at 31 people per square kilometre and the main industries are tourism and industries related to tourism, such as food and catering\(^{53}\).

In the period 2004-2009, there were 1470 applications for Worker Registration Scheme; 350 Work Permits within Fermanagh and 2666 Health Card Registrations issued between 20005 – 2008. A base line audit\(^{54}\) which surveyed almost 2,000 migrant workers in Fermanagh identified a broad cultural mix, comprising 421 Polish, 418 Chinese, 209 Lithuanian, 61 Latvian and 55 Indian respondents as the most numerous groups. This reflects the pattern of non-UK/Irish nationals applying for Health Cards with Polish and Lithuanian being the top nationalities.\(^{55}\)

Health card and Birth statistics in Fermanagh appear to include Irish citizens in the non-UK statistics, and it is not clear if these are former residents of the Republic of Ireland. This makes interpretation of the data problematic, as the second largest group of non-UK citizens registering for Health Cards between 2005 and 2008 are Irish citizens resident in Fermanagh. This may or in N. Ireland may not represent cross-border migration.

2004/5 assessments indicated that racially-motivated incidents were very rare in Fermanagh\(^{56}\), but this was based on figures pre-dating the period of main migration from 2004 onwards. More recent consultations in the District have suggested racism is more prevalent: the Householder Survey of 2005 saw ‘attacks on ethnic minorities’ 8\(^{th}\) out of a list of 10 good relations issues considered important by respondents; the Peace III Consultation in 2008 suggested sectarianism and racism was alive in communities; and the Good Relations Consultation of 2008 concluded that racism was becoming a more serious crime\(^{57}\). In a consultation with local councillors in 2008 it was noted by one respondent of the issue of racism:

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\(^{54}\) Green Hat, 2007, p.3.

\(^{55}\) NISRA July 2009.


Trying to live here with the presence of flags and emblems adds to the difficulties of building a sense of belonging and a sense of a safe place for these people.

Furthermore, a 2008 Staff and Stakeholder Consultation\(^{58}\) produced a response that sectarianism was more hidden, being more contrived, as people talk about it in the comfort of their own homes but it is not dealt with.

Table 3 indicates the extent of religious segregation in Fermanagh District, settlement patterns and deprivation indicators.

**Table 3: Fermanagh Wards, Religious Affiliation, Settlement and Deprivation\(^{59}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>% RC 2001</th>
<th>Non UK Health Reg/ 1000 2006/ 07</th>
<th>Deprivation Measure 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballinamallard</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belcoo</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belleek</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boho</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookeborough</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castlecoole</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derrygonnelly</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derrylin</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devenish</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donagh</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erne</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Court</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irvinestown</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesh</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbellaw</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisanrrick</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisnaskea</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maguiresbridge</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newtownbutler</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portora</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosslea</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossorry</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten of the 23 Wards in Fermanagh are more than 70% perceived Catholic/ Nationalist and three more than 70% perceived Protestant/ Unionist. As in Dungannon this reflects significant population segregation.

\(^{58}\) Ibid., pp.41, 44.

The same caution in respect of attributing causal effect applies to However, there appears to be more similarity between settlement patterns of new populations and those both perceived Catholic/ Nationalist representation and degree of deprivation (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Migration, Segregation and Deprivation Fermanagh**

The graph shows the percentage of Roman Catholics (RC) in 2001, non-UK health registrations per 1000 in 2006/07, and deprivation measure in 2005 for different locations in Fermanagh.
Cookstown District has a population of 34,100\(^{60}\), around a third living in the town and a further 10% in the four main villages, the rest being rural dwellers\(^{61}\). Around 1100 migrant workers were estimated to have arrived between 2004 and 2006, adding to the population of Portuguese workers who came in 2001-2004. Recent estimates are of 3000 migrant workers, 80% of whom are from Eastern Europe, comprising 33% from Slovakia, 18% from Lithuania, 5% from Poland and 13% from Latvia\(^{62}\). Indeed, figures of children with English as an Additional Language (EAL) at one primary school show 16 Portuguese speakers in 2005, but this had expanded to 29 in 2009, 18 Polish, 15 Slovakian, 6 each of Latvian and Lithuanian and one each of Romanian, Russian and Thai speakers\(^{63}\). In 2007, 1100 people were enrolled locally in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses locally\(^{64}\). Specific indicators are 1902 Worker Registration Scheme applications 2004-9, 240 Work Permits 2004-9, 559 National Insurance Numbers issued to non-UK applicants 2004-6, 189 children with English as an Additional Language (EAL) in 2008, 1627 Health Card issues to non-UK nationals 2005-8 and 12.7% of births in 2008 were to non-UK mothers (see Table 1).

Cookstown District is described as ‘very traditional’ compared with the rest of N. Ireland with a low wage economy\(^{65}\). This may partly explain the draw of migrant workers, 36% in one survey being employed in factory or production work, 24% in trades and 10% in construction\(^{66}\). Racial incidents appear to have been declining, there having been 21 in 2005-6\(^{67}\), 14 in 2006-7 and 5 in 2007-8\(^{68}\). However, in a good relations consultation, the main issue was considered to be how ‘Cookstown natives’ relate to migrant workers\(^{69}\).

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\(^{62}\) Cookstown District Council (2008), Migrant Worker Audit Report, Cookstown: Cookstown District Council, p.8.

\(^{63}\) Figures from Holy Trinity Primary School, Cookstown.


\(^{66}\) Cookstown District Council (2008), Migrant Worker Audit Report, Cookstown: Cookstown District Council, p.9.


\(^{68}\) Cookstown Community Safety Partnership (2008), Strategic Assessment 2008-2011, Cookstown: CCSP, p.5.

Table 4 shows the extent of community segregation, an indicator of settlement patterns and deprivation indicators. 

Table 4: Cookstown Wards, Religious Affiliation, Settlement and Deprivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>% RC 2001</th>
<th>Non UK Health Reg/1000 2006/07</th>
<th>Deprivation Measure 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ardboe</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coagh</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunamore</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gortalowry</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killycolpy</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killymoon</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lissan</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moneymore</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newbuildings</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaklands</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldtown</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomeroy</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandholes</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewartstown</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Loop</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tullagh</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3 shows the relationship between religious affiliation, migrant settlement and deprivation.

Significant levels of community segregation again form the core context of minority ethnic integration, but there is little similarity in the distribution patterns.

---

Magherafelt District

Magherafelt District has a population of 39,780, located in five urban centres, 13 villages and several hamlets. The District has higher percentages of its workforce in the manufacturing and construction sectors than the N. Ireland average (25.1% and 17.2% compared with 12.3% and 6.2% for N. Ireland as a whole), industries which employ high numbers of migrant workers. There are no local estimates available for the area, but a survey of businesses in Magherafelt identified 71 Polish, 39 Slovakian, 38 Czech, 37 Lithuanian, 35 Latvian, 13 Portuguese, 6 Bangladeshi, 5 Ukrainian, 4 Russian, 3 Filipino, 2 French, 2 Romanian and 1 Hungarian workers. However, the top three national identities of applications for Health Cards 2006-7 were Polish, Lithuanian and Slovakian.

Racial problems were regarded to be ‘nearly non-existent’ in 2005, but there was a sense of increasing ethnic diversity for which integration would reduce potential problems. Consequently, migrant workers are a priority for community planning and a migrant worker website has been planned. There were 16 racist incidents in 2007-08 and 14 in 2008-09, with clearance rates for offences stated as 25% and 40% respectively. Indeed, crime and community safety were themes which arose during community planning consultations and a decrease in crimes against migrant workers was one of the aims.

Table 5 indicates religious segregation in comparison with non-UK settlement patterns and deprivation.

---

73 From a survey of firms by Magherafelt District Council in 2005.
74 NISRA July 2009.
Table 5: Magherafelt Wards, Religious Affiliation, Settlement and Deprivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>% RC 2001</th>
<th>Non UK Health Reg/ 1000 2006/07</th>
<th>Deprivation Measure 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballymaguigan</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellaghy</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castledawson</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draperstown</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magherafelt</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulladuff</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knockcloghrim</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecumpher</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Glenshane</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghera</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatragh</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobermore</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Parks East</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Parks West</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upperlands</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magherafelt</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant segregation is again indicated, as seven of the 16 Wards in the district are 70% or more perceived Catholic / Nationalist and one more than 70% Protestant/ Unionist.

Figure 4 indicates some similarity between migrant settlement and majority Catholic/ Nationalist areas, but deprivation patterns appear even across the area.
RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.4 Research results and analysis

Summary of Responses to Questionnaires

This summary is based on the percentages of those from a minority ethnic or migrant background\(^{81}\) who have answered the questions.

1. I chose where I live because there are other people from home live there

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 241

2. I chose where I live because I knew local people living there

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 239

---

\(^{81}\) 277 of the 301 respondents were from minority ethnic or migrant backgrounds.
3. I chose where I live because it's near where I work

- Agree: 61%
- Disagree: 24%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 15%

N = 245

4. I chose where I live because I looked at other areas and decided this was the best place for me

- Agree: 53%
- Disagree: 20%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 27%

N = 250

5. I chose where I live because I could not afford to live somewhere better

- Agree: 38%
- Disagree: 35%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 27%

N = 240
6. I chose where I live because there are no flags, wall paintings or painted kerbs in this neighbourhood

N = 244

7. I did not choose where I live. This accommodation was provided/advised.

N = 243

8. I chose where I live because I feel safe in the neighbourhood

N = 257
If I need help I could rely on my Northern Irish neighbours to help me

A full third have indicated they do not know whether their Northern Irish neighbours would help them or not, which may be indicative of the degree of separation from the host population.

I stay indoors if Northern Irish people are celebrating something
12. I feel comfortable having celebrations for my own community where I live

- Agree: 65%
- Disagree: 13%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 22%

N = 265

13. I have been made to feel afraid in my neighbourhood

- Agree: 17%
- Disagree: 70%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 13%

N = 253
14. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are British

- Agree: 20%
- Disagree: 44%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 36%

N = 256

15. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are Irish

- Agree: 12%
- Disagree: 51%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 37%

N = 257

16. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are both British and Irish

- Agree: 18%
- Disagree: 46%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 36%

N = 256
17. I have close friends who are from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 60%
- Disagree: 24%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 16%

N = 263

18. I have a girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse who is from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 76%
- Disagree: 15%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 9%

N = 254

19. Most of the people I know here are from my own country

- Agree: 73%
- Disagree: 19%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 8%

N = 264
20. Most of the people I know here are not from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 46%
- Disagree: 35%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 19%

N = 259

21. I find it difficult to get to know people from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 24%
- Disagree: 52%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 24%

N = 265

22. I feel comfortable in local pubs/bars/clubs

- Agree: 41%
- Disagree: 35%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 24%

N = 267
23. I frequently attend local social and cultural events

- Agree: 29%
- Disagree: 45%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 26%

N = 252

24. I feel excluded from local events, activities and clubs

- Agree: 24%
- Disagree: 41%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 35%

N = 254

25. I mostly meet people from Northern Ireland at my workplace

- Agree: 62%
- Disagree: 26%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 12%

N = 262
26. I have been invited to join a local social organisation/group

- Agree: 19%
- Disagree: 24%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 57%

N = 255

27. I do not want to mix with Northern Irish people

- Agree: 19%
- Disagree: 69%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 12%

N = 250

28. I mix socially with Northern Irish people through church

- Agree: 26%
- Disagree: 20%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 54%

N = 251
29. I take part in local cultural events

- Agree: 30%
- Disagree: 45%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 25%

N = 252

30. I attend local sporting events

- Agree: 28%
- Disagree: 49%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 23%

N = 253

31. I take part in sports locally

- Agree: 27%
- Disagree: 52%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 21%

N = 250
32. I played sports at home but I do not do so here

Agree: 34%
Disagree: 49%
Neither agree nor disagree: 17%
N = 253

33. I use the local leisure facilities frequently

Agree: 35%
Disagree: 41%
Neither agree nor disagree: 24%
N = 254

34. I am made to feel welcome by leisure facility staff

Agree: 37%
Disagree: 17%
Neither agree nor disagree: 46%
N = 243
35. I feel isolated/excluded from the local community

- Agree: 16%
- Disagree: 47%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 37%

N = 252

36. I have been verbally abused and/or insulted because I am not from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 32%
- Disagree: 50%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 18%

N = 257

37. I have been threatened with violence

- Agree: 18%
- Disagree: 72%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 10%

N = 258
38. My property has been damaged

- Agree: 19%
- Disagree: 73%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 8%

N = 255

39. My home has been damaged

- Agree: 14%
- Disagree: 77%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 9%

N = 256

40. I have been physically attacked

- Agree: 5%
- Disagree: 87%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 8%

N = 256
41. I have been verbally abused because of my skin colour

- Agree: 10%
- Disagree: 75%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 15%

N = 255

42. While I have not been abused, I have heard of people not from Northern Ireland who have been

- Agree: 55%
- Disagree: 28%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 17%

N = 254

43. Northern Ireland is more violent than other places I have lived

- Agree: 24%
- Disagree: 45%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 31%

N = 262
44. People in Northern Ireland use violent language

- 37% Agree
- 28% Disagree
- 35% Neither agree nor disagree

N = 257

45. I feel nervous when I see police officers with guns

- 33% Agree
- 21% Disagree
- 46% Neither agree nor disagree

N = 255

46. I have been threatened by someone claiming to have a gun

- 9% Agree
- 6% Disagree
- 85% Neither agree nor disagree

N = 257
47. If I were a victim of a crime I would report it to the police

- Agree: 87%
- Disagree: 8%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 5%

N = 264

48. If I were a victim of a crime I would not report it to the police because the people where I live do not like the police

- Agree: 15%
- Disagree: 75%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 10%

N = 256

49. If I were a victim of a crime I would not report it to the police because I do not trust the police

- Agree: 9%
- Disagree: 91%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 0%

N = 258
50. If I witnessed a crime I would report it to the police

- Agree: 65%
- Disagree: 24%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 11%

N = 263

51. If I witnessed a crime I would not report it to the police because the people where I live do not like the police

- Agree: 23%
- Disagree: 71%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 6%

N = 254

52. If I witnessed a crime I would not report it to the police because I do not trust them

- Agree: 19%
- Disagree: 75%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 6%

N = 252
53. I have often been stopped and questioned by the police

- Agree: 15%
- Disagree: 75%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 10%

N = 255

54. I feel I am stopped by the police more often than people from Northern Ireland

- Agree: 21%
- Disagree: 72%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 7%

N = 254

55. I am registered with a doctor

- Agree: 92%
- Disagree: 6%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 2%

N = 265
56. I feel welcome in my doctor’s surgery

- Agree: 77%
- Disagree: 6%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 17%

N = 263

57. I feel less welcome than someone from Northern Ireland in my doctor's surgery

- Agree: 27%
- Disagree: 57%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 16%

N = 256
58. I am registered with a dentist

- Agree: 53%
- Disagree: 41%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 6%

N = 263

59. I feel welcome in my dentist's surgery

- Agree: 48%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 18%

N = 252

60. I feel less welcome than someone from Northern Ireland in my dentist's surgery

- Agree: 9%
- Disagree: 41%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 50%

N = 245
The lower response rate and high percentage of non-committal answers to Questions 59 and 60 is reflective of the relatively low rate of registration with a dentist indicated at Question 58.

