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PhD Thesis

Discrimination, Social Relations and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the inter-relationship between social integration, negative intergroup contact and trust in the British ethnic minority context. In this case, trust includes generalised social trust and political trust in the form of democratic satisfaction – with both representing forms of "civic inclusion". Adopting a mixed-methods approach, the thesis is driven by quantitative analysis using the 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study survey and includes complementary semi-structured interviews. The thesis makes three key contributions: developing the currently underdeveloped area of research on negative intergroup contact, deepening our understanding of the negative effects of discrimination on satisfaction with the democratic system, and outlining the importance of socialisation when exploring intergenerational differences in both social and political trust among ethnic minority people living the UK. The thesis finds that ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated are more likely to report ethno-racial discrimination. This is the result of social integration leading to heightened exposure to negative intergroup contact and greater awareness of ethno-racial penalties. Despite this, those who are more socially integrated are more likely to be socially trusting. However, social integration is significantly associated with dissatisfaction with British democracy. This leads to two interesting findings. Greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact can compensate for discriminatory experiences in regards to generalised social trust, but the negative effects of experiencing discrimination may have a serious impact on satisfaction with the democratic system of governance, which is expected to ensure fairness and the merit-based allocation of rewards. The thesis also finds that foreign-born migrants are more socially trusting and more satisfied with British democracy than their British-born descendants. With the help of the complementary semi-structured interviews, it is found that this is primarily due to "psychological frame of reference". Prior experience of living in unstable societies under more repressive, authoritarian regimes contributes to a natural appreciation for the relatively stable nature of British society and newly-acquired political rights. Ethnic minority people born and raised in the UK, with their exclusively British frame of reference, feel less safe and have higher expectations of Britain's democratic system of governance in comparison to their first-generation predecessors.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Postwar immigration-generated diversity has fundamentally re-shaped the content of public policy discussions in the UK. Fiercely-contested debates over multiculturalism, discrimination, integration, trust and identity are now dominant features of European political discourse, demonstrating the powerful impact of ethnic diversification on the public policy agenda of 'receiver' societies such as the UK (Bird et al., 2011). Policies of cultural recognition, understandings and conceptualisations of nationhood, ethnic mobility in the labour market, inter-ethnic community relations and the level of ethnic minority civic engagement are just some of the key issues which arise when considering how immigration-induced diversity has impacted on the substantive nature of Western politics (Goldstone, Kaufmann and Toft, 2012).

The UK, along with other Western European countries, has over the last fifty years witnessed its remarkable transformation into a diverse multi-ethnic society – with a growing proportion of its citizens tracing their familial heritage back to the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent, and Africa. It has been estimated that 8% of the British population can find their roots from these parts of the world - with this percentage being far higher in English cities and towns such as London, Birmingham, Leicester, Luton and Slough. These percentages are expected to rise substantially due to the relatively youthful profile of the UK's ethnic minority population (Rees et al., 2012). Whereas ethnic minorities constitute 8 percent of the total UK adult population, they constitute 30% of the state-funded primary school population (Sunak and Rajeswaran, 2014). Indeed, ethnic minorities and those of mixed-ethnic heritage are projected to be "the majority" in countries such as the UK by the end of the century (Kaufmann, 2018). However, it is important not to treat Britain's ethnic minorities as some sort of uniform homogenous bloc. There are differences both between and within the UK's established ethnic minorities – something which will become increasingly apparent over the course of this thesis.

1.1: Migratory history of UK ethnic minorities

The differences between Britain's established Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African ethnic minorities stretch back to their migratory stories and the circumstances surrounding their arrival in the UK. These main ethnic groups arrived over different periods, with varying legal statuses, different motivations for relocation, and meeting Britain's ever-changing economic and social needs in various ways.

The first of the five ethnic minority groups to arrive in substantial numbers were those from the Caribbean, who were primarily recruited by the British government after WWII to work in the National Health Service and on the London Underground (Hanlan, 2018). Arriving at a time when Britain gave Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies to all citizens of the colonies (which included all the West Indian 'sender' countries), Black Caribbean migrants benefited from free entry and were given immediate citizenship and voting rights. They near-universally spoke English (in some cases a hybrid Anglo-Caribbean dialect), were typically Christian, been socialised under British colonialism, and had been exposed to British institutional structures. With many coming from families who had traditions of serving the British armed forces or merchant navy during WWII (or had served themselves), a substantial proportion of the initial Black Caribbean migrants held strong affinities with the 'Mother of the Empire' (Ware, 2012).

It is also important to recognise that the vast majority of Black Caribbean migrants were 'voluntary' migrants – responding on an individual basis to job advertisements circulated by the British government across the West Indies. In economist terms, it can be said that the initial Black Caribbean migrants were 'positively' selected (Feliciano, 2005). These were not migrants being drawn from the 'lower rungs' of Caribbean societies, but above average in terms of skills and educational qualifications in comparison to non-migrants in their country of origin (Foner, 1977). This is perhaps unsurprising, as individual voluntary migration required considerable financial resources and personal effort. Indeed, many of the initial Black Caribbean migrants would have been dynamic, driven, optimistic and adventurous individuals, equipped with a fairly solid set of skills and qualifications.

The next ethnic 'group' to arrive in substantial numbers were the Indians. The 'Indian' group of initial migrants was internally disparate in both a social and ethnic sense. The initial wave

of Indian migration began in the 1950s, with a number of highly-educated individuals from the Western Indian state of Gujarat coming to Britain to work as doctors in the NHS (Poros, 2010). There were also considerable inflows of Sikhs from Punjab – many of whom had been displaced following the 1947 partition and been allocated low-quality land in what remained of Indian Punjab. This compounded historical feelings of discontent and injustice which already existed among Punjabi Sikhs over the Hindu-led political establishment's supposedly discriminatory practices (Guha, 2007). Similar to the case of Black Caribbeans, many of the initial Indian migrants had personal links with the British military and navy – particularly those from Punjab.

The story of Indian migration to Britain however is more complicated than the traditional 'origin-destination' flows which usually characterise migratory patterns. There was an earlier Indian diaspora to other parts of the British Empire – particularly East Africa, where a substantial number of Indians had been actively recruited by the UK government to work as administrative clerks and lower-level civil officials. These 'East African Indians' can be described as 'the filling' in the 'colonial sandwich', holding positions below that of the dominant British colonialists but above that of the subordinate African population (Ballard, 2008). A large proportion of these migrants also started up and established successful businesses which eventually formed the backbone of East African economies.

When the East African countries gained independence from Britain in the 1960s, a number – in particular Uganda – introduced policies of 'Africanisation'. Under Idi Amin, the Ugandan government ordered those of Indian origin to leave the country within ninety days (Patel, 2014). Despite Britain introducing legislation in 1962 and 1968 to restrict entry rights for 'New Commonwealth' citizens, many East African Indians were eventually allowed to enter the United Kingdom under Edward Heath's Conservative government. Similar to the East African Indians who decided to re-establish themselves in North America, those who were allowed to resettle in the UK have made notable economic contributions through their business acumen and entrepreneurial spirit.

The Pakistani migration story shares a number of similarities with Indian migration. Some Muslims, from what is now Pakistan, also settled in East Africa to work in 'middlemen' positions and were also expelled and pressured to leave under the processes of Africanisation. Similar to Punjabi Sikhs, many Punjabi Muslims were displaced post-partition, and had proud

links with the British armed forces and the merchant navy (Brass, 2010). Another major group of initial migrants came from Azad Kashmir – a disputed territory which continues to be the source of much Indo-Pakistani tension (Ganguly, 2013). These migrants were predominantly from Mirpur district – with emigration from Mirpur being accelerated by the Pakistani government's construction of the Mangla Dam in 1961-7 which submerged over 250 villages and displaced 100,000 people (Heath et al. 2013).

The period over which Pakistani migration took place was fairly similar to that of migration from India, and as with Indian migration, a great deal of recent arrivals has been in the form of family reunion. Pakistani men tended to be the primary migrants during the earlier waves of migration, subsequently bringing over their wives and families to Britain after settling down in industrial manufacturing jobs (Akhtar, 2014). While some view Pakistani migration to Britain (particularly from Mirpur) as more of a 'rural phenomenon' (Dahya, 1972 in Joly, 1995), it should be recognised that most Pakistani migrants were 'positively selected' (albeit not to the same extent as in the Indian case).

Following the Indians and Pakistanis, the Bangladeshis are the most 'recently-arrived' out of the three main South Asian groups. The vast majority of the initial Bangladeshi migrants came from Sylhet, a relatively deprived rural province in Northern Bangladesh which had been severely dislocated by the 1971 war of independence against Pakistan (Abbas, 2014). A number of Sylhetis had already experienced displacement following the partition of eastern India after independence, while the links between Sylhetis and the British merchant navy were comparable with the connections between Punjabi Sikhs and the British armed forces (Young et al. 2006). Similar to Pakistani migration, there remains a steady flow of Bangladeshi migration into the UK – mainly due to family reunification or to marry co-ethnic people already resident in Britain.

The most recent large-scale arrivals in the UK have been Black Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa. Out of the five ethnic groups, it is the most internally diverse. The Black African group includes a number of postcolonial migrants from West African countries such as Nigeria and Ghana, who tended to be highly-educated individuals with affluent backgrounds that arrived in the UK to study at British universities, as opposed to being labour migrants. These migrants have been described as 'the students who stayed' (Daley, 1996). Alongside the postcolonial migrants from former colonies, black Africans in the UK include a considerable number of

refugees who have fled war and persecution in 'Horn of Africa' countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, along with other African nations such as the Congo and Angola (Adi, 2014). These are the first largish group of 'visible' minorities who do not have a strong colonial or postcolonial tie with Britain.

The migratory history and experiences of Britain's ethnic minority groups are important when looking at issues surrounding integration and inclusion. Family histories which involve close ties with British institutions can create natural affinities with the UK – viewing it as a 'motherland' of sorts. Perceptions of the political system in the 'country of origin' can impact on evaluations of conventional political institutions in the UK. Economic self-sufficiency in the 'departure country' could influence socio-economic outcomes in Britain. Originating from overseas regions with low levels of education and command of the English language can have an effect on the accumulation of 'civic resources' in the destination-country. The allocation of legal rights upon arrival in the UK can impact on the extent to which one is politically, economically, and socially empowered in Britain. These are all potential factors that could generate between-group and within-group differences in civic inclusion, which will be discussed later on in the thesis.