61. I do not go to the shops nearest to my home because I do not feel safe there

- 7% Agree
- 4% Neither agree nor disagree

- 89% Disagree

N = 261

62. I am confused by the segregated education system in Northern Ireland

- 37% Agree
- 23% Neither agree nor disagree

- 40% Disagree

N = 252
63. My children have difficulties at school because of language

- Agree: 16%
- Disagree: 48%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 36%

N = 223

64. My children have difficulties at school because of prejudice

- Agree: 10%
- Disagree: 43%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 47%

N = 221

65. I have been able to get childcare for my children

- Agree: 25%
- Disagree: 25%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 50%

N = 207
The last three questions (63-65) have a high rate of non-committal answers and a higher rate of people not answering the question, which is reflective of the number of respondents who declared their domestic situation as living with family including children (154). In this respect, a third of parents were not able to secure childcare, as opposed to a quarter of those who answered the question or a sixth of the whole sample. Question 62’s high non-committal rate may likewise be affected by half of the sample not having children and therefore not encountering the education system, but this may also be indicative of greater confusion.

66. My landlord/landlady (or the Housing Executive) makes me feel like a valued tenant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 250
67. I found it difficult to open a bank account

- Agree: 25%
- Disagree: 65%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 10%

N = 263

68. I find it difficult to get a loan from the bank

- Agree: 25%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 41%

N = 250

69. I feel my bank trusts me

- Agree: 45%
- Disagree: 20%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 35%

N = 256
70. I am aware of the Credit Union system in Northern Ireland

- Agree: 28%
- Disagree: 36%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 36%

N = 251

71. I feel welcome in my trade union

- Agree: 21%
- Disagree: 13%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 66%

N = 239

72. When I came here, I thought I was coming to Britain

- Agree: 33%
- Disagree: 54%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 13%

N = 255
73. When I came here, I did not know there was an international border between north and south of Ireland

- Agree: 38%
- Disagree: 54%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 8%

N = 259

74. Before coming here I thought Northern Ireland was a violent place

- Agree: 32%
- Disagree: 29%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 39%

N = 258

75. Before coming here I thought the conflict in Northern Ireland had finished

- Agree: 27%
- Disagree: 49%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 24%

N = 258
76. Before coming here I thought there was a conflict between Protestants and Catholics

N = 260

77. Now I am here I feel there is still a conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland

N = 259

78. My neighbours from Northern Ireland have been very welcoming

N = 259
Questions 80 and 71 have high numbers of respondents not answering the question or answering neutrally. 50% of the whole sample is employed full time and a further 15% part-time, so just over a quarter of the whole sample answered the question positively or negatively, probably reflecting the rate of unionisation.
81. People from Northern Ireland would be happy for me to be a manager over them at work

- Agree: 14%
- Disagree: 41%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 45%

N = 246

82. My employer would be happy for me to be a manager in their business/organisation

- Agree: 18%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 48%

N = 238

83. People from Northern Ireland would be happy for me to marry or have a relationship with a close relative of theirs

- Agree: 21%
- Disagree: 20%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 59%

N = 243
84. I feel children from my country are excluded from the grammar school system in Northern Ireland

- Agree: 12%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 54%

N = 233

85. I feel my landlord/landlady (or the Housing Executive) would rather have someone from Northern Ireland as a tenant

- Agree: 13%
- Disagree: 52%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 35%

N = 249

86. People from Northern Ireland appear very welcoming but really they do not like foreigners

- Agree: 33%
- Disagree: 51%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 16%

N = 259
**Settlement Patterns**

Generally people who participated in the research indicated long term settlement plans, as the reasons for coming, while usually associated with employment opportunities, mostly involved joining friends or family, with family reunion being very common. Examples from interviews include:

*I came to join my family. I didn’t want to be alone in Lithuania. My mother and brother were here, due to the family economic situation* - Female A8 national, no English

*My husband was already here - I came to join him. My husband visited a cousin, then found employment* - Female A8 national, basic English

Many have found the process, while necessary, quite a wrench from their family and friends at home (*It is hard to leave your country and go to wherever* - Female A8 national, no English), but there is a clear commitment to stay in N. Ireland:

*My home is here...I would like to live here permanently* - Female A8 national, fluent in English

*I’m in love with this place, but I still miss my home* - Female Black minority, UK citizen, fluent in English

However, discussions in a focus group of A8 nationals indicated that there were tensions within their community between those who wanted to stay and integrate into society in N. Ireland and those who wanted to earn money and return home or move on, for whom integration is less of a priority.

The pattern of family settlement has implications for integration policies, as the indication is that permanent or semi-permanent presence of diverse identities are to be the norm, not a temporary visitation for economic reasons alone.

**Prior Knowledge**

A significant proportion of those coming to N. Ireland have limited prior knowledge of the context into which they are coming. For example, 31.7% of questionnaire respondents thought they were coming to Britain and 35.7% were unaware of the international border on the island, which has implications for visa and travel arrangements. Indeed, key informant interview comments included the following:
The perception that it is over or having no knowledge of N. Ireland as a state, for example, not being aware of the border, the jurisdiction change. Not till they come do they find out – Migrant support worker

They don’t understand the history. They find it funny that Catholics and Protestants would fight each other – Business sector

This view is confirmed by some migrants themselves:

I didn’t know it would still be going on – I’m not sure if you would call it a conflict – Female A2 national, fluent in English

There was some understanding that there had been a conflict in N. Ireland, but detailed knowledge was rare. Most would not have had a planned intention to come specifically to N. Ireland. Therefore arriving in a different social context is in itself a significant step, but coming to a post-conflict society with relatively little background knowledge makes negotiating that context more problematic.

**Encountering N. Ireland**

Most people coming to N. Ireland found a warm welcome and were pleasantly surprised to find little outward evidence of the conflict and encounters with Northern Irish people that were cordial and friendly:

It’s nice and peaceful here, those were my first impressions. I had gathered some information and thought there was still some paramilitary activity, but there was nothing apparent. I was pleasantly surprised – Male A8 national, basic English

But this was not everyone’s experience, as the prospect of life in a new country can be daunting:

When my daughter first came, she did not come out for two weeks – Female A8 national, fluent in English

However, beyond the initial positive encounter, some interviewees reported superficiality in people in N. Ireland when they tried to get to know them better:

They are definitely not open – it’s an island. Anything new might be threat, so they have to be very careful. The first step is not sincerity – Female A2 national, fluent in English

Local people here are very good at hiding animosity and do not speak openly about issues. They are nice to each other’s faces, then curse each
when they are no longer there. Neighbours here don’t know each other and relationships are superficial - Male A8 national, competent in English

This was also noted by key informants:

It is difficult to come in, except for the transient traveller, who is made welcome - Police

It is a closed, insular society. It is not always visible. Migrants feel welcome, bit scratch the surface and they are not feeling welcome or equal - Migrant support worker

Newcomers to N. Ireland had therefore detected a lack of candour in the local population beyond the initial welcome, which impacts on the level at which integration can take place and how supported outsiders can feel when in need. However, this has been explained as a consequence of the conflict, where learned behaviours derived from preservation and safety manifest themselves in everyday relationships:

We use guarded language: where did you go to school? What foot do you kick with? People suss you out before they will engage with you - Community relations sector

People become very skilled at assessing and hiding - Migrant support worker

We communicate often by saying nothing, but a badge, symbol or colour may say a lot. Outsiders would have major problems interpreting our ‘signals’- Education sector

Key informants were particularly clear about how N. Ireland, as a post-conflict society closes out other identities or treats them with suspicion, not out of an innate dislike of others, but due to the legacy of a violent conflict:

The conflict is deeply seated in the minds of people: Before looking at you as a person, you are labelled - Migrant support worker

From the perspective of the migrant and minority ethnic populations themselves, unless they have been living in N. Ireland for some time and have explored these issues, the view of Northern Irish society is of insularity. More than this is the effect of the intense focus of society on the immediacy of the conflict and the world around communities being viewed through a prism of conflict, new communities with knowledge and understanding of other countries and contexts sometimes interpret this phenomenon as ignorance:
Ireland is an island. They like things the way they are and prefer things to stay that way – not get out of their comfort zone – Female A8 national, fluent in English

Brazilian people can be white or black - it confuses people...There is a lack of knowledge among Irish people - they don’t know their geography. People ask: “Is Brazil a Catholic country?” – Female visible minority, Irish citizen, fluent in English

Indeed, stereotyping and a lack of engagement can likewise be traced to the conflict. Decades (or more) of conflict has meant that there has been little large scale immigration to the region, so that local people have had fewer opportunities to become accustomed to diversity:

It’s not racism, it’s ignorance. How can a community with no experience of others interact with others? – Community relations sector

Conflict Transference

Beyond a lack of understanding of identities other than those associated with the conflict, additional difficulties are encountered due to the parameters of the conflict being imposed upon new populations. This process of transference of the conflict onto identities that have nothing to do with the conflict reflects an intention to define others in conflict terms, but this process is met with bewilderment by migrant and minority ethnic populations who only encounter it when the mechanism becomes more overt:

The assumption is that Polish = Catholic. It is also assumed that you are pro-Republican. My family is Catholic, but they are pro-British – Female A8 national, fluent in English

I was expecting a child and wanted to call her Rachel...but I was told by my husband’s family Rachel was a Protestant name and I had to give the child a Catholic name – Female Black minority, Irish citizen, fluent in English

This transference process is complex and often not noticed or understood by those on whom it is imposed. In particular, those who are considered to be from a ‘Catholic’ country, such as Polish and Portuguese are factored into the sectarian construction of society whereas other less understood identities, such as Latvians, Lithuanians or Chinese, are less affected by this experience. One focus group explored their understanding of the nature of this transference, whether assumed identities are subject to ‘appropriation’ by one side and ‘rejection’ by
the other, or whether both communities reject different identities, those of an assumed Catholic identity experiencing the rejection more acutely. The diagrams below depict the two tentative processes:

_Rejection-appropriation model_

![Diagram](image)

_Divided-hierarchical model_

![Diagram](image)

However, the participants in a Filipino focus group stated that they are advised when they arrive to avoid Protestant areas on the basis of the assumption that people from the Philippines would be Catholic. Yet the reality for individuals in this group was that having located within the Catholic community anyway, they were victims of attack anyway.

It is also possible that the use of local sectarian differences are used in both communities to avoid naming racial prejudice and xenophobia.

Key informants recognised the process of transference and may inadvertently contribute to it by the conclusions they offer in making migrants aware of the sectarian dimensions of the conflict. But the reality is summed up:
The migrant population has to make a choice as to which camp they choose to live in. They then become a minority in whichever camp they chose – Education sector

You are forced to pick a side or a side is picked for you – Migrant support worker

Because religious affiliation is not usually discussed in the countries in which migrants originate - or it is even rude to do so - the sectarian practice defining of people in terms of their religion is baffling. Discussions took place in focus groups of A8 nationals disclosed a mistaken belief that all selection for employment in N. Ireland took place along the lines of religious quotas. This presumption was attached to monitoring forms. For many, however, the assumptions made about them - and the animosities felt towards them - are only considered and understood when ‘an incident’ occurs, as illustrated by these two examples from a focus group of A8 nationals:

- A female participant working in a shop was confronted by a customer who was ‘offended’ by a necklace with a cross she was wearing. She was told it was ‘provocative’, but the offended party didn’t explain why. “It was just a necklace”, so it was not worn again.
- A male participant was to travel to a certain city on the Foyle and referred to it as ‘Derry’. He was told if he went to ‘Derry’ he would return without any teeth, as he was going to ‘Londonderry’. He was let off on this occasion, as he ‘didn’t know better’.

This has significant impacts on migrant and minority ethnic populations as a direct result of the conflict and can even restrict access to services in the community:

I know incidents where children have been refused places in primary school because they do not ‘match’ the profile of the people in the area. In my opinion, they were refused along blatantly sectarian lines – Education sector

_Communal Segregation_

The research indicates that sectarian labelling minority ethnic communities mainly applies only to new immigrants overtly identified as ‘Catholic’ because their country of origin. This applies particularly to Polish and Portuguese citizens in the survey. Results from the questionnaire returns indicated that over one third of Polish respondents lived in perceived ‘catholic/ nationalist wards; almost half in mixed areas with one in five living in perceived Protestant communities.
The results for those identified as Portuguese because of their language are more pronounced with little more than 10% living in perceived Protestant communities, and half this linguistic population (50%) living in perceived Catholic areas. However the profile of dispersal for Slovaks are similarly concentrated in Catholic (51.6%) or mixed (32.3%) areas, rather than Protestant areas (16.1%).

The reasons for this dispersal pattern may be considerably more complex and related to location of employment; affordable/available housing; location close to people already established but there is real perception that communities with overt Protestant/Unionist identity are more xenophobic than those with Catholic/Nationalist identity.

The questionnaire returns suggest while local flags and emblems are not a key factor for minority ethnic individuals in choosing where to live, for those who do seek to avoid areas displaying their colours almost twice as many will seek to avoid areas with British flags and emblems when considering where to live (18.8%) compared with those who seek to avoid Irish emblems (10.8%),

Anecdotal evidence from interviewees supports this finding and may contribute to it.

*We do caution people about going into Protestant areas with a paramilitary presence* – Statutory service provider

*Some Polish living in Protestant areas were chased out. If they knew beforehand, maybe they would make better choices. But they go to where they can find accommodation* – Support worker- voluntary sector

The Protestant / Unionist areas got a better hearing from immigrating/migrant workers

*I have been warned not to go to places where kerbstones are red, white and blue. But where I live where they are red, white and blue* – Male A8 national, basic English

*They say Protestants are bad people. But they are all good to me* – Male pre-2004 EU national, fluent in English

None of those participating polish focus groups had experienced problems in Protestant areas expressly denied there were problems for Polish people in Protestant communities. The evidence of reported incidents does not however support this view. There was no evidence that racism is confined to Protestant/Unionist communities. Only 16% of Slovaks live in protestant areas and the
The Slovakian focus group identified a specific majority Catholic area in Dungannon as being the most notorious they knew for racist incidents.

The questionnaire demonstrated that people are located in their community their sense of community safety is somewhat greater in mixed areas, with only 10.5% of those surveyed indicating they were made to feel afraid. The figures for both segregated communities being 6% higher. More positively stated, 85% of the minority ethnic community feel safe in their community of place, despite statistical evidence that a significant percentage of racist attacks occur at or in the immediate vicinity of home.

This research did not explore explanations for the perception of greater racist and xenophobic attitudes in protestant/unionist communities but the reality of the perception was widely evidenced. The impact upon migrant and minority ethnic population is that they are proactively advised not to locate in areas defined as Protestant with an inference of hostility or threat to safety that is not evidenced in practice. This limits their options for housing and places them within the sectarian constructions of community.

*It has been about taking possession of territory, which makes it difficult for the 'other' to come in. There are few neutral areas – even the public spaces have been claimed by one side... There is no mutually agreed space into which they can come* – Police

*Friends had windows smashed in their car. The family had windows smashed and had to move. They were living in an area where everyone was the same and they were different* – Female A8 national, basic English

This does not just affect housing choices, but affects every area that is segregated in terms of the ‘sectarian divide’ in N. Ireland:

*I was told not to send my boys to a ‘Protestant’ school because they are Catholic and ‘don’t send them to a Catholic school because the have English accents’* – English female

Many of those interviewed highlighted issues that have been the subject of previous research and are shared by minority ethnic communities, and minority linguistic communities generally there are also additional barriers to accessing services due to the legacy of the conflict due to the segregated nature of Northern Irish society, and also its shared narrowness and inward looking perspectives. Several key informants suggested that services are in fact more accessible due to the duplication of provision in both traditional communities and an enhanced post-conflict awareness of equality and rights norms from which
minority ethnic and migrant communities should benefit. This was not borne out by the experience of service users.

Some of the issues centre on ignorance and hostility towards use of other languages; a lack of understanding that others also have history, culture, identity, values and aspirations that do not centre on the N. Ireland experience.

**Xenophobia**

Xenophobia is simplistically a fear of strangers, more specifically a fear of ‘foreigners.’ Almost one in three respondents had been subjected to verbal abuse or insult because they were not from N. Ireland. But of whom are the xenophobic abusers most afraid? Although Polish and Slovakian citizens are had to differentiate visually (much like Nationalists and Unionists in N. Ireland) only 13% of Slovaksians surveyed reported insult / abuse on the basis of not being from here, whereas Polish respondents reflected the overall average. While no explanation can be derived from the survey, the discerning capacity of the xenophobic is interesting in the context of socially constructing the Polish population. Portuguese nationals fell below the average (20) but East Timorean (regardless of language spoken) reported twice the survey average (64%) of xenophobic abuse. This community was also singled out for damage to property (32%) twice the average of all respondents with Polish and Slovaksians registering 12-14%. The correlation of skin colour with frequency of abuse is clearly evident, extending the experience of xenophobia more acutely to racism where people are identified as visibly different

*I was called names in school: nigger, black bitch* – Female English visible minority

*Shops and other places are good on the phone, but when they see my face, the colour of my skin, they react differently* – Female visible minority, UK citizen, fluent in English

*My son was told by children at school that they wouldn’t play with Chinese* – Female visible minority, UK citizen, fluent in English

While xenophobia occurs elsewhere, key informants in the research identify a direct link with the conflict in N. Ireland. The experience of being in violent contention with another identity leads to a concentration of one’s own sense of identity to the exclusion of others and an acceptance of threat and violence to keep the ‘other’ out. An introspective focus on surroundings and relationships that are ‘safe’, identified by specific communal markers, makes any other identity a potential threat and therefore at best to be treated with suspicion and at worst,
attacked and expelled. In this sense, there is a direct link between sectarian behaviour and xenophobic behaviour:

If the structures are in place, the move is easy from sectarianism to racism. 30 years of structures have become ingrained - Statutory service provider

A lot of racial attacks are not being reported, so the extent is not known - Business sector

Not everyone was in agreement, suggesting N. Ireland is not as racist as other places. The shared identification and defence of ‘our own’ is echoed:

They are more racist in Birmingham than in Maghera. We don’t really hear of racist attacks in our area - Political representative

It is mainly ‘mindless’ actions of a few who do not understand the significance of what they do:

Many young people carry out acts of racism and don’t know what they do. They don’t understand the connotation. The media sensationalises incidents as ‘racist incidents’ - Community relations sector

The extent is exaggerated:

Some community groups play the racism card to draw down funding. That creates community tension - Community relations sector.

Most interviewees did however indicate a link between the conflict and animosity against other identities, as well as under-reporting of incidents of xenophobic and racist attacks

The prioritisation of historic conflict-related issues perceived as being only relevant to people who were here at the time, without reference to immediate and current issues affecting the existing and more diverse population is itself a myopic legacy of the conflict which leaves other identities particularly minority ethnic and migrant populations more vulnerable as the shared ‘aggressor/enemy/interloper’

The impact of this is demonstrated by 44.1% of the survey respondents agreeing with the statement - People in N. Ireland are very welcoming, but ‘they don’t like foreigners’.
Violence

When xenophobia is linked directly with violence, there is a more tangible link with the conflict. 16.6% of the sample had been threatened with violence, 17.3% had their property damaged, and 13.4% had their home damaged and 5% have been physically attacked.

The reality or threat of physical attack contributes to a sense of fear and difficulty in integrating with other communities and 23.1% felt that N. Ireland was a more violent place than other places they had been however the banality of the culture of violence in N. Ireland is illustrated by 34.3% of respondents feeling that people in N. Ireland use violent language.

The majority of those surveyed did not find N. Ireland more violent than other places – indeed some came from places that had experienced a higher intensity of armed conflict than N. Ireland, such as East Timor, Angola or Guinea-Bissau – when specific incidents of xenophobic activity were related, there were direct parallels with sectarian behaviour during the conflict:

*The landlord got a letter saying we must leave. We ignored it. Then the window was smashed. The landlord got a second letter. We had not much money. The window was smashed again. The police have the first letter - I don't know what it says. We read the second letter - it said 'last warning'. That meant we had to leave* - Female A8 national, no English

*My sister had to move. Someone fired a pellet gun at the window. The neighbours were not friendly - eggs were thrown at the windows* - Female visible minority, UK citizen, fluent in English

These attacks are not the product of a violent society, as interviewees were specific in indicating that other societies were more violent generally, but that these incidents are selective and targeted, as were sectarian incidents during the conflict. The attacks are taking place because of who the victims are, not as a by-product of a violent society where such attacks take place anyway.

However, there are dimensions that were recurrent themes in the research which help to illustrate the use of violence, whether physical or psychological, through direct or verbal abuse. Several interviewees noted a higher rate of alcohol abuse in N. Ireland, conclusions drawn in one focus group suggesting that there was too much money around for people to spend on it reflects that prejudiced assumptions are universal. More particular was the association of alcohol with violence in N. Ireland, and a belief that people from other places are able to drink without becoming aggressive. Once social inhibitions or constraints are
removed by intoxication, latent animosities and a resort to violent methods become manifest.

Another theme of the research was the role of young people, as this group were specifically identified in interviews as the main perpetrators of racist and xenophobic behaviour:

> In the previous place there were groups of young people who were intimidating. They made remarks about Poland and were disruptive generally. There were kids on the pavement drunk, jumping in the road in front of cars. They were disruptive to the whole estate. All the time it’s directed at foreigners – Male A8 national, basic English

This was acknowledged by key informants as a general problem, not one confined solely to the abuse of minority ethnic or migrants groups:

> There is a younger grouping which looks back on the troubles with a sense of glamour – Statutory service provider

The presence of groups of young people creating difficulties in communities is clearly linked to the legacy of the conflict here, suggesting that violent behaviour as a mechanism for political purposes in former times is looked upon with some envy by the younger generation. While it is stressed that minority ethnic groups are not specific targets, they would remain more vulnerable than others in society and the evidence from the research demonstrates that, intended victims or not, other identities suffer the impact of the disturbance disproportionately. However, migrant and minority ethnic interviewees do not identify groups of young people with an innate xenophobic tendency, but that their activities are merely a manifest reflection of what adults express, but do not carry out themselves, for example:

> Kids do whatever is said in the family. I don’t blame the kids – Female A2 national, fluent in English

Young people hear racist and anti-immigrant intolerance in the home and in the community and assume that their actions are condoned or at least that they will not face serious challenge from their own community. Whether a product of a violent tradition or trans-generational bigotry, xenophobic actions by young people appear as a legacy of the conflict.

There is also a location identified with xenophobic behaviour, defined by interviewees in terms of class:
It happens more in working class areas - Female second generation visible minority

Middle class areas have a veneer of acceptance, but it is only wafer thin - Education sector

rather it just appears more manifest there, as smaller numbers of professional immigrants do not appear to be regarded with the same animosity. Yet this is again a pattern from the conflict. While the conflict was typically fought out in areas with more deprived socio-economic profiles, the actions of those at the more manifest end were supported by layers of sectarian acceptance, rhetoric and connivance in more respectable social and economic circles, as appears to be the case with xenophobia in post-conflict N. Ireland.

Safety and Policing

Regardless of where or by whom minority ethnic groups are made to feel unwelcome, people from any background need to feel safe in order for intercultural integration to be successful. The experience of safety was measured in the research, 71.5% of questionnaire respondents indicating feeling safe as a choice for an area in which to live, however, 11.9% had been made to feel afraid in their neighbourhood and 13.7% had changed their accommodation because they felt unsafe. While many interviewees viewed N. Ireland as being a safer society to live in than others they had experienced, there was a significant sense of menace for some:

I don’t think everyone is bad. There are good and bad people in every country. But I don’t feel safe here - Female A8 national, basic English

While a lack of safety cannot be directly attributed to the conflict, people who feel afraid in society should be able to turn to an effective police service for help. However, another legacy of the conflict is that the Police Service for N. Ireland is not universally viewed as impartial or effective:

We requested a police presence, but they were reluctant to come in to the area, as their presence would have caused more trouble - Female A8 national, fluent in English

Key informants have made reference to this:

There were ‘no-go’ areas where they would not come out to an incident - Community sector

However, the police interviewee denied this, stressing that:
there are no areas the police do not go, but adding that they [minority ethnic groups] don't know how to access the police discreetly.

Some interviewees went further in feeling singled out by police, although only 7.2% of questionnaire respondents thought they were stopped by police more often than local people. Some felt they were picked on by the police and the experience of one participant in a focus group; this was attributed to a racist motive:

If they see you they will stop you. If they see you are an immigrant and not white, they will stop you. Once I was stopped twice in one day. Police watched me get into my car and drive away, then they waited to stop me. I was then stopped later [by different police officers] and they asked me if I had been drinking - Male black minority, pre-2004 EU national, competent in English

Beyond the capacity of the police to deal with racism in the community, which may be attributed to the transition from conflict to 'normal policing’, the militarised nature of the police was noted by research participants. 30% of questionnaire respondents felt nervous of police with guns and interviewees related seeing police officers with weapons as a disturbing experience:

It is not like in Slovakia – having machine guns around is like Iraq, rather than N. Ireland – Male minority A8 national, no English

Nonetheless, the majority questionnaire respondents (86.4%) s, would report a crime if they ere the a victim, fewer if a crime were witnessed (61.7%), but only 5.4% would decide not to report a crime they had witnessed simply because the police were not liked in the area. Here again the local prejudices of both police and population are transferred by extended perception to a different population who share neither their experience nor resulting attitude.

There is clear evidence that not only does the acceptability of a police presence in an area affect the safety of migrant and minority ethnic populations, but that this only become apparent to them when the need is greatest.

I didn’t know calling the police was not popular in the area – Female A2 national, fluent in English

A police service in the transition from conflict has to make considerable adjustment in order to be effective for the whole community. However, of the eight interviewees who related specific incidents where they had a need to call the police, two did not call because they felt there were no point; one called but
the police did not come. On four occasions where the police arrived, interviewees found them ineffective. There was one example of a successful intervention. On the whole, participants in the research found the police polite and friendly and they compared well with police forces in other countries, but in focus group discussion it was felt there was little the police could do in the event of an incident. In particular, the lack of interpreter provision was considered a bar to reporting even serious crimes, this point was emphasised by a participant from the Chinese community, a community whose presence and experience in N. Ireland is not post-conflict.

While many in N. Ireland have become accustomed to seeing weapons on the streets in the hands of police officers, this a new experience for many new communities and presents an additional source of unease that is a direct consequence of the conflict. As for the presence of other weapons, while some had heard that there were weapons in the community, they had not been seen and most research participants were unaware of any weapons outside of police hands or the significance or even existence of paramilitary organisations. On the contrary, key informants who were native Northern Irish referred to paramilitary organisations in certain estates as a threat to new populations, suggesting a gulf between what was assumed about paramilitary activity and what was actually experienced by minority ethnic and migrant groups. That is not to say that paramilitary groups were not involved in making other identities unwelcome, rather that those suffering xenophobic actions were generally unaware of them.

**Prejudice in the workplace**

Most research participants experienced prejudice and/or discrimination at work. Less than one in eight questionnaire respondents felt that Northern Irish people would be happy to have them as managers. Employers fared little better with only one in seven respondents believing employers would be happy to have them as managers in their organisation. While these are perceptions, they are important indicators of how minority ethnic individuals construct majority attitudes that affect their opportunities and integration.

Interviewee comments clearly indicated that they felt treated as an underclass in the workforce:

> We work very hard and the Irish are laughing at us that we are ‘slaves’. We are working harder and faster than local people – 100% more than locals – Male A8 national, no English

An interesting result was that while xenophobia was experienced most acutely by those research participants of different skin colour; discrimination at work was
almost exclusively reported by participants of Eastern European origin. His may reflect higher expectations of equal treatment.

There were also some mediating comments, as discussions in one focus group of A8 nationals acknowledged that similar discrimination occurs for migrants from Ukraine and Belarus in their country and participants in another focus group had positive comments about their employer, who they felt was more appreciative of their work than employers would be in their country.

While it cannot ultimately be concluded that discrimination in employment is worse in N. Ireland than other parts of the UK or arises from the conflict, the breaching of employment rights, inequalities at work and opportunities to work were a significant contribution to the conflict. If the subordination of one group by another in the formation of a sub-class in society is again taking place, there is a tangible and obvious, link with the legacy of the conflict, and an imperative not to repeat errors of the past.

Integration

Integration cannot occur without individuals having the right and the opportunity to live their daily lives, accessing what they need on an equal basis to others in the community, regardless of identity, opinion, gender, and race. The research measured a range of indicators to ascertain the extent of integration of respondents. 54.5% of questionnaire returns indicated that a consideration in the choice of accommodation was the presence of others from the same country of origin, suggesting settlement patterns where new communities collect in particular areas. 44.8% felt they could rely on Northern Irish neighbours for help, indicating a degree of isolation from the native population. 57.8% stated they had close friends from N. Ireland and 13.7% had a spouse or partner from N. Ireland (only 18.7% felt that local people would be happy for them to marry or have a relationship with a close family relative), indeed, 68.9% stated that most people they know here are from home. This is not due to a lack of wanting to integrate into the community, as only 10.9% did not want to mix with local people, i.e. those who have simply come to work, earn money and return home or move on.

The research identified those spaces where integration is facilitated, i.e. where people from migrant and minority ethnic backgrounds mix with local people, as primarily the workplace (59.2%), through participation in sport locally (24.6%) and to a lesser extent through participation in church activities (17.7%). 21.7% of respondents had actively been invited to join a local group of some kind, although usage of local community venues was low.
Integration is a two-way process which requires equality of access to basic services as a starting point but needs to move beyond enforcement of entitlement to valued inclusion. Some concern must therefore be expressed at responses which indicated that while the majority (88.1%) of respondents were registered with a doctor, almost 15% of those felt less welcome than a local person in their doctor’s surgery. Significantly fewer (50.5%) were registered with a dentist. Almost a quarter of those surveyed, almost 10 years into the experience of inward migration, still have difficulty in opening accounts with local banks. Despite the key factor in the increase in minority ethnic diversity being the demand for labour, less than 20% of respondents were able to access childcare.

In respect of their children, 13% of respondents stated that their children had difficulties at school because of language and 7.6% because of prejudice. While direct comparisons are problematic, the research undertaken with children by Queen’s University might indicate an underreporting by adults of racial bullying of their children.