1.2: Britain's transformation and its challenges

Britain's radical transformation into an ethnically diverse, multi-religious society has undoubtedly presented its challenges. Prior to the inward migration experienced in the aftermath of WWII, the UK could have been broadly defined as an ethnically homogenous nation – and public policy debates were primarily framed in terms of social class. While traditional problems of social stratification surrounding class continue to exist, the sharply contrasting demography of today's multi-ethnic Britain has also given rise to social, economic and political issues of a more 'racial' and 'ethnic' nature.

Matters regarding social cohesion are now a dominant feature of British political discourse and part of the ongoing debate on the integration of ethnic minorities. Postwar social unrest in the UK along racial lines stretch as far back as 1958 with the Notting Hill riots, where the 'Teddy Boys' and the far-right White Defence League urged disaffected white residents to 'Keep Britain White' as the area's Black Caribbean population grew (Bloom, 2010). There were race riots throughout the 1980s, with the 1981 Moss Side and Toxteth riots and the 1985

Brixton riot arising from long-standing tensions between the local Black Caribbean community and the police (Waddington, 2002). Meanwhile, the 1989 Dewsbury disturbance involved local South Asian youths and British National Party activists (Erricker et al. 2011).

While there are ethnically diverse areas of Britain which have experienced relatively little social conflict along ethnic or racial lines in recent times, other areas have not been so fortunate. In 2001, the UK witnessed race riots in Oldham, Burnley, and Bradford – predominantly between white British and South Asian Muslim communities. In 2005, Birmingham saw simmering ethnic tensions between its Black Caribbean and South Asian communities spill over into a two-night riot (Tomlinson, 2008). The Berkshire town of Windsor in 2006 experienced 'race clashes' between its white and Asian youths (Estévez, 2012). Black Caribbean-South Asian tensions in Birmingham further escalated during the 2011 nationwide riots. The 2001 Cantle Report which was produced in the aftermath of the Northern England race riots claimed that the social unrest demonstrated a 'depth of polarisation' around segregated ethnic communities living 'parallel lives' (Cantle, 2001) – a concern which continues to be held today (Casey, 2016).

The social transformation of the UK has also contributed to the 'ethnicisation' of socio-economic issues in Britain. A number of research studies have shown that postwar migrants and their descendants have endured varying degrees of exclusion and disadvantage in the British labour market. Employment rates and wages across ethnic minority groups have consistently been lower than those for the white British majority (Saggar and Nandi, 2012), with a disproportionate number of ethnic minority people working in roles in which they are "over-qualified" (Longhi and Brynin, 2017). The 'injustice' aspect of this problem has been demonstrated by a number of UK-based field experiments which have proven the existence of discriminatory practices in employment procedures (Jowell and Prescott-Clarke, 1970; Brown and Gay, 1985; Wood et al., 2009).

The politics of austerity can also be seen as an ethnic minority issue. Efforts to create a supposedly 'leaner, more efficient' public sector have disproportionately negatively affected ethnic minorities in European countries such as the UK. With the previous and current UK government seeking to facilitate private sector-led economic recoveries along with exercising fiscal discipline, policies to streamline the public sector and social security system have been vigorously pursued. This has subjected much of the British ethnic minority population to a

'double hit'. As black and Asian UK workers are over-represented in human health, social care work and lower-level administrative positions, it is they who have disproportionately been affected by public sector job losses (Fisher and Nandi, 2015). Furthermore, with ethnic minorities generally finding themselves in an inferior socio-economic position in comparison to their white British counterparts by suffering from higher income poverty and unemployment rates, it is these groups which have disproportionately bore the brunt of slashes to social security expenditure (Portes and Reed, 2017; Hall et al. 2017). Therefore, political decisions and their economic and social consequences can take on a powerful 'ethnic' dimension when evaluated and considered.

A growing problem the UK is experiencing which touches on the previously discussed issues of ethnic polarisation, residential segregation and socio-economic deprivation is homegrown radicalisation. Britain is a country which has suffered terrorist attacks orchestrated by its own citizens – including the 7/7 London bombings, the murder of Drummer Lee Rigby in Woolwich and the more recent Manchester Arena attack. While the perpetrators of 7/7 were predominantly British Muslims of South Asian descent, those convicted of Lee Rigby's murder were British Muslim converts of Nigerian origin. More recently, Britain has witnessed the exportation of hundreds of its own citizens who have pledged allegiance and joined Islamic State – a jihadist Salafist militant organisation which intends to establish a global Islamic caliphate where the worldwide implementation of sharia is secured. These incidents and developments demonstrate, to the strongest degree, a clear failure in ethnic minority integration.

1.3: Policy responses

The policy responses of the British state to the UK's shifting ethnic demography and racial composition has itself been the subject of much discussion. In the area of anti-discrimination, the UK has passed legislation and established equality agencies specifically designed to combat ethno-racial discrimination in the labour market and wider society. The 1976 Race Relations Act was passed by the UK to prevent discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, nationality and ethnic origin – particularly within the labour market, education system, and over the provision of public goods and services. The provisions of the 1976 Act, along with national labour laws such as the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003, were repealed and subsequently superseded and reinforced by the 2010 Equality Act. Part 2

Chapter 1 of the 2010 Equality Act enumerates a number of 'protected characteristics', such as *'race'* and *'religion or belief'*.

In terms of social cohesion and institutional trust, there have been numerous reports published in the aftermath of race riots which have made policy recommendations in terms of improving interethnic relations and police-community relationships. Following the 1981 Brixton disorders, the UK government commissioned Lord Scarman to produce a report looking into the riots. The findings of the report stated that the disorders were the by-product of "complex political, social, and economic factors", and that urgent action needed to be taken to prevent 'racial disadvantage' becoming an "endemic, ineradicable disease" (Scarman, 1981). The report suggested that changes in police and law enforcement training needed to be made, inspiring the passage of the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act which set out the carrying of police duties. However, proposed economic and social reforms (which included the introduction of positive action to address racial disadvantage) were left largely unimplemented by Margaret Thatcher's government.

As previously mentioned, the spate of race riots in 2001 across Northern England led to the production of the Cantle Report – widely viewed as a hallmark document in the area of community cohesion. The report, commissioned by the Home Office, made recommendations in areas such as housing, local political leadership, the running of youth and leisure facilities and economic regeneration. Part of the report also warned about the dangers of the then Labour government's policy of encouraging single-faith schools, which were blamed for deepening ethnic, racial and religious divisions. New Labour's ethno-communitarian approach to education policy has continued under previous PM David Cameron and current PM Theresa May, with a large proportion of 'free schools' and 'academies' being affiliated to a particular religious belief system.

In regards to domestic counter-radicalisation, the previous Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government published the *Prevent* strategy (HM Government, 2011) – which on paper appears to consider the potential 'drivers' of radicalisation processes. Stressing that there is a link between radicalisation and economic deprivation, the document states that 'wealth creation' schemes would help to generate jobs and opportunities which could address the supposed link between poverty and radicalisation. Former PM David Cameron also pledged to look at social housing to prevent further residential segregation, along with

introducing ‘incentives’ for schools to become ‘more integrated’. Furthermore, a recent review led by civil servant Dame Louise Casey looked into how further opportunities can be created for the social and economic integration of ethnic minority groups (Casey, 2016).

1.4: The majority backlash: white British disaffection

These problems surrounding ethnic minority integration have unquestionably played a part in the ‘hardening’ of prejudicial feelings on the grounds of race and ethnicity in the UK. While it is important to recognise that while prejudicial feelings do not necessarily lead to outwardly discriminatory behaviour (LaPiere, 1934; Allport, 1954; Pager and Quillian, 2005), forms of discrimination are often motivated by prejudice (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Despite recent surveys showing an upturn in positive attitudes towards immigration (Duffy, 2018), British Social Attitudes Survey data obtained this decade has shown that after sustained increases in ‘tolerance’ and ‘openness’, the proportion of Britons admitting to being racially prejudiced has been on a consistently upward trajectory (Park et al., 2013).

This naturally gives rise to concerns over hostility towards ethnic minorities that may set back community relations across a country which witnessed the electoral rise of the UK Independence Party (which won over 4 million votes in the 2015 General Election), along with the proliferation of far-right organisations such as the English Defence League and Britain First. The formation of such far-right groups is largely driven by the cultural threat perceptions of the supposed ‘Islamification’ of Britain – particularly within cities and towns with high concentrations of Pakistani and Bangladeshi-origin people, such as Luton, Slough, Bradford and Blackburn (Busher, 2016). Reconciling the preservationist attitudes of many white working-class voters and the religio-culturally relativist views held among South Asian Muslim voters has proved to be an electoral headache for the Labour Party in its traditional heartlands across Northern England and West Midlands (Ford and Goodwin, 2013).

While it may well be the case that respondents may feel ‘emboldened’ to reveal their prejudices and discuss their racial discomforts in recent times (particularly in the aftermath of the June 2016 UK referendum on EU membership), the figures nevertheless demonstrate the level of acute unease with racial and cultural difference in British society. In 2011, 38% of survey respondents self-reported a level of racial prejudice. This followed a decade which witnessed the 9/11 US terrorist attacks, the 7/7 London bombings, the 2004 Madrid Islamist

bombings, along with the 2008 global financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures which further intensified the perceived competition for scarce resources. Right-wing populist parties which have adopted an explicitly "anti-Islamic, culturally preservationist" policy and depicted immigrant-origin groups as a "drain" on public resources include the AfD in Germany – which is now the largest opposition party in the Bundestag.

BSA survey findings also showed variations in levels of self-reported racism across regions. In combined figures for 2012-3, the West Midlands emerged as the UK region with the highest level of self-reported prejudice at 35%. The West Midlands region is one which contains diverse cities and towns such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Solihull and Walsall, and as of March 2011 had the second-highest overall unemployment claimant count in the country by region. To highlight the complexity of this phenomenon of racial prejudice in the UK, the South West of England, a relatively ethnically homogenous region (98% white British) and one with the second-lowest unemployment claimant count, reported the second-highest level of racial prejudice at 31%. These are sharp rises from previous figures for both UK regions.

This 'white backlash' witnessed in the UK has been linked with Britain's model of state-sponsored multiculturalism (Goodhart, 2004). 'Indigenous perceptions' of the state supporting minority desires to maintain their cultural traditions and particularistic identities have been received negatively by large sections of the white British working-class who see forms of minority cultural maintenance as a threat to the preservation of British values and norms (Ford and Goodwin, 2014). Indeed, this rejection of multicultural policy and perception of cultural identity threat has been identified as a driving factor in the large-scale transfer of votes from the Labour Party to UKIP in the 2015 UK General Election – especially in parts of Northern England with high South Asian Muslim populations. This backlash also has a 'socio-economic' dimension. Many members of the white working-class are not only fearful of 'cultural colonisation' at the hands of Muslim-dominant minority groups, but are also often competing with them in the lower levels of the labour market.