The stories behind the figures showed that most people found services in N. Ireland good, but for those with limited English, the language barrier remains main problem. However, there were also bad experiences, such as insufficient explanation for delays in the provision of health care, isolation due to a lack of rural transport and a lack of interpreters, particularly health care, police and Jobs and Benefits.

When interviewees were asked how they felt they were integrating into society in N. Ireland, many related positive experiences, again mostly indicating language as the main barrier, but there were also significant tensions with people from their own community if individuals were seen to be integrating more readily, such as animosity towards children in school from other children of their nationality or workers in conflict with other people from their country in the workplace. Indeed, some interviewees felt that it was too easy for their nationals not to I interact with other national identities including the majority communities, as they had a large community, and there was so much access to their own language television, shops, culture and opportunity for intra-cultural interaction.

Opinions expressed by key informants interviews show how the behaviour of migrant and minority ethnic communities is interpreted locally, for example:

> In our area the ethnic population keep to themselves. They seem to live below the radar. They don’t mix socially. It is difficult to say whether this is a legacy of the conflict or not. One thing for sure is that those who are here for the long haul are not really integrated at any level – Political representative
This presents a view of a section of society that keeps to itself, that will in any case have difficulty integrating where there is difference and that there is a fear factor that keeps people from engaging outside their own kind. This clearly indicates a legacy of the conflict, as there is an assumption that different identities will have difficulty mixing in N. Ireland (whereas they can and do in other societies) and that one factor keeping people of like identity in a self-contained group is the safety issue. Furthermore, while a degree of self-containment could be attributed to larger groups, such as those from Poland, the views expressed above do not reflect the complexity and variety of migrant and minority ethnic communities in N. Ireland, the act of simply grouping them as ‘other’ being another consequence of the conflict.

**Politics and the Continuing Conflict**

Prior to 2001 issues affecting the minority ethnic population including Irish Travellers did not feature within mainstream political activity and the public sphere. The concentration of the political divide on national identity (solely of the two largest groups) excluded other identities, and the absence of political organisation on the basis of class or ideology means there is little or no public process of political expression for those within N. Ireland who do not self-identify in one or other of the power groups of politics (Unionist/Nationalist). The N. Ireland Assembly operates by representatives declaring themselves as ‘nationalist’, ‘unionist’ or ‘other’, but key decisions have to have a balance of ‘nationalist’ and ‘unionist’ votes, i.e. ‘other’ identities having a subordinate level of significance or power.

Key informants had much to say on the impact of this on minority ethnic and migrant populations:

*Politics is a sectarian headcount. There is no effective opposition – it works by consensus. How involved are migrants? – Statutory service provider*

*How many non-indigenous people are there in the Assembly or the 26 councils? There is no sense politically of welcoming others...Politics is segregated and that is a legacy of the conflict – Police*

As well as the exclusive system itself, conflict-related disputes continue among politicians, impeding the progress of meaningful policy development:

*There is a political impasse – there is no political leadership. There has been no implementation of A Shared Future, the Programme for*
Government or the Racial Equality Strategy. The ‘separate but equal’ approach is being pursued - Community relations sector

The political system and the political environment are both direct products of the conflict, and not only exclude other identities but create a context where measures to include or address barriers are more difficult to establish.

Finally, there is the question of to what degree N. Ireland is viewed as being post-conflict. 61% of questionnaire respondents consider that on arrival here they found ‘the conflict in N. Ireland still going on’. Most, particularly those who have come from areas of conflict where there are more defined differences are bemused that there should be a conflict between ‘Protestants and Catholics’ who are the same people - white Christians - to the outside observer. Constructing the conflict around National identity and ethnicity is common for those expressing any interest. While there is some concern that the conflict continues at a low level, most feel sufficiently removed from it not to feel in danger from the conflict itself. However, they retain a sense of unease about N. Ireland, and maintain a degree of separation from involvement in the mainstream public sphere to avoid being drawn into the conflict.

Conclusions

Migrant workers and minority ethnic communities in most, if not every society, face certain barriers, forms of exclusion and vulnerabilities. These stem from fundamental barriers to communication, such as language and cultural difference, xenophobia, where what is different is excluded or seen as not belonging, augmented to racism where the difference is visible, real or perceived eligibility, such as where citizens of certain countries are entitled to certain collective resources of the state, but others are excluded due to legislation or assumptions of non-entitlement, and resource competition, where there is an assumption that the ethnic majority (or in N. Ireland the two ethnic majorities) have a prior claim to better pay, jobs, working conditions, services and accommodation than people from elsewhere, exacerbated during times of scarcity, such as recession.

This research acknowledges these many barriers for people from minority ethnic or migrant backgrounds, but investigates a step further in the case of N. Ireland: that there are certain additional barriers experienced by virtue of there having been a conflict in that jurisdiction. In this case, the legacy of conflict has to be examined and analysed in the context of other identities present in the post-conflict domain to ascertain whether there is additional need to support people as an impact of the conflict.

The conflict has had structural consequences. A significant proportion of society in N. Ireland is segregated along conflict lines, where people are housed, go to
school, go to church, and perhaps, to a lesser extent, socialise and go to work with others who are of the same conflict-defined identity. Other identities either have to fit into one of the two different, opposite and often opposing identities, thereby potentially limiting access to the other identity, or alternatively form other separate groupings that may face at least partial rejection by both communities. Moreover, while relatively large minority communities can be partially self-sufficient, running the risk of forming yet another introspective bloc in society, the process institutionalises social organisation on the basis of national identity, and a hierarchy of ‘otherness’ power and exclusion to the detriment of inter-cultural integration, based on equality of access and opportunity.

Post-conflict structures have also been based on carefully balancing the distribution of power on the basis of the two main national identities (British and Irish). Consequently, the nature and structure of politics in N. Ireland is geared towards political expression on this basis to the disadvantage and exclusion of virtually all ‘others. This limits participation and representation, and ultimately leads to political exclusion.

The conflict has social consequences which feed into xenophobia. There are certain learned behaviours prevalent in society in N. Ireland that have been formed from the experience of conflict and are manifested in inter-personal communication, which is imbued with protection mechanisms to identify friend or foe; contribute to fear and exclusion of any identity which cannot be adequately identified as ‘safe for me/us.” There remains a tacit acceptance or tolerance of certain phenomenon as ‘normal’ such as a militarised police force, organised military and secret groupings in society; the routine use of aggressive vocabulary and acceptance of a level of formalised or physical violence. These dimensions of social consequences have a range of impacts on the integration of other identities: The guarded behaviour and internalised sectarian codes for identifying and codifying others, together with an inflated sense of international importance of the local conflict makes connecting hard work for little reward. Systems of exclusion, such as sectarianism, and a fear of the sectarian ‘other’ feeds wider xenophobia, leading to social exclusion, results in actual physical rejection, such as being forcibly expelled from accommodation.

These dimensions of exclusion as a direct result of the conflict in N. Ireland present a significant barrier to integration of minority ethnic and migrant populations in the jurisdiction, which sets measures to promote inclusion and integration apart from other parts of the United Kingdom or island of Ireland. The conflict-related impacts on integration are masked by their manifestation in enhanced levels of the barriers recognisable anywhere where minority ethnic or migrant populations settle, however, the evidence presented through this research gives a clear indication of role of the mechanisms of the legacy of the
conflict in exacerbating the difficulties faced by different identities in an area emerging from conflict.
4.5 Recommendations

The S.W. Cluster specifically requested that the report should include recommendations arising from the outcomes of the research which support activities and projects that address the needs of ethnic minorities in the context of the legacy of the conflict.

Projects and activities must sit within an overall strategy for equitable inclusion and with the overall strategy for peace-building and conflict resolution.

The minority ethnic and migrant populations have been directly and indirectly affected by the legacy of the conflict in Northern Ireland and the cohesion and stability of the post-conflict context needs to take into account the need to integrate other identities:

In this context, it is a matter of continuing urgency that a comprehensive cohesion and integration strategy should be in place which addresses continued segregation, sectarianism and racism in N. Ireland.

Recommendations at regional level

1. We would urgently recommend that the Political Executive move forward without further delay to agree the Cohesion, Sharing, and Integration Strategy for public consultation and implementation.

This will enable strategic action plans peace plans; community service plans; education plans to incorporate wider consideration of inclusion and conflict resolution and equity, tackling all forms prejudice and discrimination, including sectarianism and racism.

2. We recommend that the impact of the Post-Conflict structure of executive and political representation be reviewed in the context of its impact on inter-ethnic / inter-cultural integration.

The post-conflict political system is designed to share power between the two main identities. It structurally minimises the equitable inclusion of other political identities of interest, class, and subordinates other ethnicities/ national identities to the main narrative of the power blocks sharing power. It cannot adequately provide equal opportunity for minority ethnic representation in the political arena.

3. Actions and resources aimed at addressing the legacy of the conflict in Northern Ireland and measures aimed at peace building need to include support and provision for minority ethnic and migrant populations and to foster integration and community cohesion.
Failure to integrate the approach to integration is duplication of process; poor value for money and minimises transference of learning and good practice.

We acknowledge that with the exception of No. 3 these recommendations are beyond of the remit of the S. W. Cluster to implement but they are none the less key underpinning requirements for the implementation of sustainable actions and outcomes at sub-regional level. The Cluster partnership should give serious consideration to how it can best advocate the implementation of the recommendations at regional level to enable them to do their own work more effectively.

Within the geographical area of the study, the report acknowledges that strategic plans are in place in respect of some of the matters addressed within the research, but often provision for addressing integration is confined to tackling racism and inclusion of minority ethnic communities, as if the wider society was not deeply segregated and still contested in many aspects. Peace-building, conflict resolution and reconciliation strategies deny this illusion, but fail to integrate into their plans any recognition that the conflict impacts on minority ethnic communities, new immigrants or people residing and working here, however temporarily other than in some secondary and minimal way.

**Sub regional- recommendations**

1. Local neighbourhoods are key interface areas, where direct intervention and support for building relationships and solidarity can have enduring capacity to tackle racism and sectarianism and create shared and sustainable communities.

   Activities should be resourced at this level, minimising financial bureaucracy, which enable neighbourhood groups, integration champions, and emerging communities to address difficulties develop shared interests and find shared solutions. This should include language support where appropriate.

2. The approach adopted by STEP in Dungannon clearly demonstrates that supporting access to basic entitlements is the first key step to building the trust and solidarity required to address difficult issues of prejudice, discrimination and victimisation on the basis of sectarianism or racism. If local centres of support are themselves to be accessible then they need to be adequately resourced to meet disability access needs; language access needs; and to be facilitated in providing appropriate and quality services in safe, supportive and welcoming environments. Providers of universal services need to be held to account in relation to equal access and opportunity to such provision.
3. Schools, segregated in mainstream provision have also been identified as key interface areas and key areas of racism and racial bullying. There are key regional and sub-regional strategies and actions in place or envisaged through the relevant Educational bodies. Linkage with these programmes to provide effective actions to tackle sectarianism, xenophobia and racism in children should be supported and resourced to address the trans-generational nature of the legacy of the conflict.

4. The interface between societies in transition from internal conflict; sectarianism; racism and xenophobia appears to have been under-researched internationally. Comparative research should be undertaken to look more closely at the impacts of identity-based conflict on the acceptance and integration of other identities in other contexts. The Peace 111 programme offers an opportunity for piloting evaluating different and assessing the strengths local models, linking local activities effectively into sub regional plans and regional strategies to inform such research.
APPENDIX 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The hypothesis of this research is that the legacy of conflict has a negative impact on the experiences of people with identities other than those associated with the conflict, particularly minority ethnic populations within N. Ireland and new immigrants/migrant workers entering the contested space, with resulting integration and cohesion issues. In particular, the research examines the experience of minority ethnic and migrant populations residing in the district council areas of Dungannon and South Tyrone, Cookstown, Magherafelt and Fermanagh with the context of post-conflict N. Ireland.

The questions raised span a range of social perspectives including ethnicity and racism; religion and sectarianism; conflict and the transition from conflict; identity; power; class; integration; community cohesion as well as specific studies of N. Ireland which addresses combinations of these. The literature on the conflict itself and more recent research interest in immigration, racism and integration in the region is extensive and still growing. Salient points and key texts have therefore been selected with specific attention paid to evidence from the geographic area of this research study.

The impact of the conflict on the four council districts was significant. When deaths are considered relative to the population, Dungannon is the third most affected council area in N. Ireland with Cookstown, Fermanagh and Magherafelt all falling within the ten most affected areas.82

Beyond figures of those killed, injured, displaced and imprisoned, the true impact of the conflict on a community is difficult to assess83. This research is concerned with the patterns, structures, behaviours, attitudes and relationships that have developed during and as a result of the conflict and its impact on those coming from elsewhere into that context. That the areas of study themselves have been more acutely affected in material terms than others means that the corresponding transference of the identifiers of conflict legacy will be all the more in evidence.

83 The literature of victims and the conflict is generally united on this point, for example, see Bloomfield, K (1998), We Will Remember Them, Bloomfield Commission on victims of the conflict.
**Attitudes towards 'others'**

Existing attitudinal surveys provide a picture of how minority ethnic groups are viewed by the population in N. Ireland. A review of surveys has found that attitudes regarding traditional inter-communal relations have softened over the past twenty years, with more people willing to live in a mixed neighbourhood, work in a mixed religion environment, send children to mixed schools and more tolerant of working for a boss of the 'other’ community. A key exception in the trend is acceptance of a 'mixed' marriage in the family. This indicates that interaction of Protestant and Catholic is becoming more acceptable to a point, but the principle does not apply when the practice becomes too personal. However, while there is more tolerance of the 'other’ community in sectarian terms, there has been an ambiguous indication of intolerance towards minority ethnic communities, both in perception and attitude. Self-assessed prejudice, lack of comfort of Eastern Europeans as neighbours and negative attitudes of the motives of migrant workers have all increased, even if the notion of acceptance is more prevalent in abstract terms. 

There is some criticism of the ambivalence of the evidence, noting that people consider migration to be a good thing, but have concerns about the impact, and that it is too simplistic to assume that N. Ireland has become more racist as the reality is more complex. The reality of experience people from a minority ethnic background, however, is that 44% have received verbal abuse and 29% endured criminal damage. The public perception is that race and ethnicity are the most prevalent grounds for discrimination in N. Ireland (54% compared with 21% religion; 24% sexual orientation, 21% age, 17% gender and 14% disability). Indeed, a fifth of those surveyed felt negatively towards Eastern European migrants, did not want a ‘migrant worker’ as an in-law, did not want one as a neighbour or as a work colleague.

Such findings demonstrate that prejudice against minority ethnic and migrant communities is prevalent and appears to be on the increase, while sectarianism - at least in its overt form - is considered to be on the decrease. It cannot be concluded from the observation that one is the result of the other. The European Social Survey data of 2006 also demonstrates a degree of ambiguity. Respondents in N. Ireland were slightly less likely on average across

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84 From Surveys Online: [www.ark.ac.uk/sol](http://www.ark.ac.uk/sol).
the regions of the UK consider that immigrants make the country a worse place to live, or undermine cultural life or consider immigration is bad for the economy. However they were the most likely to be non-committal on these questions than any of the other regions of the UK. This might indicate acquired conflict and post-conflict related wisdom of saying nothing to incriminate oneself.