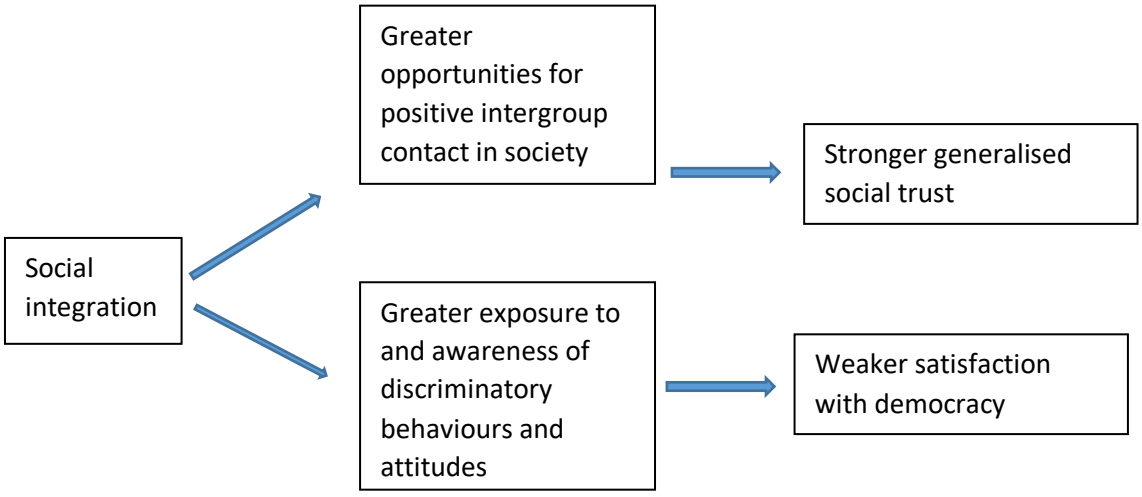
In addition to cultural and socio-economic factors, there is a fundamental political contributor to 'white backlash' at local level. The client-patron style of local politics in areas with a high percentage of Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims has driven political disaffection among white Britons. The 'silence for votes' understanding between local councillors and self-styled

Islamic community leaders which led to the catastrophic outcomes in places such as Rotherham and Rochdale, where largely adolescent white girls were groomed by largely Muslim men of South Asian origin, has contributed to the sort of 'native' political disaffection which exists across much of Northern England. In the 2015 General Election, UKIP's vote share increased in Rotherham and Rochdale – by 24 and 14 percentage points respectively. What this demonstrates is that 'white backlash' is a complex process where social, economic and political dynamics are at play – and that this majority-group discontent could have fundamental implications for the civic inclusion of ethnic minorities.

1.5: The civic inclusion of British ethnic minorities

This thesis concentrates on the 'civic inclusion' of five major ethnic minority groups in the UK – Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Black Caribbeans, and Black Africans. There are four dominant 'features' of the thesis which provide the basis for how the process of UK ethnic minority civic inclusion will be investigated – ethnic composition of social networks and relations, exposure to (and awareness of) discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, generalised social trust and satisfaction with democracy. The foundational purpose of this research project is to demonstrate that **while social integration can provide opportunities for positive intergroup contact which helps to build generalised social trust, it can also expose people to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes which undermine satisfaction with British democracy (as depicted below in Figure 1.1).**

Figure 1.1: Summarised Model for Research Investigation



The key research questions which this thesis wants to investigate are:

Does greater social integration heighten exposure to discriminatory experiences for ethnic minority individuals living in Britain?

Do the greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact provided by social integration, overcome the negative effects of discrimination and ultimately lead to stronger generalised social trust?

Does greater exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes contribute towards dissatisfaction with British democracy?

The first research question is interested in looking at the ethnic composition of social networks and how they expose ethnic minority individuals to certain forms of experiences. This ranges from participation in formal networks such as civic associations to being part of informal networks such as friendship groups. A crucial part of this research is looking at the degree of co-ethnicity within various types of social networks. This is closely linked to the concepts of 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital (Putnam, 2007). While social links with 'outgroup' members that cut across ethnic boundaries would be classified as 'bridging' forms of social capital, 'bonding' capital 'arises where groups have strong relationships binding them to other members of their own ethnic community' (Heath et al., 2013). How ethnically-mixed bridging ties and more co-ethnic, bonding social networks are related to the exposure to (and insulation from) discriminatory experiences will be explored.

The second research question looks at how ethnically-mixed networks can help to moderate the negative effects of discriminatory experiences. It is expected that these negative effects will be moderated by social networks of a 'bridging' nature – as more ethnically-mixed networks can create opportunities for positive contact with outgroup members that can potentially reduce the negative impact of discrimination. Alternatively, ethnic minority people who are part of predominantly co-ethnic 'bonding' networks are expected to react more negatively to discriminatory experiences, due to having limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact. Therefore, this thesis is interested in investigating how social integration may not only heighten exposure to discrimination, but also creates greater opportunities for positive forms of intergroup contact, which in turn help to build and strengthen generalised social trust.

The crux of the thesis is to demonstrate that while social integration may be beneficial for social trust, it can have a potentially negative impact on political trust in the form of **democratic satisfaction.** To measure political trust, the thesis examines satisfaction with British democracy, which is considered to be a vital, all-encompassing measure of ethnic minority political inclusion. This has a particular focus on perceptions of democratic institutions and the broader system of governance when it comes to ensuring racial fairness and the merit-based allocation of rewards in the UK. The final research question explores the negative effects of intergroup contact, such as heightened exposure to discrimination and greater awareness of racial and religious penalties, and how this in turn undermines democratic satisfaction. This is based on the plausible view that personal experiences of discrimination and heightened perceptions of structural bias erodes the belief of Britain being a fair, equal and meritocratic country – ultimately weakening satisfaction with British democracy.

While there is a comprehensive body of literature which regards social and political trust as fundamentally intertwined phenomena (Rosenberg, 1956; 1957; Lane, 1959; Misztal, 1996; Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Dalton, 2004; Zmerli and Newton, 2008), this thesis seeks to investigate whether social integration and negative intergroup contact impact differently on these two defined components of civic inclusion. This thesis argues that while social integration can have a positive impact on generalised social trust due to greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact, the heightened exposure to and awareness of discrimination means social integration is negatively associated with satisfaction with democracy. This is primarily down to the **attribution of responsibility for discriminatory experiences being towards the existing system of democratic governance, as opposed to broader British society**.

Figure 1.2 – Detailed Path Diagram for Research Investigation

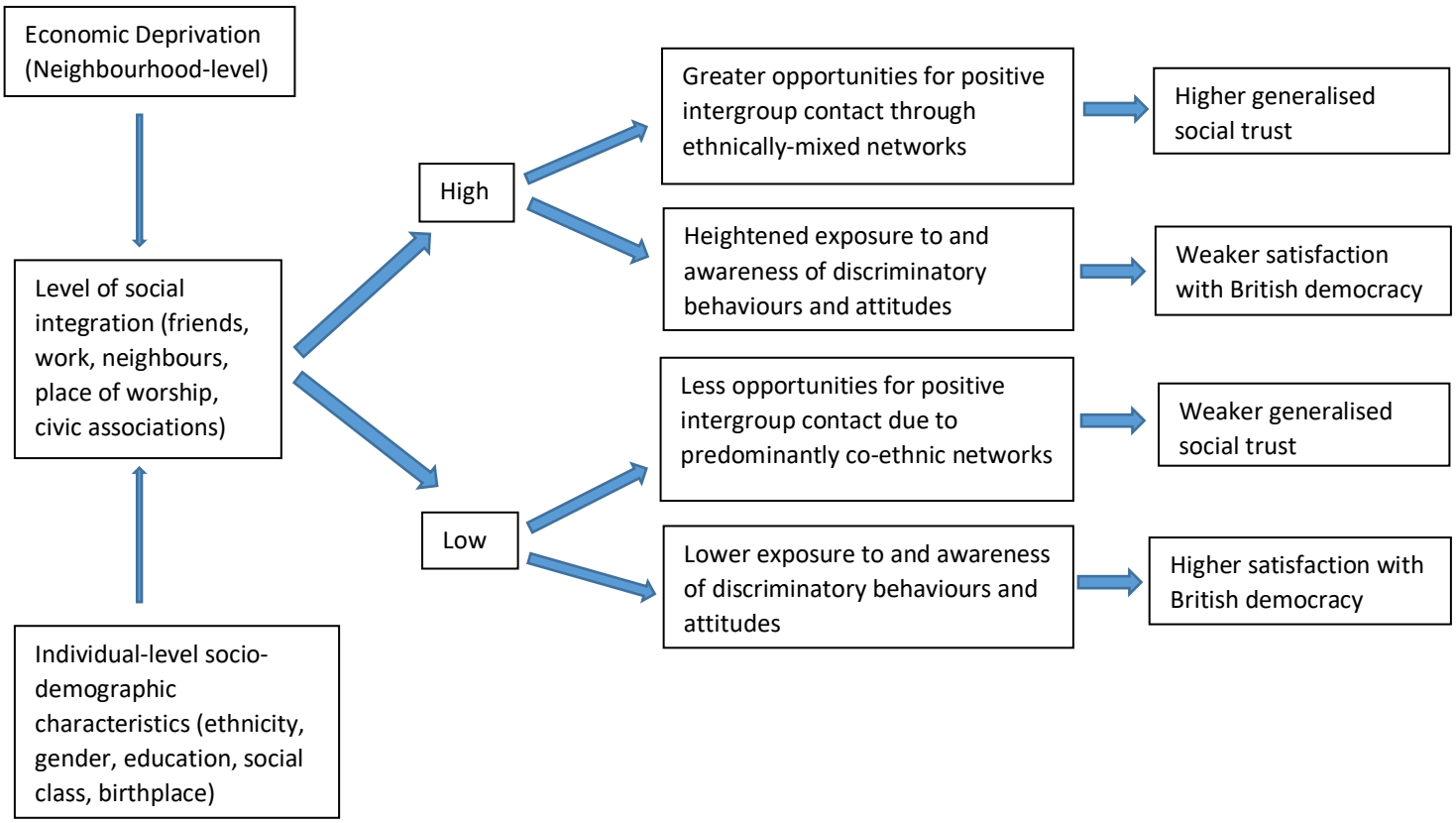


Figure 1.2 depicts a detailed path diagram for the research project investigation. The key components of the diagram are social integration, positive intergroup contact, negative intergroup contact, generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction. Other factors such as neighbourhood-level deprivation and individual-level socio-economic resources in form of educational attainment and occupational class, are also included in the diagram and feature in the thesis analysis. Also exploring differences in social integration, discriminatory experiences and trust across the generations, it becomes apparent over the thesis that first-generation migrants and ethnic minority people born and raised in the UK are very different in terms of how socially integrated they are, the extent to which they report discrimination, the degree to which they are socially trusting, and how satisfied they are with Britain's democratic system.

Social integration lies at the heart of this thesis. Much of the literature looks at the civic effects of bonding and bridging social capital. As already discussed, bonding networks will refer to

networks which are dominated by an individual's own ethnic minority group. Meanwhile, ethnically-mixed "bridging" networks predominantly comprise members of a different ethnic group – meaning that much the membership and constituent parts of the social network consists of 'outgroupers'. In this thesis, the composite measure of social integration used (which is explained in more detail later in Section 3.4.1 of the thesis) considers how one "bridges" across a range of what can be labelled as "domains". This includes one's friendship network, place of work, neighbourhood, place of worship and membership of civic associations (such as political groups and sports clubs). This social integration composite variable essentially measures the extent to which one experiences intergroup contact – the degree to which an individual interacts with those outside of their own ethnic group.

The discrimination part of the detailed path diagram is particularly important when it comes to the key theoretical contributions of this research project (which will be explained more deeply in Chapter 2 of the thesis). The diagram suggests that the ethnic composition of social networks can expose or insulate one from negative intergroup contact – a sub-area of research which remains relatively underdeveloped in ethnic studies. The relationship between social integration and negative intergroup contact will be discussed in more depth during the next chapter, which sets out the theoretical framework for the thesis. The existing literature is conflicted on how social integration relates to the discriminatory experiences of ethnic minority people. This thesis seeks to investigate the extent to which the paradox of social integration (Sigelman and Welch, 1993) applies in the British ethnic minority context. Does social integration lead to heightened exposure to (and awareness of) discrimination for the UK's ethnic minority people?

Negative intergroup contact – in the form of racial and religious discrimination – occupies a vitally important position in this thesis. As well as looking at whether social integration exposes people to discrimination, the thesis also examines to what extent discriminatory experiences affect social and political trust in the British ethnic minority context. Intergroup relations as an area of social science research is considerably lopsided, in that there is an overwhelming focus on underlining the positive effects of intergroup contact. This thesis seeks to play its part in redressing the balance.

In this case, the negative experiences of ethnic minorities are episodes of discrimination reported by survey respondents and interviewees. These instances of reported discrimination

can take place in the 'social sphere', such as casual racism on the street. They can take place in the labour market, in the form of employment discrimination, direct experiences of racism in the workplace, or reported injustice in terms of promotion opportunities. With the relationship between Britain's ethnic minorities and the police being historically strained, it is important to acknowledge that much of this reported discrimination may be institutional – particularly in the form of 'stop and search' and racial profiling by the police. The measurement of negative intergroup contact will be fleshed out in greater detail in Section 3.4.2 of the thesis.

The final parts of the diagram focus on 'civic inclusion', looking at how these social networks and discriminatory experiences impact on social and political trust – in this case, generalised social trust and satisfaction with democracy. It is assumed that while social integration provides opportunities for positive intergroup contact which impact positively on generalised social trust, it also heightens exposure to discriminatory behaviours which can undermine satisfaction with Britain's democratic system of governance. This provides an interesting contrast, highlighting both the positive and negative aspects of social integration and intergroup contact, and how it impacts differently on social and political trust in the British ethnic minority context.

1.6: Ethnic minority civic inclusion: citizenship and belonging

There are a number of definitions of civic inclusion which collectively touch upon the idea of being included and integrated in the prevailing social, political, and economic structures of the 'national community'. Civic inclusion has been defined the processes by which sections of society previously excluded from membership in political, social, and socio-economic institutions are incorporated into these institutions as 'citizens' (Eckstein, 1984), while from a more rights-based positivist approach, it has viewed as the fair allocation of social, economic, political and legal rights (Labelle, 2008). Definitions of civic inclusion have also included notions of identity and attachment, with Zine Magubane (2004) referring to the creation of economic, social and political conditions which foster a sense of national belonging and attachment.

What these definitions collectively imply is that there are fundamental political, social, and economic foundations involved in being a 'civically included citizen' – one that feels an

emotional belonging to a democratic community – 'the nation'. A prolific new research trend has emerged which seeks to capture and explain state integration policy and practice through the development of policy indices. These include systematic cross-national examinations of citizenship regimes (European Union Democracy Observatory [EUDO] on Citizenship, 2011; Howard, 2009; Janoski, 2010) and immigrant integration policy (Banting and Kymlicka, 2013; Hutcheson and Jeffers, 2012; Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel, 2012; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, and Passy, 2005; Migration Policy Group [MPG], 2015) to newer schema for scoring and classifying ethnic minority integration and civic inclusion policies.

However, the general tendency across these studies is that the issue of 'citizenship' is treated in formal, mechanical terms. Index measurements of citizenship and integration regimes such as the Multicultural Policy Index (MPI), Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and the Civic Integration Policy Index (CIVIX) have tended to look at anti-discrimination legislation, allocation of political rights, workplace rights and protection, formal legal status, and the flexibility of naturalisation procedures. While these do play a role in how strongly an ethnic minority individual may view themselves as a 'national citizen', the technical focus on formal arrangements fails to grasp various social, political and economic factors which inevitably impact on how one feels he or she is part of and can trust the 'national citizenry' and has confidence in the democratic system of governance.

There have been numerous attempts within the existing scholarship to conceptualise citizenship and flesh out its specific components. Richard Bellamy (2008) has outlined three linked components of citizenship: a) membership of a democratic political community; b) the collective benefits and rights associated with membership, and c) active involvement within the host country's political, economic and social structures. Based on this three-part conceptual framework, Bellamy reaches this definition: "Citizenship is a condition of civic equality. It consists of membership of a political community where all citizens can determine the terms of social co-operation on an equal basis. This status not only secures equal rights to the enjoyment of the collective goods provided by the political association, but also involves duties to promote and sustain them – including the good of democratic citizenship itself" (2008: 17).

This tripartite conceptualisation of citizenship closely ties in with the definitions of civic inclusion provided earlier. Membership of a democratic political community – the British

nation – does not just rest on the allocation of legal rights. In a multi-ethnic democracy such as the UK, 'true' membership of the democratic political community includes trusting other members of society and co-operating for the sake of 'collective action' – regardless of the ethnic group they belong to. 'Collective endeavours', whether they are community-level regeneration projects or the functioning of a robust welfare system, depend heavily on feelings of trust and mutual respect which cut across ethnic 'boundaries'.

Full membership of the democratic political community cannot simply rely on the allocation of conventional political rights – it includes trusting and having confidence in the key institutions which form the democratic political system. As Britain is a parliamentary multi-party democracy, this would naturally include trust in the British Parliament and UK political parties which are essentially responsible for providing 'democratic choice'. With the police being empowered by the state to enforce the law for the democratic political community, trust in law enforcement actors is also of critical importance in this context.

The second and third features of Bellamy's conceptualisation of citizenship holds much relevance when considering the civic inclusion of UK ethnic minorities. Collective 'benefits' and 'rights' strike at the heart of debates over fairness, equality and justice in Britain's multi-ethnic society. Civic inclusion includes the extent to which ethnic minorities feel prevailing economic, social and political structures are underpinned by the principles of equality of opportunity, fairness, and justice. Perceptions of widespread inequality of opportunity and the misallocation of the nation's rewards along ethnic and racial lines can be detrimental for how one feels they belong to and are supported by the democratic national political community.

1.7: Trust-based conceptualisation of civic inclusion

Before discussing the importance of social trust, it is important to establish a working definition for the concept. While much controversy exists over how 'social trust' should be defined (Newton, 2007), several definitions have been provided that help to give us a general understanding of what it may entail. A number of academic definitions seem to strike common ground, with Hardin (1998) defining social trust as 'encapsulated interest', Gambetta (1988) arguing that it is the personal belief that others will act beneficially as opposed to maliciously towards us, and Warren (1999) explaining that it involves 'shared

interests' and a 'lack of malice'. The concept of social trust is closely linked to two key theories in the field of socio-psychology – 'conflict' and 'contact' theory – both of which will be further discussed in Section 2.1 of the thesis.

The importance of social trust in regard to the functioning of modern society has been stressed by political scientists and public economists alike. A number of scholars have argued that in a 'high-trust' context, economic transaction costs are reduced, large-scale organisations are more productive, governments are more efficient, and financial development is faster – essentially, trust facilitates economic success (Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1993; La Porta et al. 1997; Knack and Keefer, 1997).

Based on this logic, weak levels of social trust are likely to compromise financial growth and hamper economic progress. In addition, increased ethnic diversity in Britain has been blamed for the erosion of the bonds of trust required to support the existence of a comprehensive social security system (Goodhart, 2004). Social trust can be 'growth-facilitating' through two channels: firstly, higher levels of social capital and trust can lead to better-functioning institutions; secondly, higher levels of social capital and trust may help where there are market imperfections – especially within market-based financial systems (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002: 211).

This thesis focuses on generalised social trust – which is slightly different to interpersonal social trust. While interpersonal social trust tends to focus on actual social relationships, attitudes surrounding generalised social trust 'extend beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction and incorporate people who are not personally known to each other' (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008: 441). The fact that citizens in some countries, region, cities, or neighbourhoods are able to trust one another (without personal interaction) and thereby able to co-operate and solve collective problems, while others are unable to, remains one of the most interesting puzzles in social science. The processes, circumstances and conditions under which bonds of social trust can be most efficiently built (or eroded) will be discussed in more depth in Section 2.2.

The 'trust' feature of the detailed path diagram includes political-institutional trust as well as generalised social trust. While studies have shown that generalised social trust has important positive effects on the functioning of well-ordered democracies, the associated literature

suggests that institutional trust can have more or less comparable social outcomes. While there is relatively strong consensus about the importance of political trust, whether it is the maintenance of a functioning welfare state or preventing disorderly behaviour, much less agreement can be found on the theoretical status of the concept (Zmerli and Hooghe, 2013).