Borooah and Mangan devised a ‘bigotry index’ using international comparisons of data from the Human Beliefs and Values Survey 1999-2002, which measures groups considered ‘undesirable’ from the perspective of the ‘native’ population. Of the 22 western countries surveyed, in which N. Ireland was treated as a separate entity, it emerged as second only to Greece, across the spectrum of bigotry, scoring higher than average for bigotry in terms of race, with the data suggesting increasing racism in N. Ireland following the conflict. This may due to increased reporting following legislation racial discrimination or to actual increase, but no causal inference can be drawn from the data.

An inquiry by the N. Ireland Affairs Committee reported that:

While the more extreme manifestations of sectarian hate crime have subsided since the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement of 10 April 1998, the rate of racist and homophobic hate crime appears to be rising, and this is reflected in its growing media profile.

Current crime statistics show that in the year 2008/09, there were 990 race hate incidents reported in N. Ireland and 976 in the previous year. This compared with 1595 reported sectarian incidents over the same period. The relative numbers of population indicate the significantly greater impact of such incidents on the minority ethnic population. Of the race hate incidents, 771 were recorded as crimes - criminal damage (440); assault (224); intimidation or harassment (44); threat or conspiracy to murder (17); robbery (12), burglary (10); theft (10); attempted murder (2); other violent crime (3), and other offences (9). The two incidences of attempted murder in 2008/09 occurred in the area of study, in Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council area.

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89 Figures taken from the European Social Survey (www.europeansocialsurvey.org) 2006 dataset (Ess-3-2006, ed.3.2) using the variables ‘immigrants make the country a worse place to live’, ‘country’s cultural life is undermined or enriched by immigrants’ and ‘immigration bad or good for the country’s economy’, cross-tabulated with the 12 UK regions, with Design Weight and Population Weight.
93 Ibid., p.7.
Survey data – particularly comparisons of different survey processes – are not causal evidence, but they are indicators of social phenomena. In this case, indicators that a significant proportion of people in N. Ireland hold prejudices against members of minority ethnic and migrant communities, over the same time frame that long standing sectarian prejudices are decreasing; that people in N. Ireland are generally more bigoted than in most other western countries, particularly where immigration is concerned; that there is an, is a certain ambivalence of attitude. Northern Irish people express less opposition to the general inclusion of minority ethnic groups, but not altogether welcoming either.

The Experience of Minority Ethnic Communities in N. Ireland

The experience of prejudice by immigrant and migrant worker communities has been well documented in recent literature in the UK and elsewhere in Europe generally reflects the documented experience of migrants and minority ethnic communities in N. Ireland. In particular, there is considerable documentary evidence of social and economic disadvantage on the part of minority ethnic and migrant worker communities.

Direct or indirect discrimination is an outcome of prejudice resulting in minority ethnic and migrant communities are treated differently and less well than the members of the majority populations. Groups that are different and considered a threat, particularly by those who may consider themselves in competition, such as in areas of employment, receive differential treatment, latent hostility, verbal abuse, damage to property or direct physical abuse94. Discrimination also spans a range of contexts, from social interaction to access to services. These are discussed below.

Exploitation in employment is a major area where people considered as ‘outsiders’ are treated differently. In particular, migrant workers have filled the

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labour market gap where accessing local labour has been difficult, due to the nature of the work, limited comparative pay or skills needs. Consequently, migrant workers are often exploited in terms of limiting training or progression opportunities, expectations of longer work hours, poor working conditions, lower pay, withholding documents, lack of employment contracts, poor health and safety provision (for example, where there are language barriers) and a general negation of basic employment rights that are assumed by local employees95. At the more extreme end of labour exploitation are the cases of people without documented status who are retained through a threat of dismissal or deportation and work long hours or below the minimum wage in a state of virtual or actual forced labour, including those trafficked for the purpose96.

Related to employment is the degrading of skills and experiences from other countries. The lack of recognition of qualifications and the assumption of inferiority of non-UK training and work experience has led to migrants and immigrants working well below their skills levels or at levels below those at which individuals were working in their home countries97.

Access to services has major implications for new populations, as those not brought up in the system and people often with minimal or no access to local advice or support have to negotiate the complexities of the administration system in N. Ireland, which may be very different from their home country or other countries in which they have resided98. Often, migrants prefer or are forced to forego services such as health care unless there is an acute need or else, if the capacity exists, access essential services such as doctors and dentists on trips to their country of origin. Particularly problematic is where people are


98 For general access to services, see Holder, 2007, p.49; Bell et al, 2004, p.83; Potter, 2009, p.9; Concordia, 2006, p.1.
deemed ineligible due to immigration or documented status, being excluded from all but emergency acute care.

The lack of easily accessible information inhibits many from accessing services, as there is no single source of information that is generally accessed by a majority of people who travel to N. Ireland to live and/or work. Migrants tend to obtain information through relatives, friends or acquaintances from their own community, or through the employers or agencies through which they work.

Connected with this is the issue of language support provision, without which many cannot effectively access appropriate services regarding tax, benefits, healthcare, etc. While systems are in place for interpreting services, these are often not provided to preserve ‘the public purse,’ are not appropriately provided, or else they are difficult to use, such as telephone interpreting services. In addition, such services often require a standard of English to access them in the first place. In practical terms, lack of language support impacts on access to services, the quality of services where they are accessed, health and safety considerations and general integration opportunities.

The differential treatment particularly of migrant workers and their families reflects a perception of their being a transient and artificial community, which doesn’t belong here which affects minority ethnic communities in general, who are increasingly viewed as ‘not from here.’ This is reflected in housing, which is often of poor quality, sometimes overcrowded and the phenomenon of housing tied to employment makes accommodation insecure. At the extreme end of housing problems is the issue of homelessness, which impacts more severely on undocumented workers or those subject to immigration control without access to public funds, as even many homeless hostels are not permitted to take people in if they are not eligible for housing benefit.

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100 For references to language and communication issues in Northern Ireland, see Concordia, 2006, p.1; Connolly, 2002, p.45; Allen et al, 2008, p.16; Toucas and Martynowicz, p.45; Bell et al, 2004, p.93; Potter, 2009, p.9; Holder, 2007, p.60.


Health is identified as a major area of concern for those from minority ethnic backgrounds, both in the developing literature which demonstrates that immigrants often arrive with better health than the existing averages for the population then decline much more rapidly. This may be partly due the difficulties in accessing appropriate health care. The stresses and strains of migration and immigration, acculturation on arrival and the experience of discrimination can lead to a greater acceleration in psychological and cardiovascular illness. However, compounding this effect are the difficulties in registering for a doctor, language barriers associated with access and to establish an accurate diagnosis, discrimination and cultural assumptions due to a lack of awareness\(^{103}\). However a danger is that the association of ill-health with ethnicity leads to an assumption of ethnicity as a cause of ill-health, rather than ill-health as a result of experience and exclusion\(^{104}\). In addition, attitudes towards those from other countries have tended to be approached from the perspective of the danger to public health, rather than the health of the individuals themselves\(^{105}\). The most acute dangers to health come from the exclusion of those deemed ineligible for routine medical care due to their immigration or undocumented status.

In the field of education, minority ethnic children and children of migrants face isolation, discrimination and abuse in schools, despite the efforts of many schools to assist with the integration process and to address racism. In particular, a lack of language support leads to children being treated as having learning difficulties, areas of the curriculum are more difficult to access and progression due to academic ability is hampered\(^{106}\).

Exclusion for minority ethnic and migrant populations is also gendered and differentiated by age, as women and children are the most vulnerable to discrimination and harassment and are affected most by the lack of access to basic services and housing conditions. There is also a significant lack of culturally or linguistically appropriate affordable childcare or elder care and cultural awareness among statutory service staff leads to challenges for minority ethnic service users, particularly women\(^{107}\).

\(^{103}\) For UK-wide research see, for example, Farah, W (2007), ‘Health Services: A New Immigration Injustice?’ in Flynn, D and Williams, Z (eds), *Towards a Progressive Immigration Policy*, London: Compass. For Northern Ireland, see the following: Holder, 2007, p.49; Martynowicz and Jarman, 2009, p.22.


\(^{105}\) Hamilton, 2006, p.72.


The general literature on N. Ireland demonstrates similarities with that of the UK and often greater similarities with the Republic of Ireland. However, most research has focussed on localised areas of study in N. Ireland often without wider comparative reference.

Research in the southern area has focussed on health and education issues. There is evidence of isolation, lack of information, language and communication difficulties, lack of appropriate childcare, racism, and lack of access to services as significant difficulties. There is a tendency not to register with GPs unless serious illness arises and language and interpretation are key issues for access, although a key aspect of access is also the treatment people receive, due to “racial constructions and racist attitudes that permeate our society and from which service providers are not immune”. One study found that a lack of ethnic monitoring has led to an underestimation of the resident minority ethnic population, which led to significant under-resourcing of both the minority community and wider service provision. Registrations and access to other services correlate closely with the existence of support mechanisms located in and led by the local community sector.

A study of children in education in the southern area looked at integration, belonging and psychological wellbeing of minority ethnic and migrant populations. Travellers fared worst in terms of a sense of belonging and health, but key needs among other groups were physical health concerns and self worth for Asian children and physical health and a sense of exclusion for children of migrants. Generally, the key issues were reported to be language barriers, difficulties in integrating and a sense that the host community was unwelcoming.

A study of racial attitudes among service providers in Dungannon, Cookstown and Craigavon found that:

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108 See, for example, Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2006), Harvesting Justice: Mushroom Workers Call for Change, Dublin: MRCI; Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2007), Life in the Shadows: An Exploration of Irregular Migration in Ireland, Dublin: MRCI; Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2007), Realising Integration: Migrant Workers Undertaking Essential Low-Paid Work in Dublin City, Dublin: MRCI.


110 Ibid., p.47.


113 Animate (2005), Racial Attitudes and Prejudice Towards Migrant Workers: A Survey of Staff in Statutory Agencies in the Cookstown, Dungannon and Craigavon Areas, Dungannon: Animate, p.78.
A significant minority of staff articulated highly prejudiced and racist attitudes towards migrant workers which is a cause for serious concern. A minority also expressed unwillingness to accept migrant workers in specified capacities on the basis of their nationality.

It was also noted that there was a minority of staff with significant anti-racist views, but in the main, there were patterns of prejudice that were not recorded or stated that underlie many of the statutory interactions with the minority ethnic community. This research is significant in identifying the origins of the difficulties in access and sense of disarticulation from the host society that is recorded in the experiences of new populations.

The Dungannon and South Tyrone area has been a focus of attention as the area records the highest concentration of migrant and minority ethnic communities and is also the location of STEP, a local support centre whose community development approach to integration in relation to both post-conflict peace building and immigration draws interest from across the region and beyond. Consequently, much regional research has been centred on Dungannon whether the focus has been on general experiences in N. Ireland in the southern sub-regional area or the immediate locality.

Research examining the demographic and economic aspects of migration to Dungannon and environs found that migrants made a significant contribution to the local economy, had brought about considerable demographic change, but there was also evidence that migrants were being underpaid and were working well below their skills levels. Preliminary findings of research into migration and the housing market in Dungannon (unpublished at the time of writing) found that migrant households tended to comprise significantly more people, a higher proportion would live in houses in multiple occupation, only a third had a tenancy agreement and three quarters a rent book, few claimed benefits and over a quarter had suffered discrimination on the basis of their migrant status.

A UK-wide study with a section focussing on N. Ireland looked at integration issues and community cohesion. Schools were seen to be the main spaces for integration, where children form relationships and parents are drawn into wider relationships, either through being connected with parents of their children’s friends or else connecting with other parents in the school context. Wider

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114 Ibid., p.79.
115 See Animate, 2006; Holder, 2007; Potter, 2009.
118 Research being undertaken by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, ongoing in 2009.
issues from the research around cohesion and the post-conflict context will be examined later.

The village of Aughnacloy in South Tyrone carried out a survey among minority ethnic and migrant residents, which gave an important perspective from a smaller, rural setting at a distance from the main settlement areas. Themes that arose were that migrants were housed in poor accommodation, many without contracts or tenancy agreements. There were trans-national considerations, for example a family resident in the village with children in Poland. Also, there was a lack of information about standard administrative matters, for example how to acquire a driving licence\textsuperscript{120}.

Cookstown district council is the area in the study with the next most visible migrant or minority ethnic population. Research carried out by the Rural Community Network (RCN) located in the town have concentrated on the immediate surroundings, but rural areas have their particular difficulties for new populations\textsuperscript{121}, such as the more dispersed nature of settlement and the largely unexamined area of migrants employed on rural smallholdings\textsuperscript{122}. A wider rural study by RCN and partners highlighted the lack of opportunity for interaction and the language barrier, both of which inhibit integration, further exacerbated by the fact that there is no homogenous migrant community, so one intervention mechanism would not fit all.\textsuperscript{123} A study into health issues for migrant workers in Cookstown identified difficulties such as low awareness of the needs of the migrant population, negative attitudes by health staff, misunderstanding about how the system works and low uptake of services. Mental health issues included stress, anxiety, pressures on community interpreters as the first line in connecting between services and service users, pressures of work, including those associated with exploitation, and worries about housing. Language barriers were problematic because health matters require more advanced knowledge and vocabulary, but profiling by services and differential treatment to the local population constituted racism\textsuperscript{124}.

Fermanagh has seen a number of studies looking at the experiences of the minority ethnic population. Two recent surveys have been largely positive, one noting language and vocational training needs, with 97% of respondents finding

\textsuperscript{121} In the UK context, see for example Citizen’s Advice Bureau (2005), \textit{Supporting Migrant Workers in Rural Areas: A Guide to Citizen’s Advice Bureau Initiatives}, London: Citizen’s Advice, which identified problems accessing the diversity of advice needs in rural areas, the expense of using the language line and the increasing diversity of people in a more dispersed population.
\textsuperscript{122} Rural Community Network (2008), \textit{Sharing over Separation – A Rural Perspective}, Cookstown: Rural Community Network, p.11.
\textsuperscript{123} Allen \textit{et al}., pp.15-16.
Fermanagh friendly and issues elsewhere, such as working below skills levels, being less prevalent. Access to services, a lack of knowledge of the system and difficulty in mixing with the local population were indicated however\textsuperscript{125}. The other survey also noted a lack of information and access to services as issues, but language barriers less so\textsuperscript{126}.

A more qualitative study told a different story, recording verbal abuse, physical attacks, bullying at the workplace and a denial of employment rights. There was also a striking degree to which minority ethnic communities were self-contained and had limited contact or interaction with the majority local community. The author describes the experience of one contributor\textsuperscript{127}:

\begin{quote}
Her experience of racism is not in the overt form of name calling and physical attack, rather it is the subtle form of being made to feel the outsider, of being sided against as a local community closes its ranks, of not being able to make friends and of realising that she cannot benefit equitably from services available here as they are tailored for the majority community and are based on a premise of knowing the system.
\end{quote}

It is this general sense of isolation and disconnection that is intensified by the geographic location of a rural setting that makes integration all the more difficult for those who are not of the majority ethnic or cultural background.