In terms of providing a detailed analytical framework to examine political trust, David Easton (1965, 1975) compartmentalised political trust into three distinguishable parts (support for the community, the regime, and the authorities) further broken down into five 'levels':

Support for the community is generally understood to mean 'a basic attachment to 'the nation' beyond the present institutions of government' (Norris, 1999). This implies that political trust and national identity are intrinsically linked.

Support for the regime refers to support for the core **regime principles** which represent the values of the political system. The basic principles of liberal democratic regimes (such as the UK) are commonly understood to include values such as tolerance, moderation, freedom, participation, respect for institutional rights, and the rule of law (Beetham, 1994).

The third concerns citizen evaluations of **regime performance** – meaning the level of support for how regimes function in practice. A common way to measure this part of political trust is **looking at levels of satisfaction with democracy.**

The fourth level specifically focuses on support for **regime institutions –** to an extent touching upon what Richard Rose calls a 'realistic' view of democracy. This includes public attitudes towards the government, parliament, political parties, the legal system, the police, the state bureaucracy, and the military (Lipset and Schneider, 1987; Listhaug and Wiberg, 1995).

The final level considers specific support for **political actors –** including evaluations of politicians as a class. Based on this five-fold classification, political trust in the UK ought to be maximised when there is a strong sense of national belonging, support for liberal democratic values, a high level of satisfaction with how the British democratic system functions, strong support for the UK's formal institutions, favourable opinions of British politicians in general, and considerable confidence in the police and the judicial system.

Political trust has also been defined as 'the degree to which people perceive that government is producing outcomes consistent with their expectations' (Hetherington, 2005). Closely

linked to the fourth level of Easton's five-fold classification, this definition asserts that political trust is driven by 'expectations - perceived reality' calculations, with wider 'gaps' negatively impacting upon levels of political trust. While Hetherington's definition is very much 'government-focussed', this 'expectations – perceived reality' differential regarding political trust can be applied across a number of institutions – including parliament, political parties, the police, and the courts. Therefore, confidence in legislative bodies, the judicial system, and law enforcement can all play a role in the development (or erosion) of political trust. As will be discussed later, this thesis draws inspiration from various components of Easton's classification and develops a framework for understanding democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context.

There is an ongoing debate regarding the relationship between social (horizontal) and political (vertical) trust – or indeed, if there is a connection between the two forms of trust. Initial work on trust assumed that social and political trust were interlinked parts that lay at the heart of a general pattern of a wider worldview (Rosenberg, 1956; 1957; Lane, 1959). These ideas have also been supported in recent times by scholars who have asserted that there is a strong connection between social and political trust (Putnam, 1993; Misztal, 1996; Dalton, 2004; Zmerli and Newton, 2008). However, the idea that social and political trust is intertwined is by no means uncontested. Eric Uslaner has argued that the two forms of trust have fundamentally different foundations. Interestingly, Uslaner makes a sharp distinction between the two types of trust based on **experience**, arguing that generalised social trust is a value that persists over long periods of time and is not dependent upon experience. Political trust does reflect experiences – especially of an economic nature (Uslaner, 2015: 658). Uslaner has also argued that it is social segregation which is the culprit in reducing trust (2012). By following general social science practice in treating social and political-institutional trust independently in terms of how they are related to social integration, this research project is well-positioned in terms of making its own contribution to the ongoing debate over the supposed overlap between these two types of trust.

The two main indicators for this research project on UK ethnic minority civic inclusion – generalised social trust and satisfaction with democracy – all hold considerable importance when looking at how one is truly 'included' in British civic society. Civic inclusion in the British ethnic minority context rests on the extent to which one places trust in 'outgroup' members

and has confidence in the democratic political system – both of which strike at the heart of debates over the general health of Britain's multi-ethnic democratic society. Both of these features of ethnic minority civic inclusion are important in their own right and worthy of the attention they receive from this research study. Trust in outgroup members allows for efficient and productive collective action at both community and national level. Lack of trust in those who do not belong to one's own ethnic group can breed feelings of suspicion and 'fear of the unknown' – which subsequently limit the scope for mutual co-operation which cut across ethnic boundaries. Looking at ethnic minority trust democratic satisfaction provides us with an understanding of how successful the existing system of governance has been in terms of being responsive to the diversity of needs and concerns within the UK's multi-ethnic society.

1.8: The argument: social integration

This thesis investigates how structures of social networks and the patterns of intergroup contact impact on generalised social trust and satisfaction with British democracy. Negative intergroup contact can include discriminatory experiences on the grounds of race, ethnicity or religion. These negative experiences can conceivably take place across a range of domains - within the labour market, ordinary social settings such as a local bar or restaurant, or during contact with formal actors or institutions such as the police or the courts. In terms of positive intergroup contact, this will look at forms of bridging social networks which can create opportunities for positive contact across ethnic groups – such as ethnically-mixed friendship groups. It is expected that these social networks and patterns of intergroup contact are indeed related to the civic inclusion (or exclusion) of British ethnic minorities – namely generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction.

Much of the existing intergroup relations literature seems to focus on how positive intergroup contact can counteract inherent prejudices towards 'outgroup' members of society (Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010). Therefore, academic studies in the field of interethnic relations have generally tended to concentrate on how bridging forms of social capital shape public attitudes – including generalised social trust – for the better. As will be discussed in greater depth later on in both this and the following chapter, this has arguably led to an overriding focus on the benefits of

intergroup contact and the under-exploration of negative intergroup contact and the subsequent effects.

This thesis seeks to address this under-investigation of negative intergroup contact in this field of research – mainly by looking at reported instances of discrimination across the UK's ethnic minorities. However, to guard against accusations of 'swaying to the other extreme' by exclusively focusing on negative intergroup contact and the drawbacks of social integration, this research project will also maintain previous focus on positive interethnic contact, looking at how ethnically-mixed social networks can create opportunities for positive intergroup contact which lead to positive outcomes regarding generalised social trust.

1.9: Variety of social experiences and intergroup contact

Negative intergroup contact experienced by UK ethnic minorities can come in different forms and take place in a variety of settings. In the economic sphere, interactions with the labour market and within the workplace will be the subject of much focus – particularly discrimination surrounding accessibility, job interviews, and in-work experiences involving promotion opportunities. With numerous studies concluding that ethnic penalties continue to persist and that they may be responsible for producing other socio-structural inequalities (Bell and Casebourne, 2008; Heath and Yi Cheung, 2008; Rafferty, 2012), it is important to better understand the extent to which ethnic minority individuals reported to be subjected to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes within the labour market. As already discussed, perceived injustice at the hands of prevailing socio-economic structures can be detrimental for democratic satisfaction. This relates to ideas of equality of opportunity and meritocracy – hallmarks of traditional British liberal thinking.

Social contact and experiences can also include reported experiences of discriminatory behaviour exhibited by local educational establishments such as schools, colleges, and universities (perhaps over admission procedures), private sector actors such as bank branches, shops and restaurants, negative 'informal' situations involving friends, work colleagues and neighbours at social gatherings, or more public-institutional forms of discrimination at the hands of the police and the courts. The latter form of reported discrimination could include 'random' stop-and-search policing or perceived injustice at the hands of the legal system.

Understanding patterns of intergroup contact needs active consideration of the ethnic composition of social networks and various 'arenas' of membership. This touches on the aforementioned concepts of bonding and bridging social capital, looking at the ethnic composition of social networks such as friendship groups and the degree of co-ethnicity within more formal associations. This could also look at the ethnic composition of work environments, with specific ethnic minorities tending to be over-represented within particular sectors (occupational segregation) – perhaps due to accessibility issues with the wider labour market. This research project wishes to develop a critical understanding of the various inter-relationships between social networks, intergroup contact and civic inclusion in the British ethnic minority context.

Ethno-racial discrimination can involve negative contact with institutions or formal actors who represent state authorities. As mentioned before, negative experiences with the police and the legal system can be a source of discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity or religion. Other discrimination situations may include negative experiences with government officials – especially those working with immigration-related agencies. What is clear is the sheer variety of types of discrimination which can be experienced by ethnic minorities, the different 'domains' where this discrimination takes place, and the actors which might be implicated in these negative forms of contact. A rigorous academic investigation which takes this into consideration is likely to produce a greater understanding of how social networks and interethnic contact impact on the civic inclusion of ethnic minorities living in the UK.

1.10: The Method

In order to properly investigate the inter-relationship between social integration, intergroup contact and trust, focus on network-level context – which refers to an individual's direct social, economic and residential environment – is required. It has been argued within the existing literature that contextual units of analysis, such as one's neighbourhood, reflects people's actual 'interaction settings', and is therefore more likely to have an effect on socio-political attitudes and behaviour in comparison to more 'remote' levels of analysis such as country or regional level (Stolle et al., 2008; Tolsma, 2009). The research project, which is especially interested in the importance of social integration, considers the ethnic composition of people's friendship groups, place of work and neighbourhood, along with their regular place of worship and civic associations (if applicable).

To investigate the main research questions and key inter-relationships of interest, this thesis will primarily rely on the ESRC-funded 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Survey conducted in the aftermath of the 2010 UK General Election. The survey comprehensively covers the social and political behaviour and attitudes of five established ethnic categories in the UK – Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, and Black African. The main topics include attitudes towards conventional political election issues, ethnic/religious identity and group consciousness, discrimination, prejudice and 'social distance', and ethnic social capital and political mobilisation. The survey is one of the largest and most rigorous ever held when it comes to investigating the socio-political incorporation of ethnic minorities in an advanced liberal democracy, comprising a grand total of 2,787 respondents (1,339 men and 1,448 women) and being national in terms of coverage.

Table 1.1: Ethnic group breakdown of 2010 EMBES respondents

Ethnic Group	N (number of respondents)
Indian	**587**
Pakistani	**668**
Bangladeshi	**270**
Black Caribbean	**597**
Black African	**524**
Other	**140**
Refused	**1**
All	**2787**

Unweighted frequencies for EMBES 2010.

The EMBES 2010 dataset is one which is invaluable in terms of testing the key inter-relationships of interest depicted on the detailed path diagram. There are a multitude of variables which measure the degree of 'co-ethnicity' across a range of networks, such as friendship group, workplace, neighbourhood, place of worship and civic associations such as sports clubs and citizen groups. Numerous variables represent the forms of discrimination respondents have reported – discriminatory experiences on various grounds such as race, ethnicity, language/accent or religion. The coding and measurement of these variables, along with the corresponding survey questions, will be fleshed out in more detail in Section 3.4 of the thesis. The 'most people can be trusted' variable within the 2010 EMBES dataset can be

used to understand levels of generalised social trust, while there is variable which specifically measures the respondents' level of satisfaction with British democracy. The face validity and usefulness of these variables and the EMBES 2010 dataset itself will also be discussed in the same section.

One could argue that considering the sheer richness of the dataset, it is one that has been so far underused in terms of better understanding how social and political trust is shaped and constructed within the UK's established five ethnic minority groups. It is this invaluable nature of the dataset which this research project seeks to exploit in order to provide a more critical understanding of how social networks and patterns of intergroup contact among Britain's ethnic minorities are associated with generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction.

Alongside the quantitative research while relies on the 2010 EMBES dataset, a total of 25 semi-structured interviews, across the Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African ethnic minority groups, will be held. The function of these semi-structured interviews is 'complementary' – being part of an overall research design which is ultimately reliant on quantitative analysis of survey data. It is hoped that the semi-structured interviews produce results which help to interpret and understand the quantitative findings, along with providing a more 'personal' account of the key inter-relationships of interest. The process of investigation and methodological approach will be set out and explained in detail over the course of Chapter 3.

1.11: Research contribution

Based on the current state of affairs regarding the existing literature, this thesis makes three important contributions. It is investigating key inter-relationships between the ethnic composition of social networks, patterns of intergroup contact, generalised social trust and political trust (in the form of democratic satisfaction) from the point of view of ethnic minorities. Much of the existing research, particularly on social trust, examines these issues from 'vantage point' of the 'dominant' white majority (Molina et al. 2015). This thesis makes a fundamental break from this tendency by looking at the key inter-relationships of interest from the perspective of ethnic minority groups living in the UK – an ever-growing section of the British population.

This thesis makes a number of important research contributions. One important research contribution made by the thesis lies in its coverage of negative intergroup contact in the form of racial (and religious) discrimination. Thomas Pettigrew, one of the leading scholars in the study of intergroup relations, has identified the lack of focus on negative interethnic contact as a major weakness of ethnic studies literature, stating that studies tend to explore the benefits and extol the virtues of intergroup contact.

In their study of 713 independent samples in contact studies conducted during the 20th Century, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found only 34 (<5%) statistically significant relationships where intergroup contact related to greater prejudice. However, it is simply undeniable that negative outcomes can occur during intergroup contact, and this area of research is underdeveloped and needs far more study if a more critical understanding of ethnic minority civic inclusion is to be developed. Despite their scarcity, there are studies which emphasise the effects of negative contact. Barlow et al. (2012) found through two studies (one in Australia and the other in the US) that negative intergroup contact may be more strongly associated with increased racism and discrimination, than positive intergroup contact is with prejudice reduction. Building on studies such as Barlow et al. (2012), this piece of research seeks to address the need for a greater focus on negative intergroup contact and its potentially damaging consequences.

Therefore, this research project is distinctive in its examination of **negative** inter-ethnic contact – specifically reported experiences of discrimination. Prior interethnic contact research has emphasised the importance of ethnically-mixed relations in fostering positive feelings towards outgroup members of society. Despite widespread discrimination and prejudice in the UK, we know rather little about how these negative forms of contact impact on the civic inclusion of British ethnic minorities. By looking at how social integration can create opportunities for positive intergroup contact (which can lead to stronger generalised social trust) but may also heighten exposure to and awareness of discrimination (which in turn could have a negative impact on democratic satisfaction), the thesis adopts a more balanced approach to examining the nature and effects of intergroup contact - one which has not been demonstrated by many previous studies in this field of research.

Existing studies which consider the civic inclusion aspects of this research model – generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction – tend to look at them at the population at large. This

is usually conducted on an 'ethnic white majority' vs 'ethnic-minority population' basis - where ethnic minorities have tended to be 'grouped' together as a 'homogenous bloc'. There are real differences between and within ethnic minority groups, which have so far gone largely unexplored and unrecognised within the realm of political science public attitude research. Therefore, this project's originality and distinctiveness also lies in its intention to investigate **between-group** variations across different ethnic minorities in the UK.

This 'disaggregation' of the British ethnic minority population, which is an important contribution and major strength of the thesis, is vitally important for a number of reasons. A number of the studies examining diversity-trust relationships in the British context have tended to 'homogenise' minority groups into Black and Asian (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Sturgis et al., 2011), merge Bangladeshis/Pakistanis and Black Africans/Black Caribbeans into 'groups' (Laurence and Heath, 2008; Laurence, 2011), or have looked at the issue of social trust on a majority-minority basis (Letki, 2008). This research project is adopting a more granular research approach, looking at five clear ethnic minority groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African). By doing this, the study will be able to identify between-group differences in social behaviours and socio-political attitudes that otherwise would have been overlooked if various ethnic minority groups were merged into convenient 'ethno-racial blocs' such as 'Black' or 'South Asian'.

It is also important because various ethnic minority groups may respond to similar social events in different ways. This can also be the case for different subgroups within specific ethnic minorities. While reported discrimination within specific domains may be experienced 'across-the-board', members of one ethnic group may react differently in terms of social behaviour and attitudes in comparison to those belonging to another group. Disaggregation allows us to identify these differences, which in turn provides us with the foundations to investigate the reasons behind such behavioural and attitudinal variation in the context of negative intergroup. It could well be the case that discriminatory experiences can be experienced at similar levels across the ethnic minority groups, but differences in the ethnic structures of social networks and the possession of 'civic resources' can influence the strength of the negative effects of intergroup contact on civic inclusion.

The disaggregation of ethnic minorities is invaluable from a policy recommendation point of view. 'One-size-fits-all' policies are unlikely to facilitate and secure the civic inclusion of all

ethnic minority individuals in the UK. Depending on the findings of this research project, it may well be the case that there is a diversity of policy recommendations, with specific policies designed to improve civic inclusion outcomes within particular ethnic minority groups. The British ethnic minority population is not a homogenous uniform bloc, and between-group differences in social integration, negative intergroup contact, generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction mean that a 'blanket' policy approach is unlikely to be effective in terms of improving civic inclusion outcomes across the British ethnic minority population. This degree of disaggregation allows us to identify specific problems experienced within particular groups – or indeed problems experienced by 'subsets' within ethnic minority groups – thus enabling the formulation of a more sophisticated set of evidence-led policy recommendations (discussed in more detail in the final chapter of the thesis).

The third, and perhaps most important contribution of the thesis, is developing an understanding of the negative impact of discrimination for ethnic minority groups living in the UK. An interesting point of research is exploring where blame is directed towards by people who experience discrimination and are more aware of ethnic (and religious) penalties which continue to persist in the UK. The academic research on the relationship on discriminatory experiences and social trust is far from reaching a general consensus (something which will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter and Chapter 6 of the thesis). Meanwhile, the research on satisfaction with democracy has generally tended to focus on electoral outcomes and party identification (which is discussed in more detail in Section 2.5 of the thesis). This thesis explores the possibility that while helping to creating positive outcomes for generalised social trust, social integration can heighten awareness of discriminatory behaviours which in turn feed into dissatisfaction with Britain's democratic system of governance. Therefore, understanding the attribution of responsibility for negative intergroup contact and structural injustices is key in this context.

1.12: Relevance and implications

This thesis hopes that by testing the detailed path diagram, a more critical understanding of the various inter-relationships of interest surrounding the civic inclusion of ethnic minorities will be gained. By providing a comprehensive analysis of the key inter-relationships of interest, policy recommendations can be made for practitioners and policymakers alike who

have an active interest in improving the civic health of Britain's ethnically diverse, multi-religious, liberal democracy.

This thesis has the potential to provide useful policy recommendations which are designed to improve the civic inclusion of ethnic minorities in the UK. If the government of the day wishes to facilitate ethnic minority civic inclusion, do they need to focus more on ethnic minorities themselves by promoting positive cross-ethnic communication? Or does the 'policy focus' need to be more on the white British majority, in terms of reducing discrimination and 'native prejudice'? Where do such anti-discrimination efforts urgently need to be made? This mixed-methods research project will help to reach practical answers to these important questions.

Whether it be increased public-private investment in interethnic community projects, introducing more robust forms of anti-discrimination labour market rules, further reforming and modernising public institutions, finding ways to tackle residential segregation along ethnic lines, or implementing localised economic policies that truly regenerate run-down, deprived neighbourhoods, this research study intends to provide policy proposals which improve the civic inclusion of ethnic minorities – and ultimately strengthen the quality of Britain's modern multi-racial democracy.

As this research project has a social-psychological slant to it, it is important to consider the potentially harmful effects of ethnic and racial discrimination in regards to mental health. There have been numerous studies, albeit largely in the American context, which have found connections between reported experiences of discrimination and feelings of helplessness, loss, frustration, and reduced sense of control (Tidwell, 1990; Gary, 1991; Feagin, 1991). There is also a comprehensive body of literature which links experiences of discrimination with poor mental health outcomes (depression, stress, anxiety) for ethnic and racial minority groups (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; Broman, 1997; Araújo and Borrell, 2006; Ahn and Lee, 2011; Koopmans, 2015). With levels of reported racial discrimination being noticeably high across all five established ethnic minority groups in the UK (as will be presented later in Chapter 4), it could well be the case that understanding ethnic minority discrimination in the British context is vitally important from a mental health perspective. In regards to civic inclusion, it is important to recognise that mental health problems are often entangled with forms of social stigma and socio-economic exclusion. Therefore, evidence-driven proposals designed to minimise levels of ethno-racial discrimination and develop a more meritocratic state of

affairs can be part of a broader policy agenda designed to improve mental health outcomes within British ethnic minorities.

While political science scholars have previously warned against using survey data to make predictions regarding religious radicalism and the proclivity to be involved in terrorist activity (Heath et al., 2013), the role of discrimination in radicalisation processes is something that also ought to be considered (Ehsan, 2015). If the severity of discriminatory experiences results in the recipient feeling downgraded to 'second-class citizen' status, then such negative interactions can have fundamental implications for social stability. Indeed, in the field of social psychology, it has even been suggested that ethnic-minority recipients of discrimination may react by 'offloading' frustration through 'separationist' channels of expression – such as joining mutual aid organisations of a radical tendency (Victoroff et al., 2012).

Discrimination has also been pinpointed as a major trigger of the 'identity crises' suffered by ethnic minority individuals – leaving them vulnerable to radicalisation (Al-Raffie, 2015). Therefore, from this perspective, ethnic minority discrimination can be considered as a **national security** issue. With a growing number of studies expressing concern over the role of ethno-racial discrimination and injustice in radicalisation processes (Pisoiu, 2011; Schmid, 2013; Al-Raffie, 2015), policy proposals produced by this thesis can potentially contribute to the ongoing debate over the focus and substance of British counter-radicalisation strategy.