A survey was carried out in Magherafelt in 2007, but the results have not been published as a report. Among the findings are that almost half had a poor or very poor grasp of English; there was low awareness of entitlement to benefits; respondents were in particular need of information on benefits and services and almost half were not aware of their employment rights. Only half used local leisure facilities, but when in need of information, the first port of call would be friends and relatives from their own nationality, then friends or neighbours from N. Ireland, then employers, but guidance from statutory agencies last. Just over half found services and agencies easy to deal with and around two thirds did not know which services and agencies they should contact if they had a problem. There was a significant lack of understanding of the law surrounding driving under the influence of drink or drugs or without a driving licence. A third of respondents had not registered with a doctor and two thirds had not registered

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{125} Breslin, M (2006), ‘Profile of Migrant Workers ‘a First’” in The Fermanagh Herald, 4-12-06, reporting research by Joan Major at the local college. \\
\textsuperscript{126} Fermanagh International Communities Group (2008), Survey: Identifying Level of Service Provision for Migrant Workers in Fermanagh, Enniskillen: Fermanagh District Council, pp.5-6. \\
\textsuperscript{127} Crawley, M (2007), ‘As long as you gel in... ’: Experiences of Ethnic Minority Communities in Fermanagh, Cookstown: Rural Community Network, p.5.
\end{flushright}
with a dentist, a fifth of those who had done so indicating they had difficulty doing so\(^{128}\).

The literature of the experiences of people from minority ethnic or migrant backgrounds living in N. Ireland echoes the themes from the evidence from the rest of the UK and Ireland. The general literature highlights the patterns of exclusion and isolation that new populations encounter, based on a systemic configuration that is designed and run around the needs of the majority native population. This impacts on every aspect of life, including access to services, health provision, education, housing, employment rights, access to leisure facilities, interactions with the local population and the experience of discrimination, exploitation, racism and abuse. While not everyone will encounter all of these aspects of living in N. Ireland, the systemic nature of disadvantage and the apparent ubiquity of common negative themes indicate a society that is not yet coping with or accepting demographic change.

Local studies of the experience of minority ethnic and migrant communities illustrate variations of encounter with the local population and basic administration of life, particularly in respect of the added isolation of rural settings. However, while open hostility is uncommon, there is a sense of more subtle patterns of rejection. Whether these are a consequence of the conflict will explored later, but the prevalence of racism, latent or manifest, needs to be further investigated.

**Racism and Sectarianism in N. Ireland**

The perception of increased racism in N. Ireland and the lived experience of people originating from outside N. Ireland or culturally different from the two main traditions indicate that race is a significant issue to be tackled. In policy terms, UK race equality legislation introduced in the 1960's was not extended to N. Ireland there was a concern\(^{129}\) that it would be used to address discrimination against the Catholic community. The Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order 1997 was only introduced after considerable lobbying by local community groups in N. Ireland\(^{130}\) and criticism of the UK government by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination\(^{131}\). Race was then included in the Belfast

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\(^{128}\) These were the results of a consultation process in Magherafelt carried out in 2007 for the purposes of community planning.


Agreement of 1998 and subsequent legislation\textsuperscript{132} and a Race Equality Strategy was introduced in 2005\textsuperscript{133}.

Language can be problematic and transmit inherent prejudices and connotations that are themselves racially constructed. Definitions therefore need to be carefully examined. The UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice of 1978 states\textsuperscript{134}:

\begin{quote}
All human beings belong to a single species and are descended from a common stock. They are born equal in dignity and rights and all form an integral part of humanity.
\end{quote}

In terms of defining racism\textsuperscript{135}:

\begin{quote}
Racism includes racist ideologies, prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory behaviour, structural arrangements and institutionalized practices resulting in racial inequality as well as the fallacious notion that discriminatory relations between groups are morally and scientifically justifiable; it is reflected in discriminatory provisions in legislation or regulations and discriminatory practices as well as in anti-social beliefs and acts; it hinders the development of its victims, perverts those who practise it, divides nations internally, impedes international cooperation and gives rise to political tensions between peoples; it is contrary to the fundamental principles of international law and, consequently, seriously disturbs international peace and security.
\end{quote}

Racial discrimination is defined in the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination of 1965 as\textsuperscript{136}:

\begin{quote}
any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life
\end{quote}

A further definition of ‘institutional racism’ was developed following the Stephen Lawrence inquiry in the UK in 1999 to be\textsuperscript{137}:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{132} A key piece of equality legislation is Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998, which requires all public bodies to have due regard for nine areas of equality, including ‘race’.
\textsuperscript{133} Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2005), A Racial Equality Strategy for Northern Ireland 2005-2010, Belfast: OFMDFM.
\textsuperscript{134} Article 1.1.
\textsuperscript{135} Article 2.2.
\textsuperscript{136} Article 1.1.
\end{quote}
the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

With these definitions in mind, the literature of the experiences of people from migrant and minority ethnic backgrounds indicates the system of statutory service provision in N. Ireland is institutionally racist to varying degrees.

Prejudice is the “negative attitudes or behaviours towards a person because of his or her membership of a particular group”\textsuperscript{138}. It is not therefore concerned with individual relationships but with group dynamic, directed at individuals on the grounds of group membership\textsuperscript{139}. Guimond extends this analysis to the social function of prejudice designed to justify the superiority of those who are already dominant\textsuperscript{140}. Racial prejudice is therefore ordering society according to those who consider themselves superior and designate others as inferior, using race as a boundary marker\textsuperscript{141}:

\begin{quote}
Race is one way in which the boundary is to be constructed between those who can and those who cannot belong to a particular construction of a collectivity or population.
\end{quote}

Sectarianism serves the same purpose.

Race is a way of configuring the world in hierarchical terms. Lentin describes the contradiction of Irish immigration policy becoming increasingly hostile to immigrants, while campaigning for undocumented Irish citizens to have the right to reside in the USA as ‘biopolitics’\textsuperscript{142}.

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}
Racial prejudice is therefore an ideological ordering of inferior/superior relationships and is a racial construction of the ‘other’. Even the use of the term ‘race’ indicates biological differences that induce social ordering, whereas there is only one human race which encompasses all human beings, the variations relating to ethnicity and culture. As Gerry Finn has indicated:

*It is not human differences and variation, which are undeniable features of the global human population, that pose problems it is the interpretation and assignment of meaning to those variations and differences that can be problematic.*

But it is more than the meanings attached to difference; it is the ideological construction of race as the indicator of hierarchy:

*Racism is that perception, that ideology, that way of thinking that still hangs on to the concept of race and built into it the concept of hierarchy of races, and the concept that the top of the hierarchy is the race to which you belong, predominantly white European English speaking.*

Observers of racism in N. Ireland have noted how relationships have been defined according to immigration status, exacerbated by ‘racist hysteria’ in the media and by politicians. Previously, there had been less ethnic diversity in N. Ireland, leading to an assumption of a lack of racism due to fewer people being available to experience it, but, as Lewis points out, racism is not created by the presence of a racial minority: society is racist, not the racialised minority. McVeigh and Rolston acknowledge that racism had not been visible in N. Ireland until recently, but certain factors had increased the ethnic diversity of N. Ireland and therefore the vulnerability of more people to racism, being the peace process, which has made N. Ireland a more attractive place to live, economic growth as a consequence of peace requiring migrants to fill labour gaps and the cheapest housing stock being in Loyalist areas, Loyalists being considered by the authors to be more racist than other identities in N. Ireland.

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146 From a speech by Bernadette McAliskey in Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council (2008), *Racism: Moving Beyond Denial?* Dungannon: D&STBC, p.16.


Research with political representatives in N. Ireland identified a comparison between racism and sectarianism in N. Ireland, as the former was thought to be replacing the latter, both relating to a fear of the ‘other’ and both seeing difference as a threat\textsuperscript{150}. This requires a closer look at sectarianism, for, while some see religion as the problem in N. Ireland\textsuperscript{151} and others see religion as a proxy for political identification\textsuperscript{152}, there is a view that what we refer to as sectarianism has constantly fuelled the conflict, where religious difference and political difference are closely aligned\textsuperscript{153}.

Liechty and Clegg offer a definition\textsuperscript{154}:

\begin{quote}
Sectarianism is a complex of problems - including dividing, demonising and dominating - which typically arise from malignant intersections of religion and politics and which are characteristics of the kind of religiously-shaped ethno-national conflict experienced in N. Ireland.
\end{quote}

It is clear from the above that sectarianism, the N. Ireland prejudice for which religion is the marker, can be and is defined within group identity, ethnicity, domination and hierarchy. These are the agreed characteristics of racism.

Sectarianism as social phenomenon is not confined to N. Ireland and the wider body of literature on the subject reinforces the systematic nature of sectarianism which institutionalises the prejudice in the same way as racism.

While traditional definitions have closely aligned the term ‘sectarianism’ with divisions within a religion in society\textsuperscript{155} this can also refer to non-religious positions that rely on a unique access to privileged truth and assumption of unique status\textsuperscript{156}, even the term ‘religious’ being deemed a secular term in its use in some contexts\textsuperscript{157}.

\textsuperscript{150} McGarry \textit{et al}, 2008, p.21.
\textsuperscript{152} For example, Morrow, D (2005), ‘The Churches and Peace Building in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties: Learning from Peace II’ in \textit{Beyond Sectarianism? The Churches and 10 Years of the Peace Process}, Belfast: Community Relations Council, p.5.
\textsuperscript{153} Lewis, 2006.
Religious in nature or not, sectarianism is a ‘system’\textsuperscript{158} that is not about an isolated group of bigots taking individual action, but about a societal structure\textsuperscript{159} which is manifested in patterns, embedded in daily routines and normative behaviours not themselves recognised as sectarian behaviour.\textsuperscript{160} If the religious or theological nature of sectarianism seems distant, it is because, as Ford\textsuperscript{161} describes, it is a sociological process which identifies boundaries in social stratification and conflict, combining ideas, individuals and social structures with socio-economic and political elements. The visible product at the end is a complex web that feeds conflict at the point where identities interface, but the threads of sectarianism are weaved through every aspect of society.

This complexity of influence exists on three levels: ideas; actions; and social structures. Higgins and Brewer differentiate sectarianism on the part of the Catholic community in N. Ireland, which encompasses the first two levels, from that perpetrated by the Protestant community, which enjoyed the privileges of a social, economic and political system that discriminated against Catholics\textsuperscript{162}. In this context the new positioning of sections the Catholic Community as power sharers is an interesting juxtaposition to the concept that the analysis leads to a conclusion of greater propensity for racism in the traditionally dominant i.e. Protestant/ Unionist community

Lewis has identified common characteristics in both racism and sectarianism, as follows\textsuperscript{163}:

- Each relies on an asymmetric power relationship, both emanating from a politics of difference
- The process is similar: prejudiced attitudes, acts of prejudice, discrimination and harassment, violence and, in extreme cases, genocide
- They feel alike in terms of the lived experience
- Both can be ‘institutionalised’
- Both can be exploited by politicians, in the sense of eroded entitlement, fear, etc.
- The role of the media is similar in exacerbating animosities

\textsuperscript{158} See Liechty and Clegg, 1999, p.9.
\textsuperscript{159} See Prof Gerry Finn’s Foreword to Educational Institute of Scotland (2006), \textit{Sectarianism: Breaking Down the Barriers}, Edinburgh: EIS.
\textsuperscript{163} Lewis, 2006.
• Both feed off a culture of violence, which has a desensitising effect, violence becoming a mechanism and vehicle of both
• Paramilitary involvement has been a feature of racist crime, as well as sectarianism
• Protestants are assumed to be more racist than Catholics, leading to a notion that race is becoming ‘sectarianised’

The latter characteristics are localised additions to a wider and more persuasive literature, and it can be argued that ‘racism’ as a prejudice is being ‘sectarianised’ each community distancing themselves from it by locating it in the other.

Liechty’s traces sectarianism through the history of Ireland, where he observes that the patterns of modern sectarianism, of bloodshed, imbalance of interests between communities and a negative view of the Irish, pre-date the Reformation, so the roots of sectarianism are not about Protestant-Catholic relations but about identity. The inference is that sectarianism is ethnic in origin. Other authors have been more forthright in this assertion: Sectarianism is a form of racism rooted firmly in the process of British imperialism, particularly in Ireland, a racial/ethnic ideology against the Irish, where the dominant signifier of race/ethnicity is religion, i.e. Irish people being Catholic and colonisers Protestant. The perception of Loyalists as the main perpetrators of racism sits easily with the analysis of N. Ireland as institutionally sectarian - a sectarian state and racialisation the native Irish.

There is little doubt that the weight of the social science literature locates sectarianism and racism in the same circle. Pragmatically, the discourse does not solve the problem. There are dangers in drawing the realities of 21st century racism into the single and dominant narrative of the power and identity relationships between Britain and Ireland. It often ignores other international narratives and influences over time, and more importantly it can lead within the contested historical narrative to reinforcing existing stereotypes with new ones along conflict lines; locates blame for racism among the least powerful in the post-conflict context and ignores the commonality of the majority ethnic community as White Western European in the wider global context of racism, skin colour, and power.

Racism and sectarianism as manifest in N. Ireland are at least agreed as close relatives across the existing literature and have similar structures manifestations

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166 McVeigh and Rolston, 2007, pp.5-6.
167 See, for example, De Paor, L (1973), Divided Ulster, London: Penguin.
and outcomes in terms of identity-based power relations. Both define groups in conflict by a single identifying characteristic and systematise social, economic and political relations according to specific criteria.

A key difference in the context of N. Ireland is that sectarian structures, attitudes and politics have enjoyed overt social acceptance, before and during the most recent period of overt conflict in the rhetoric of relationship between the two sectarian defined communities. Most of the overt rhetoric of relations between ethnic communities, with some notable exceptions, has been positive. This may itself be attributable to new language, vocabulary and ideas arising from the Peace.

Rhetoric is however different from action and experience. The clear statistical evidence points to the existence and prevalence of racist behaviour; racist concepts and racist systems. The question is to what extent the established procedures of the conflict in N. Ireland have configured these differently, to make the daily lives of people who are ethnically, linguistically or nationally different, more difficult to negotiate.

**Conflict, Identity and New Populations in N. Ireland**

There have been conflicting views as to the causes and drivers of conflict in N. Ireland; however, there is some consensus on how the conflict has manifested itself and what kind of legacy it has left. Whyte’s examination of the literature of the conflict found that the most popular position of those who have written on the conflict have constructed the conflict as between two communities. Inter-communal conflict in this context leads to the formation of mono-cultural identities, which emphasise and exaggerate difference along lines of ethnicity as the dividing line between communities in opposition, where, for the purposes of the conflict, there is a construction of hierarchy - inferior/superior backward/advanced - which become part of the rhetoric of conflict.

This divisive structuring of society contributes to a social construction of ‘nation’ - real or inspirational - with systems and practices which lead to ideological and material differentiation, where those considered group members expect to enjoy greater material benefits. In N. Ireland, there is a monolithic ordering of

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168 Comments by the Stormont minister Sammy Wilson that jobs should go to local people before migrants (see ‘Sammy Wilson: Give UK Citizens Jobs Before Migrants’ in The Belfast Telegraph 26-01-09) led to attacks on the homes of migrant workers.


society, economics and politics where identities align according to the conflict paradigm, Catholic = pro-Irish, Protestant = pro-British, but Irving and Stringer point out that, while this is reflected in attitude surveys, more subtle and tolerant opinions can be identified when more sophisticated methods are used to by-pass the traditional constitutional positions.  

The division of Ireland in 1921 created a context where both states constructed a new conjunction of the majority community with political power. The conflict in N. Ireland then developed a number of factors that maintained an adversarial cleavage in society, identified by John Whyte as:

- Segregation along religious lines
- Religion as an important identifier
- Protestant communities more fragmented, leading to insecurity
- Economic differentials between communities
- Contrasting national identities
- Different political aspirations
- Contrasting attitudes to security forces
- Variations in the strength of feeling in both communities, from extreme to moderate
- Strong psychological forces with regard to identity
- A ‘double minority’ model, that is, Catholics a minority in N. Ireland, Protestants a minority on the island of Ireland

Where boundaries are reinforced and difference marked out by division, the feelings of sameness are emphasised within groups enforced by a need to belong, that is, there is a contraction of what it means to be a group member and there is psychological repositioning on the part of individuals to both align with the group identity and identify those who are not part of the group. However, while group identity is relatively easy to identify in urban areas, in rural areas interfaces are less visible and the presentation and checking out of identity is far more nuanced and subtle, which, for the outsider in a rural area, is far more difficult to ascertain.

While some of these features are not universal and some may be in dispute, the ordering of practices, attitudes and identities that develop in a contested environment have an impact on how people coming from outside the context encounter the society they attempt to integrate with. Racism or xenophobia have

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177 Rural Community Network (2008), Sharing over Separation – A Rural Perspective, Cookstown: Rural Community Network, p.21.
been reported in other post-conflict or divided societies\textsuperscript{178}, so a closer analysis of this phenomenon in N. Ireland will shed light on wider policy and practice in other contexts also.

The most overt legacy of conflict is the developed habit of the use of violence as a mechanism, a visible conflict-related phenomenon being non-state armed groups. Paramilitary groups have been noted as being an organised structure by which attacks have been carried out on minority ethnic communities\textsuperscript{179}, people who are deemed not to belong have been forced out of housing estates\textsuperscript{180} and involvement in trafficking\textsuperscript{181}. However, many of the references to paramilitary groups may reflect spurious claims of membership by young men for aggrandisement purposes, but a more identifiable legacy of the conflict is a so-called ‘gang culture’, where groups of mainly young men use or threaten to use violence\textsuperscript{182} and install a sense of fear preventing moderation in the community\textsuperscript{183}, as one observer has explained\textsuperscript{184}:

\textit{The gang culture that has evolved out of the conflict here has created the context where this type of gross exploitation can flourish.}

The normalisation of violence during conflict means that it is viewed differently, from within a community affected by conflict as ‘just the way it is’\textsuperscript{185}, but from the perspective of new populations, Northern Irish people appear to be “aggressive and always looking for a fight”\textsuperscript{186}. But the use of violence as a mechanism of control in conflict, the imposition of power and authority is just as easily transferred to minority ethnic people\textsuperscript{187}:


\textsuperscript{179} Jarman, N (2005), No Longer a Problem? Sectarian Violence in Northern Ireland, Belfast: Institute for Conflict Research, p.56; Harland, K, McCready, S and McKenna, M (2009), Stuck in the Middle: Some Young Men’s Attitudes and Experience of Violence, Conflict and Safety, Coleraine: University of Ulster, p.2.

\textsuperscript{180} Hickman, M, Crowley, H and Mai, N (2008), Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK: The Rhythms and Realities of Everyday Life, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, p103.

\textsuperscript{181} Dudley, R (2006), Crossing Borders: Preliminary Research on Human Trafficking in Northern Ireland, Belfast: Women’s Aid Foundation Northern Ireland, p.43.


\textsuperscript{183} Harland \textit{et al}, 2009, p.2.

\textsuperscript{184} Annie Campbell in the Foreword to Dudley, 2006.


\textsuperscript{186} Jarman, 2005, p.9.
Such acts of violence are used to affirm positions of power and authority, establish control over territory and resources, instil fear, define the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and punish transgressors of communal boundaries.

The communal boundaries post-conflict are just as likely to be ethnic and fear is still the mechanism to safeguard territory and resources from those outside the dominant identity of an area.

Territoriality is a key factor in inter-communal conflict and the marking out of territory by informal control groups has adapted to seeing minority ethnic communities as a threat\textsuperscript{188}, indeed, there are estates in Dungannon, for example, where migrants are reportedly not permitted\textsuperscript{189}. Allied to this legacy is that of communal segregation, which has been assisted by well meaning but counter-productive conflict-related planning to safeguard communities\textsuperscript{190}, but this learned habit of living exclusively with one's own has implications for the integration of new populations\textsuperscript{191}.

Increasingly, small clusters of migrants are being established in previously predominantly Protestant or Catholic areas, and this may have implications for issues of hostility or racism within the wider local community, particularly in areas with no previous experience of engaging with minorities.

These spatial and attitudinal divisions are often met with bafflement by migrants encountering them, leading to impressions of ‘insularity’ and ‘narrow mindedness’, both from the point of view of hearsay ("I hear they have divisions and don’t tolerate each other") or experience, being "surprised how people from one country, living in N. Ireland, can kill each other"\textsuperscript{192}.

Structures and processes are also configured for the conflict context. For example, policing has been undertaken with a view to the circumstances of political violence, rather than for ‘normal’ policing. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was structured to deal with the ‘troubles’, not address racism\textsuperscript{193}, so there will be a period of transition for the Police Service of N. Ireland (PSNI) to learn

\textsuperscript{188} Connolly and Keenan, 2001, p.78.
\textsuperscript{189} Hickman \textit{et al}, 2008, p.103.
\textsuperscript{190} Bradley, C and Murtagh, B (2007), \textit{Good Practice in Local Area Planning in the Context of Promoting Good Relations}, Belfast: Belfast City Council, p.21
\textsuperscript{192} Allen \textit{et al}, 2008, p.25.
new behaviours and priorities. Likewise, policing has been absent in many communities in N. Ireland, as levels of acceptance varied depending on community and political background, so gang cultures have a free reign in some areas and co-operation with the police is minimal or non-existent\textsuperscript{194}. The policing legacy of the conflict is therefore double edged: the police are historically unused to dealing with race issues and have limited access to intervene where intimidation may be most acute, but also reporting to the police by victims may in turn alienate new populations from the communities in which they live.

Likewise, the political system in N. Ireland is structured towards the ‘traditional’ communities: Protestant and Unionist parties in contention with Catholic and Nationalist parties, with non-aligned parties less visible. Research into contact with minority ethnic communities by political representatives found that 56\% of them had little or no contact with minority ethnic people in their constituency surgeries and 78\% had little or no contact at party meetings\textsuperscript{195}. The political domain is therefore significantly disconnected from the minority ethnic population, with little evidence with which to formulate policies or make political decisions for anyone but those aligned according to the conflict. Minority ethnic and migrant communities therefore have difficulty in integrating into the political system.

More difficult is dealing with the more subtle mechanisms developed by individuals and communities to deal with the context of conflict. As Ford writes, sectarianism was always moderated by pragmatism, where peaceful co-existence - even friendliness - masks an underlying hostility\textsuperscript{196}. Even mixed areas exist on a basis of silence and polite interaction\textsuperscript{197}. But this culture of ‘polite avoidance’ leads to a certain ‘anxious politeness’ which easily generates sectarianism and racism\textsuperscript{198}. While this is difficult for outsiders to negotiate, it does not go entirely unnoticed by minority ethnic people\textsuperscript{199}:

The locals are very two-faced.

When I first arrived I thought people were very friendly but when I learned English better I realised it was just a face everyone puts on.

\textsuperscript{195} McGarry, A, Hainsworth, P and Gilligan, C (2008), \textit{Elected Political Representatives/Political Parties and Minority Ethnic Communities in Northern Ireland}, Londonderry: University of Ulster, p.11.
\textsuperscript{197} Eyben \textit{et al}, 2003, p.6.
\textsuperscript{198} Lynagh, N and Potter, Mary (2005), \textit{Joined Up: Developing Good Relations in the School Community}, Belfast: NICIE/Corrymeela, pp.92, 21.
\textsuperscript{199} Allen \textit{et al}, 2008, p.25.
Interpreting behaviour and attitudes in a foreign country can be a daunting experience under normal circumstances, but the learned concealment of intention in the post-conflict population makes gauging acceptance hazardous.

The literature indicates that the conflict in N. Ireland has developed structures and behaviours that configure society according to the needs of the conflict and the evidence points to difficulties experienced by minority ethnic and migrant communities in negotiating around them. Monolithic conflict identities fashioned by years of inter-communal antagonism have created impervious communities which differentiate people by the extent to which they do not belong. Reinforcing this is the formal or informal presence of violence that patrols the boundaries of acceptance and secures territory from outsiders. Physical spaces are segregated and political and social structures are configured according to the conflict paradigm, eschewing cultural or ethnic alternatives in favour of those which have invested time and energy into laying claim over their share of them. More baffling, however, is the encounter with the learned, embedded habits and mores developed to cope with the reality of conflict, through concealment, suspicion and insularity that have been proof to individuals’ safety throughout the years of conflict. Without a cohesive community into which to integrate, a key question for minority ethnic and migrant populations is how to find a place in this political and social landscape.

Community Cohesion and Integration in the Post-Conflict Society

The literature indicates the difficulties which minority ethnic and migrant communities face in encountering the structures and attitudes that have formed in N. Ireland due to the conflict. Whatever the explanation, the experience is often one of racism and discrimination, whether in the form of direct abuse or expulsion from home or indirect, such as barriers to accessing services. The formation of the systems and structures of society are not sufficiently flexible to allow for alternative identities. This has implications for integration of new populations and also for the cohesion of the communities into which they settle.

The literature of community cohesion has included learning from communities in England divided along ethnic and cultural lines. The ‘domains’ of community cohesion are described as follows\(^2\):

- Common values and a civic culture
- Social order and social control
- Social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities
- Social networks and social capital
- Place attachment and identity

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Already, there are indicators of barriers. If minority ethnic communities are excluded from political processes and face barriers to access basic services, they have limited access to civic culture. In many areas, a traditional lack of policing has led to a breakdown in social order and social control is through informal structures. Migrant workers tend to work on a lower economic stratum to the local population, leading to wealth disparities. Social networks are difficult to access for non-locals and, as Steenkamp has observed of South Africa, conflict undermines trust, the keystone of social capital, leading to intolerance of difference. Finally, attachment to a space which is contested and negotiating monolithic identities in opposition to each other makes belonging problematic for the outsider.

Developing from these areas of concern are certain identifiers of community cohesion. These are as follows:

- Common vision and sense of belonging for all communities
- Diversity of people’s backgrounds and circumstances appreciated, respected and valued
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities
- Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods

The lived experience challenges the ideal, particularly for recent migrants to N. Ireland, who are considered temporary residents and therefore are allocated different economic and social categories to the established communities and therefore a sense of belonging and acceptance through relationships is lacking. Again, identifiers of integration developed in Germany suggest that numbers accepting formal citizenship, the rate of mixed marriages, levels of participation in education, economic activity, the level of occupational status and earnings and the degree to which the second generation has accessed these aspects of life in the adopted country signify the degree to which minority ethnic communities have integrated. To measure the position of minority ethnic communities in N. Ireland by these criteria would indicate that there is a relatively low level of integration.

The literature of integration and shared living in N. Ireland has linked the themes of diversity and safety, that is, a signifier that an area is safe and secure is that

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there is ethnic diversity in the area\textsuperscript{204}. A sense of belonging has to encompass a settled belief in personal security and an understanding that diversity is respected and valued. However, the majority of migrants tend to find accommodation in areas where housing prices are lower, where there are higher levels of insecurity, separating the ideal from the reality.

Beyond the difficulties involved in integrating into a society that is not itself cohesive, there are impacts of migration in terms of cohesion for the receiving society. This can involve problems caused by negative reporting leading to discrimination, language barriers, groups of migrants living in isolated areas, the notion that many migrants are short term (community turnover) and competition for resources\textsuperscript{205}. In a ‘normal’ society, community development initiatives have a key role in bridging gaps and promoting cohesion\textsuperscript{206}. in N. Ireland, these community development processes are more pressing, as the disrupters of cohesion are working in both directions.

Community cohesion presents challenges, as both relational and structural issues have to be addressed: both how people relate to each other and how to address inequalities. There also has to be both unity and acceptance of difference\textsuperscript{207}. Where the settled community is more homogenous, there is an onus on newcomers to integrate, whereas in a locality where no one group is in the ascendancy, there is more likelihood of accepting new immigrants\textsuperscript{208}. The penetration of monolithic conflict-shaped communities is therefore necessary to permit positive integration.

The literature clearly sets out the potential obstacles for minority ethnic and migrant communities, but the evidence of the legacy of the conflict and its impact on new populations can only be gleaned from inferences, clues and observations in the encounters with the structures that have been fashioned by years of conflict. More focussed research to uncover the nature of the racially tinted barriers and inequalities experienced by minority ethnic communities will shed more light on the extent of the legacy conflict for the changing demographic picture of N. Ireland, as no specific studies have to date tackled this area of concern. Such specific knowledge will also give the opportunity to design and develop mechanisms to promote greater integration and community cohesion, while respecting difference and embracing diversity. In a society still in transition from 30 years of sustained violent conflict the common sense hypothesis to be tested is that since nothing else in N. Ireland appears not to be

\textsuperscript{204} Byrne, J, Hansson, U and Bell, J (2006), \textit{Shared Living: Mixed Residential Communities in Northern Ireland}, Belfast: Institute for Conflict Research, p.123.

\textsuperscript{205} Mullen, J (2009), \textit{Migration and Community Cohesion: Community Development Responses}, London: Community Development Foundation, p.2.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{207} Hickman \textit{et al}, 2008, p.ix.

\textsuperscript{208} Ibid., p.x.
affected by the legacy of conflict why would our potential for prejudice to other ethnic groups and new immigrants be immune?
APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH TO IDENTIFY ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTIES FACED BY MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS AND MIGRANT WORKERS BECAUSE OF THE CONFLICT in N. Ireland - QUESTIONNAIRE

This research is being carried out by STEP and partner organisations to look at the effects of the conflict on people coming to live in N. Ireland and people from a minority ethnic background. Please answer the questions and return the questionnaire to:

Michael Potter
South Tyrone Empowerment Programme
Unit T7 Dungannon Business Park
2 Coalisland Road
Dungannon
BT71 6JT
0288775021
michael@stepni.org

or

The personal information in Part 1 is about you. It will help us to find out if different groups have significantly different experiences. We do not need to know who you are. The postcode and town/village is to identify the spatial dispersal of groups. All of your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence and your name will not be linked with any answers you give.

If you would like to help the research by taking part in a one to one interview or a focus group, please enter your contact details below. For confidentiality, this section will be removed from the answers you have given in the questionnaire.