1.13: Plan of the thesis

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 will discuss the theoretical motivations behind the research project's method of investigation. This includes reviewing existing literature on trust, looking at how both social and political forms of trust are shaped, built, and eroded. The key inter-relationships of interest between social integration, intergroup contact, social trust and democratic satisfaction are theorised over the course of Chapter 2. The key findings from the literature review are that the existing literature tends to prioritise the positive aspects of intergroup contact, with negative intergroup contact and its potentially damaging effects remaining an underdeveloped area of research. Chapter 2 also finds that existing literature on the relationship between discrimination and political trust in particularly underdeveloped in the European context in comparison to the United States.

Chapter 3 will discuss the key hypotheses and research methodology for the thesis. It will also include critical engagement with the 2010 EMBES dataset, the role of semi-structured interviews in the research project, and the broader methodological limitations of the project. There will also be a section dedicated to the conceptualisation, measurement, and coding of relevant 2010 EMBES variables, with discussion of their validity and usefulness being provided.

Chapter 4 essentially functions as a bridging chapter, presenting descriptive statistical data from the 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study survey. The bivariate analysis presented in this chapter covers the level of social integration, socio-economic resources, reported racial and religious discrimination, generalised social trust and political-institutional trust across the five main ethnic minority groups. With the thesis having an intergenerational dimension, differences between generations are also presented. Chapter 4 presents descriptive statistical findings which not only motivate the research undertaken in the subsequent empirical chapters, but also guide the direction of the complementary semi-structured interviews. An important purpose served by this chapter is highlighting the limitation of creating homogenising "racial blocs" such as "BAME", "Black" and "South Asian" by presenting noticeable between-group differences across social integration, reported discrimination and political-institutional trust.

Chapter 5, the first empirical chapter of the thesis, examines how social integration is associated with heightened reporting of racial and religious discrimination. By doing so, the chapter develops understanding of negative intergroup contact in an area of research which tends to prioritise the benefits of intergroup contact and social mixing. The chapter finds that people who are more socially integrated are more likely to report racial discrimination. In regards to the ethnic groups under analysis, Black Caribbeans – who are the highly integrated through work and friends - are the most likely to report racial discrimination. Alternatively, British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – who are the least socially integrated – are less likely to report discrimination on ethno-racial grounds. However, these two Muslim-dominant groups are the most likely to report religious discrimination. Black Caribbeans, who report the lowest rate of religious affiliation, are the least likely to report religious discrimination. The chapter also finds that BAME people who are more socially integrated through their place of work are

more likely to report discrimination than those who are occupationally segregated or not economically active at all.

Chapter 6 looks into how social integration and negative intergroup contact are associated with generalised social trust. This chapter focuses on how being part of ethnically-mixed networks can create opportunities for positive contact which can counteract the potentially negative effects of discrimination. By doing so, this chapter develops research on how intergroup contact across ethnic groups can impact on the social trust of British ethnic minorities – an area of research which has tended to focus on how the social trust of the "white native majority" is affected by contact with ethnic minorities living in Western societies. The chapter finds that ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated, are more likely to be socially trusting than those who have less opportunities for positive intergroup contact. This suggests that ethnic minority people who are socially segregated and have limited contact outside of their ethnic group, are less likely to be socially trusting on the whole. The chapter also presents findings which suggest that the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust may be particularly severe among people who have little to no friends outside of their own group. Supporting the quantitative analysis, the semi-structured interviews find that first-generation migrants are more socially trusting than those who were born and raised in the UK.

Chapter 7 examines the relationship between social integration and satisfaction with British democracy among the UK's ethnic minorities. Seeking to provide a corrective to existing literature which tends to view social and political trust as intrinsically related phenomena, this chapter explores the paradoxical "doubleness" of social integration and political exclusion. In contrast to Chapter 6 where social integration is associated with higher generalised social trust, those who more socially integrated are less likely to be satisfied with British democracy – with ethnic minority people who are socially segregated, reporting higher levels of democratic satisfaction. While no ethnic group differences could be reported for generalised social trust, Black Caribbeans – who are more socially integrated and more likely to report racial discrimination – are the least likely to express satisfaction with British democracy. Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – who are the least socially segregated and least likely to report racial discrimination – show high levels of democratic satisfaction, along with people of Black African origin. The findings in Chapter 7 suggest that heightened exposure to and awareness

of racial discrimination can to a degree explain for the relationship between social integration and weaker satisfaction with British democracy. The interviews also support the quantitative analysis by finding that people born outside of the UK have far more positive orientations towards British democracy than British-born ethnic minority people.

Chapter 8 discusses the main academic contributions made by the thesis. Addressing the political science and social-psychological academic communities, this chapter stresses the need for future research to be more balanced when investigating the effects of social integration and intergroup contact. It also explains that various "domains" need to be considered when examining these effects, which much of the existing literature primarily focusing on neighbourhood level context. The chapter includes a path diagram which condenses the main findings for the key inter-relationships of interests (with co-efficients being presented).

Chapter 9, the final chapter of the thesis, discusses the policy implications of the findings presented in the thesis. Addressing policy communities, this chapter provides evidence-driven policy recommendations which are ultimately designed to improve the civic inclusion of the five UK ethnic minority groups under analysis – strengthening levels of generalised social trust and boosting satisfaction with institutions which are at the heart of Britain's democratic system of governance. Themes tackled in this policy chapter include labour market discrimination, community cohesion and state-community relations in areas such as policing and counter-terrorism.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Motivations

2.1: Introduction

This chapter serves a number of critical functions within the context of this research project. It will explain why, and to what extent, a definitive answer has been provided for the key research questions this thesis strives to address. If a definitive answer does not exist, it will be discussed as to why this is the case and how this will be addressed by the thesis. By reviewing the existing relevant literature associated with the various components and 'pathways' depicted on the detailed path diagram for research investigation, the ground for the elaboration of the project's central argument will be firmly established. Reviewing the existing literature on the various inter-relationships depicted on the detailed path diagram will allow identification of the areas of research which remain fairly underexplored.

This chapter begins with reviewing the existing relevant literature on social trust, with reference to two key competing theories in the field of social trust studies – 'conflict' and 'contact' theory. This section of the theoretical chapter will begin with considering studies in the US context which seem to support traditional claims in social capital literature – that ethnic heterogeneity places considerable strain on social trust, while ethnically-homogenous environments are better able to facilitate the construction and consolidation of social ties. The chapter then moves onto findings in the British context, which seem to emphasise the importance of area-level deprivation effects when analysing factors which tax the social glue of British neighbourhoods. Relatively underdeveloped areas of research within the existing literature on social trust in the British context will also be identified.

The following section specifically looks at forms of political trust and reviews literature which consider its origins and determinants. This review of existing political trust literature surrounds the role of both 'macro-level' and 'micro-level' economic considerations in shaping political trust and confidence in public institutions such as national parliaments – with studies in the US, Africa, Europe, and South-east Asia being referred to. The discussion then moves onto ethnic minority political trust, looking at what it is shaped and conditioned by. Specific issues such as economic reform and redress for racial discrimination will be discussed within the context of political trust formation among ethnic minority groups. Reviewing existing

literature on satisfaction with democracy finds an overwhelming dominance of studies on electoral outcomes, vote choice and party identification.

Continuing with the theoretical discussion on 'micro-level' economic circumstances, the next section is devoted to theorising the role of 'civic resources' in ethnic minority civic inclusion. This naturally begins with the classic assertions made by Sidney Verba and Gabriel Almond regarding the role of educational attainment and material resources in 'enabling' political participation. Existing literature which transfer these assertions and apply them within the context of how they can shape social and political-institutional trust is considered and reviewed. This leads onto a subsection which qualitatively theorises how civic resources are expected to be positively associated with both social and political-institutional trust. This involves theorisation of how the ownership of civic resources leads to higher trust in others, political institutions, and the police.

The chapter moves onto how **social networks and forms of intergroup contact** may directly impact on ethnic minority civic inclusion – in this case, generalised social trust and satisfaction with British democracy. This section initially reviews the degree of academic conflict within the existing relevant literature which considers the relationship between personal experiences and social trust. There is also discussion of existing mainland European studies which consider the role of social experiences in influencing ethnic minority social trust - which seem to overlook social networks in this process. The section on social contact moves onto discussion of how negative intergroup contact in the form of discrimination has been underexplored in the field of ethnic studies. Deep theorisation of how certain social structures may 'expose' or 'insulate' ethnic minority individuals from negative inter-ethnic experiences is made. This includes discussion of how ethnically-mixed social ties can potentially counteract the negative effects of discrimination on social trust, but can also have negative effects on satisfaction in the democratic system. Concluding with a 'general state of affairs' style conclusion, the chapter summarising the existing strengths and weaknesses of the existing literature on intergroup relations, social trust and political-institutional trust, and how this thesis seeks to build on the existing literature as well as improving our understanding of the effects of social integration in the British ethnic minority context.

2.2: The theoretical foundations of social trust

A burgeoning field of research investigates the role social experiences and contexts can play in generating or eroding social trust. The concept of social trust, which was defined in the previous chapter, is closely linked to two key theories in the field of socio-psychology – 'conflict' and 'contact' theory. Conflict theory is based on the core assertion that ethnically-mixed environments lead to inefficient trust-building and weakened social ties, whereas contact theory argues that trust-building is not so much influenced by the ethnic composition of environments, but rather the 'quality' of interactions between people of different backgrounds.

There are numerous scholars who support the claim that bonds of social trust tend to be stronger within contexts where people have a deeper sense of familiarity with one another and share particular characteristics with other members of the community (Delhey and Newton, 2005; Fukuyama, 1995; McPherson et al., 2001; Messick and Kramer, 2001). This line of argument is supported by Robert Putnam, who claims that 'ethnic and racial neighbourhood diversity exerts negative effects on trust in other people, as well as many other civic attitudes and behaviours' (2007: 58).

It has also been suggested that 'cultural difference' can generate feelings of suspicion and threat – deriving from classical 'group conflicts' over competition for resources or based on fears of losing one's own cultural identity (Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2006; McLaren, 2003). Therefore, those sympathetic to the implications of conflict theory are likely to view ethnic diversity as a 'negative' in terms of social trust formation, as feelings of suspicion, fear, and hostility are more naturally generated in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

Contact theory, as a theoretical perspective on intergroup relations, rests on the assumption that much of the social contact which takes place is meaningful and positive. This is to an extent reflected in recent studies which advance the argument that intergroup contact helps to reduce inherent prejudices towards outgroupers (Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Letki, 2008; Stolle et al, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010). Benefits of interethnic contact identified include reduced intergroup anxiety, with bonds of trust, respect, empathy and mutual understanding developed (Pettigrew, 2008; Barlow et al. 2012).