Name:
Address:
Preferred language:
Country of origin:
Nationality:
Telephone Number:
E-mail:
### Part 1: About Me (please tick appropriate box in each category)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Transgender</th>
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<tr>
<th>2. Age</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>26-35</th>
<th>36-45</th>
<th>46-55</th>
<th>56-65</th>
<th>65+</th>
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#### 3. Country of Origin (please state)
______________________________

#### 4. Citizenship (please state)
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#### 5. First Language (please state)
______________________________

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<tr>
<th>Level of English</th>
<th>Fluent</th>
<th>Competent</th>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>None</th>
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<tr>
<td>6. Speaking</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Reading</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Writing</td>
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| 9. Postcode of address (please state) ________ | 10. Town/ Village ________ |

#### 11. How long have you lived in N. Ireland?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 - 2 yrs</th>
<th>2 - 4 yrs</th>
<th>4 - 6 yrs</th>
<th>6 - 8 yrs</th>
<th>8 - 10 yrs</th>
<th>10 yrs +</th>
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#### 12. How many times have you moved since coming to N. Ireland?

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#### 13. Are you currently?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed Part-time</th>
<th>Employed Full-time</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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#### 14. What type of work do you do?

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Professional</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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</table>

#### 15. In your accommodation, is there:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Only you</th>
<th>People not in your family</th>
<th>Other family members (no children)</th>
<th>Other family members (including children)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 16. Is your current home...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Owned by you or family member</th>
<th>Rented from private landlord</th>
<th>Rented from employer</th>
<th>Rented from Housing Executive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</table>
Please tick the option which applies to you

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Part 2: My Experience in N. Ireland**

*Where I Live*

*I chose where I live because...*

1. Other people from home live there
2. I knew local people living here
3. It's near where I work
4. I looked at other areas and decided this was the best place for me
5. I could not afford to live somewhere better
6. There are no flags, wall paintings or painted kerbs in this neighbourhood
7. I did not choose. This accommodation was provided/advised
8. I feel safe in the neighbourhood

*Safety*

9. I have had to move because I felt unsafe
10. If I need help I could rely on Northern Irish neighbours to help me
11. I stay indoors if Northern Irish people are celebrating something
12. I feel comfortable having celebrations for my own community where I live
13. I have been made to feel afraid in my neighbourhood
14. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are British
15. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are Irish
16. I do not feel safe where the flags and emblems are both British and Irish

*Social Engagement*

17. I have close friends who are from N. Ireland
18. I have a girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse who is from N. Ireland
19. Most of the people I know here are from my own country
20. Most of the people I know here are not from N. Ireland
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. I find it difficult to get to know people from N. Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. I feel comfortable in local pubs/bars/clubs</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. I frequently attend local social and cultural events</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. I feel excluded from local events, activities and clubs</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. I mostly meet people from N. Ireland at my work place</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. I have been invited to join a local social organisation/group</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. I do not want to mix with Northern Irish people</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. I mix socially with Northern Irish people through church</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. I take part in local cultural events</td>
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<td>30. I attend local sporting events</td>
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<td>31. I take part in sports locally</td>
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<td>32. I played sports at home but I do not do so here</td>
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<td>33. I use the local leisure facilities frequently</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. I am made to feel welcome by leisure facility staff</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Abusive behaviour</strong></td>
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<td>35. I feel isolated/excluded from the local community</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. I have been verbally abused and/or insulted because I am not from N. Ireland</td>
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<td>37. I have been threatened with violence</td>
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<td>38. My property has been damaged</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. My home has been damaged</td>
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<td>40. I have been physically attacked</td>
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<td>41. I have been verbally abused because of my skin colour</td>
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<tr>
<td>42. While I have not been abused, I have heard of people not from N. Ireland who have been</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Violence and Crime</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>43. N. Ireland is more violent than other places I have lived</td>
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<tr>
<td>44. People in N. Ireland use violent language</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. I feel nervous when I see police officers with guns</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. I have been threatened by someone claiming to have a gun</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. If I were a victim of a crime I would report it to the police</td>
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<tr>
<td>48. If I were a victim of a crime I would not report it to the police because the people where I live do not like the police</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. If I were a victim of a crime I would not report it to the police because I do not trust the police</td>
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<tr>
<td>50. If I witnessed a crime I would report it to the police</td>
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<td>51. If I witnessed a crime I will not report it to the police because people where I live do not like the police</td>
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<td>52. If I witnessed a crime I would not report it to the police because I do not trust them</td>
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<td>53. I have often been stopped and questioned by the police</td>
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<td>54. I feel I am stopped by the police more often than people from N. Ireland</td>
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**Access to Services**

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<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<td>55. I am registered with a doctor</td>
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<td>56. I feel welcome in my doctor's surgery</td>
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<td>57. I feel less welcome than someone from N. Ireland in my doctor's surgery</td>
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<td>58. I have am registered with a dentist</td>
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<td>59. I feel welcome in my dentist's surgery</td>
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<td>60. I feel less welcome than someone from N. Ireland in my dentist's surgery</td>
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<td>61. I do not go to the shops nearest to my home because I do not feel safe there</td>
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<td>62. I am confused by the segregated education system in N. Ireland</td>
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<td>63. My children have difficulties at school because of language</td>
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<td>64. My children have difficulties at school because of prejudice</td>
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<td>65. I have been able to get childcare for my children</td>
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<td>66. My landlord/landlady (or the Housing Executive) makes me feel like a valued tenant</td>
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<td>67. I found it difficult to open a bank account</td>
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<td>68. I find it difficult to get a loan from the bank</td>
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<td>69. I feel my bank trusts me</td>
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<td>Question</td>
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<td>70. I am aware of the Credit Union system in N. Ireland</td>
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<td>71. I feel welcome in my trade union</td>
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<td><strong>Part 3: My Impression of N. Ireland</strong></td>
<td>People born in N. Ireland do not have to fill in this section</td>
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<td>72. When I came here, I thought I was coming to Britain</td>
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<td>73. When I came here, I did not know there was an international border between north and south of Ireland</td>
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<td>74. Before coming here, I thought N. Ireland was a violent place</td>
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<td>75. Before coming here, I thought the conflict in N. Ireland had finished</td>
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<td>76. Before coming here, I thought there was a conflict between Protestants and Catholics</td>
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<td>77. Now I am here, I feel there is still a conflict between Protestants and Catholics in N. Ireland</td>
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<td>78. My neighbours from N. Ireland have been very welcoming</td>
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<td>79. I get on well with work colleagues from N. Ireland</td>
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<td>80. My trade union would be happy for me to be a shop steward or regional organiser</td>
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<td>81. People from N. Ireland would be happy for me to be a manager over them at work</td>
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<td>82. My employer would be happy for me to be a manager in their business/organisation</td>
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<td>83. People from N. Ireland would be happy for me to marry or have a relationship with a close relative of theirs</td>
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<td>84. I feel children from my country are excluded from the grammar school system in N. Ireland</td>
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<td>85. I feel my landlord/landlady (or the Housing Executive) would rather have someone from N. Ireland as a tenant</td>
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<tr>
<td>86. People from N. Ireland appear very welcoming but really they do not like foreigners</td>
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APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONS FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Key question: Has the legacy of the conflict affected the integration of minority ethnic or migrant population in N. Ireland? If so, in what ways?

For further development:

Are services difficult to access for migrant or minority ethnic communities because of the conflict?

Is racism a legacy of the conflict?

Has structural sectarianism transferred to structural racism?

Has the conflict led to the closing down of communities, keeping ‘others’ out and isolating or excluding other identities?

Has the conflict led to the setting of communal boundaries along lines of identity, which excludes other identities?

How has conflict-related segregation influenced settlement patterns, integration and safety of migrants?

Do the political structures formed as a result of the conflict exclude and fail to provide for identities other than those identified with the conflict?

Is violence more prevalent due to its use as a primary mechanism during the conflict?

Is there a ‘gang culture’ formed by a recreational rioting tradition and political use of violent group action which preys on vulnerable groups?

Does the absence of police in areas where they are not acceptable or where it is dangerous for them mean that there is less protection for vulnerable groups?

Have sections of society become militarised due to the conflict, which causes fear and apprehension among people who are not used to it?

Has the conflict created learned mechanisms of behaviour that make it difficult for people not from here to interpret what local people mean?

To what extent do people coming to N. Ireland understand the context into which they are coming?
APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONS FOR MIGRANT WORKER AND MINORITY ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

Introductory Question:

*Please tell me how you came to N. Ireland, the reasons you chose to come and what attracted you to come here in particular?*

Themed questions:

Access to services

*What is your experience of accessing services?*
*What services do you access?*
*Where do you access services?*
*What influences your access to services?*

Racism

*What is your experience of racism?*
*What form does it take?*
*Where does it happen and who does it?*
*How often does this happen?*
*What do they say?*

Integration

*How easy is it to mix with local people? How well do you get to know them?*
*To what extent do you feel accepted in the community?*
*Do you feel excluded or isolated, or accepted, or just tolerated?*
*What facilities do you use in the community? How welcome do you feel?*

Communal Segregation

*Have you been told not to go to certain areas?*
*Have you changed the way you are to be more accepted?*
*Has anyone made assumptions about your religion?*

Spatial segregation

*What influenced your coming to live where you are now?*
*Have you moved? If so, why?*
*Do you feel more accepted in some areas but not others?*
*Do you attend local cultural events, if so, which ones and why?*
Do you watch or play sports locally, if so, which and why?
How do local people perceive your identity?

Structural racism

Which areas do you feel most comfortable in?
Where have you experienced most difficulty? Where most acceptance?

Political structures

What do you think of politics in N. Ireland?
Have you had any contact with any politicians or political parties?
What political parties or politicians do you feel represent your interests?

Violence

Have you been attacked, subject to abuse or had your property damaged; do you know anyone from your country to whom this has happened to?
Have you been threatened? What with? By whom?
Do you think N. Ireland is a violent place?
Do Northern Irish people use violent language?

‘Gang culture’

Are there groups of people in your area that you are afraid of?
Why are you afraid of them? What do they do? What do they say?
Have you witnessed groups of people damaging property or intimidating someone?

Policing

Are the police accepted by the people living in your area?
What do you think of the police?
Do you see many police around? Where do you see them? What are they doing?
Do you feel safer when you see the police or less safe?

Militarisation

Have you seen guns in N. Ireland? Where have you seen them?
What do you think when you see guns?
Are there more around in N. Ireland than in other places?

Social intercourse
How easy is it to get to know local people well?
How easy do you find it to understand what people in N. Ireland mean?

Prior knowledge

What did you know about N. Ireland before you came?
Where did you get this information?
What did you think about it?
How did you form this opinion?
APPENDIX 5: THEMATIC PERCEPTIONS FROM KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The summaries below represent repeated comments/assertions made by those interviewed in respect of the identified themes. The perspectives identified are not necessarily validated by the research.

Community background

- Nationalists more receptive than Unionists
- Loyalist link to racist groups
- Advise minority ethnic population not to locate in Protestant estates
- Caution people about Protestant and Catholic areas with perceived paramilitary presence
- Consider new immigrants have diluted the community make up of areas
- Estate agents actively recommend ‘safe’ areas

Transference

- Pigeonhole on sectarian grounds
- Targeted because of being perceived as Catholic
- Where you access services defines who you are
- Structures of sectarianism transfer to racism
- Polish and Portuguese branded Catholic, Latvians and Lithuanians not known
- Children labelled, but don't understand the labels
- Can’t throw stones at each other, so throw stones at others
- Polish accepted before people realised they were Catholic
- Migrants not aware of transference until it becomes apparent
- Migrants have to be ‘placed’ in the conflict mindset

Territory

- Conflict about claiming territory, excludes ‘other’
- Few neutral areas exist, even public spaces
- No mutually agreed ‘other ethnic’ space
- Paramilitaries control territory and behaviour
- Local boundaries well defined, but outsiders do not know where they are
- Areas fixed in own identities and routines
- Affluent areas more neutral
- Accessible housing is that which has been claimed
- Where there is effort in preparation, there is more acceptance
- Migrants follow those who have arrived and felt secure
- No guns to control turf, so pick on the most vulnerable
• Segregated society, estates, church, etc
• Practical choices define newcomers
• Regeneration of identity in closed communities

Attitudes

• Transient visitors more welcome
• Culturally bigoted
• Class more applicable than the conflict
• Only welcome to the extent that they are willing to be assimilated
• Ignorance, not racism – no experience of others
• Outsiders seen as ‘other’ regardless of who they are
• ‘Other’ seen as group member, not individual
• Labelling before being seen as a person

Race

• Polish acceptable as ‘white Europeans’
• Racism mostly unreported
• More numbers so more of a threat
• Stereotypes – Lithuanians ‘thugs’, Polish ‘drink drivers’
• Don’t know it’s racism
• Racism sensationalised by media and community groups which seek to gain
• Racism perpetrated by individuals, but silent majority assumed to acquiesce
• Alternative identities difficult to deal with in a bi-polar system

Services

• Two of everything, so easier to access
• More awareness of equality policy and legislation
• Acute awareness of discrimination
• Language the main barrier
• Less access in rural areas, multiplied by language and lack of networks
• Strong culture of who you know

Safety

• Flags and emblems cause fear and apprehension
• Paramilitary remnants exert control
• Power vacuum if police not accepted filled by others
• Danger of engaging with police without knowing repercussions
• Lack of knowledge of signs of conflict – recent dissident activity
‘Norms’ removed, changed or contested, so alternative mechanisms

Young People

- Parents and communities influence young people
- ‘Young yobbos’ perpetrate violence – not organised
- Young people have issues – use of violence as mechanism
- Look on conflict with a sense of glamour
- Some groups (E Europeans) too tough to tackle, therefore pick on more vulnerable (E Timorese)
- Schools welcoming, but children in schools not so
- Glamorisation / idolisation of paramilitaries
- Conflict transferred to young people who have no experience of the conflict

Prior knowledge

- Don’t choose areas, don’t have a clue
- Picture of troubles being over, but not at peace
- Don’t know until something happens, e.g. attack
- Migrant workers young, NI not in the news when they were growing up
- Live in self-contained environment, so do not find out
- Bemused by Catholics and Protestants fighting each other
- Not aware of NI as a different jurisdiction to RoI

Political system

- Sectarian headcount
- Segregated politics
- Little involvement by migrants
- Pay lip service to migrant worker issues
- Politics of not welcoming others
- No attention to race or difference
- No political leadership – lack of implementation of A Shared Future (and no CSI), Programme for Government, Racial Equality Strategy
- Politicians only serve their own community
- Individuals often supportive, but have to toe party lines
- Based on ideology, not policy

Violence

- Less crime, apart from political crime
- Groups who advocated violence now advocate peace
- Violence still seen as the way to get things done
- Paramilitaries seen as means of controlling violence – switch on and off
• Don’t want to go back
• Structures of violence still in place, re-diverted
• Anti-social behaviour because no ‘community guardians’
• Fear of violence, not reality of violence

Victimhood

• All victims of the conflict, so reaction to a perceived threat is as victims
• This is a vengeful society

Conflict behaviour

• Vigilance
• Awareness of where you are
• Sifting information
• Tuned in to who people are/ might be
• Difficult to interpret/understand
• Reticence to accept until safe to do so
• Defensive on a personal level
• We present ourselves as normal, the war doesn't impact on us
• Insular communities under threat exclude outsiders
• Guarded language
• Conflict causes grouping together - safety in numbers
• If not conditioned to signs, will not be aware

Militarism

• More guns around in N.I – locals are used to it
• Police with guns are the norm in other countries too
• Culturally unacceptable for army on the streets here but it’s normal elsewhere

Policy

• Segregated housing, segregated education as legacy
• Resources put into equality with separation, not enough for integration
Appendix 5

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