2.3: Social trust, ethnic diversity and economic deprivation

Many of the early studies on the relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust were carried out in the USA. These studies have collectively identified the negative role of 'ethnic diversity effects' in hampering the building and maintenance of social trust in the American context (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2000, 2002; Costa and Kahn, 2003; Hero, 2003; Howard et al. 2005; Putnam, 2007). These findings have prompted a great deal of concern about the negative consequences of ethnic diversity for social trust and community cohesion – generating considerable academic and policy interest in the topic in the British context.

Over the last 10 years a number of studies have investigated the relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust in the British context (Letki 2008; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Sturgis et al., 2011). Collectively, the aforementioned British-based studies found an association between neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage and lower-quality inter-ethnic relations. This ties in with the idea that economic deprivation can breed feelings of hostility and suspicion – and in diverse areas (which tend to be poorer in Britain's case), the competition for scarce resources – jobs, social housing, welfare, public services – can lead to interracial material conflict and social identity threat (Citrin et al., 1997; Quillian, 1995). Laurence (2011) clearly identifies the pivotal role of economic disadvantage in undermining inter-ethnic relations, concluding that neighbourhood-level deprivation appeared to be 'more symptomatic' of weak civic-mindedness than ethnic diversity.

While literature on the US has tended to support the idea of conflict theory – at least insofar as ethnic diversity was associated with low levels of trust - these findings have not been transferred to the British context. These studies in the UK context, using different data sources and different measures, have all pointed in the same direction – the ethnic diversity within a British neighbourhood had little to no effect on social trust once neighbourhood-level deprivation was considered. Letki also discusses the role of positive social contact in 'mediating' for inherent negative diversity effects (supporting the implications of contact theory), as well as the 'economic quality' of the context in which such interactions are taking place. This does naturally give rise to the question of whether the role of neighbourhood-level socio-economic deprivation has been previously under-emphasised or even overlooked by

previous studies in the American context when looking at the factors which have a taxing effect on the social glue of communities.

Building on the existing studies in the British context, this thesis will take into consideration both ethnic density and income deprivation effects. Much of the research in the British context seems to imply that ethnic density is relatively unimportant when considering matters of social trust. However, given the number of race riots that have occurred at various times in Britain's history and the evident ethnic tensions which are manifest in some communities, it seems unlikely that ethnic diversity is unimportant. It is also important to acknowledge that a number of state-commissioned reports have highlighted a lack of intergroup contact, due to residential segregation and the segregationist nature of faith schools, as a major reason behind long-standing interethnic tensions in the UK (Cantle, 2001; Casey, 2016). Therefore, the relationship between being socially integrated and placing trust in others needs to be more critically examined, **taking into consideration network-level domains such as friendship group and workplace.**

2.4: Social trust of British ethnic minorities

While there have been a growing number of studies looking at the relationship between ethnic diversity, economic deprivation, and social trust in British neighbourhoods, the existing literature on the dynamics of social trust within specific UK ethnic minorities remains underdeveloped. A number of the studies examining the ethnic diversity-social trust relationship in the British context have tended to 'homogenise' minority groups into Black and Asian (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Sturgis et al., 2011), merge Bangladeshis/Pakistanis and Black Africans/Black Caribbeans into 'groups' (Laurence and Heath, 2008; Laurence, 2011), or have looked at the issue of social trust on a majority-minority basis (Letki, 2008). This research project is adopting a more granular research approach, looking at five established minority groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African).

Generalised social trust – that is placing trust in outgroup members of society which incorporates strangers – is a subject which has received surprisingly little attention in British ethnic studies. A recent study which does look at levels of generalised social trust among British ethnic minorities is by Demireva and Heath (2014). When looking at social contact

effects, bridging social capital was positively related with higher generalised social trust and stronger British identification for minorities, while experiences of discrimination are negatively associated with generalised social trust. What this research project seeks to do is to build on this study by looking at how ethnically-mixed networks can counterbalance the negative effects of discriminatory experiences on generalised social trust by creating opportunities for positive intergroup contact. This builds on existing literature which finds that intergroup contact can moderate prejudices towards outgroup members of society.

This thesis distinguishes itself from much of the existing literature on social trust in the British context by looking at the ethnic composition of other "domains" as well as one's neighbourhood when examining the relationship between social integration and generalised social trust. While issues such as residential segregation and neighbourhood deprivation ought to be considered when examining the relationship between social integration and social trust, the ethnic make-up of one's friendship group, their place of work, regular place of worship and civic associations, have the potential to influence the level of trust placed in others. By examining social trust from the vantage point of British ethnic minorities and considered various "domains" of social integration, this thesis builds on existing literature which tends to focus on neighbourhood-level effects and the social trust of the indigenous majority (Molina et al. 2015).

2.5: Political trust: origins and determinants

As well as generalised social trust, civic inclusion in this thesis also includes satisfaction with British democracy – a critical component of political trust (Easton 1965, 1975). There is a comprehensive body of literature which has considered and investigated the origins and determinants of political trust. Much of the existing literature from this century refers to economic considerations and circumstances when evaluating political trust formation (Mishler and Rose, 2001; Kluegel and Manson, 2004; Hetherington and Rudolph, 2008; Wroe, 2016). These economic considerations can both be at the 'micro' and 'macro' level, involving evaluations of personal economic circumstances and the general performance of the national economy.

Mishler and Rose (2001) conducted a cross-national study consisting of 10 countries covering Central and Eastern Europe, finding that 'linking' economic circumstances with democratic

institutions was the driving force behind political trust formation. When tracking levels of governmental trust across the EU from 2001-8, Bovens and Wille (2013) find that 'peaks' and 'troughs' in political trust tend to correspond with times of national economic growth and stagnation. Wong et al. (2011), conducting a cross-national survey consisting of six Asian countries, find a significant association between institutional trust and the 'economic performance of government'.

When specifically looking at 'micro-level' economic considerations, there is a growing number of studies from this decade which find a statistically significant relationship between personal socio-economic circumstances and political trust. Conducting a cross-national African study, Marc Hutchison (2011) finds that there is a strong negative relationship between 'economic hardship' and political trust. Interestingly, the positive relationship anticipated between national-level economic development and political trust is not found – perhaps due to perceptions of corruption and 'elite resource capture' in 'high-growth' African economies.

Wroe (2016) discovers a similar finding in the American context, with the extent to which citizens perceive themselves to be 'economically insecure' having a statistically significant and substantial negative effect on political trust. When looking at the 'interaction' between macro-level and micro-level economic evaluations, Rose and Mishler (2013) found that in post-authoritarian regimes, 'macro-institutional' economic performance effects on political trust are at best 'indirect' and mediated at the micro-level by value-laden attitudes and evaluations of personal socio-economic circumstances.

2.6: Satisfaction with democracy: focus on electoral outcomes

It is firstly important to recognise that satisfaction with democracy is a highly disputed concept in the field of political science (Booth and Seligson, 2009; Canache et al. 2001; Fuchs, 1993; Linde and Ekman, 2003). The vast body of scholarship on satisfaction with democracy considers a range of factors which potentially influence satisfaction with democracy. The existing literature is dominated by studies which focus on the workings and outcomes of political systems. This includes examining the impact of electoral outcomes under consensual/majoritarian systems (Anderson and Guillory, 1997; Blais and Gélineau, 2007; Henderson, 2008; Singh et al. 2012, Bernauer and Vatter, 2011), perception of the democratic and representative nature of public institutions (Karp et al. 2003; Aarts and Thomasson, 2008;

Newton and Zmerli, 2007), political scandals and corruption (Rose et al. 1998; Seligson et al. 2002; Wagner et al, 2009; Kumlin and Esaisson, 2012; Dahlberg and Holmberg, 2014), variation in party policy offerings (Ezrow and Xezonakis, 2011; Curini et al, 2012) and the actual (Alonso, 2013) and perceived success (Armingeon and Gutthman, 2014) of economic policies produced by policy-making institutions. The first strand is arguably the dominant strand of research on satisfaction with democracy, with studies exploring how satisfaction with democracy differs between voting "winners" and "losers" under Westminster-style majoritarian and more consensual political systems.

A number of characteristics are shared by the majority of the aforementioned studies are that they are cross-national analyses (which tend to rely on large-scale surveys such as Eurobarometer and Latinbarometro). Firstly, there is a general focus on political (and economic) outcomes produced by the democratic system and its core institutions. Secondly, the majority of the high-profile studies in this area of research focus on national trends – the majoritarian and consensual nature of national systems, macro-level economic outcomes on the national economy, national levels of democratic satisfaction. There is little attention paid to democratic satisfaction within ethnic minority populations.

This thesis, when examining what shapes and conditions democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context, draws some inspiration from the academic perspective which advances the view that it is a critically important measure of political trust which incorporates support for liberal democratic principles such as fairness, equality, meritocracy and anti-discrimination (Easton 1965, 1975; Klingemann, 1999; Kornberg and Clarke, 1994). Using survey data in the Canadian context, Kornberg and Clarke (1994) develop four "conceptions" of democracy: security, opportunities, elections-capitalism, and equality of influence. While the study does not directly consider the impact of personal experiences of discrimination, perceptions of the equity of policies and political processes, along with the fairness of the broader social system, are considered when predicting for democratic satisfaction. This thesis builds on this cornerstone study by looking at how personal experiences of discrimination and heightened awareness of structural bias may contribute towards feelings of unfair and unequal treatment, which in turn feed into dissatisfaction with the democratic system.

This chapter departs from and distinguishes itself from much of the existing literature in a number of ways. Much of the existing research on political trust focuses on macro-level and

micro-level considerations. This includes the perceived success of democratic institutions in regards to economic management, as well as personal socio-economic circumstances. When looking at the existing literature on what shapes and conditions satisfaction with the democratic system, many of the recent studies focus on electoral outcomes and people's party identification. Much of this research examines the inter-relationship between vote choice, electoral results and type of political system, and how this shapes democratic satisfaction. Voters are essentially categorised as electoral "winners" and "losers", with the effects of "winning" and "losing" on satisfaction with democracy being influenced by the majoritarian/consensual nature of the political system. This chapter shifts the attention away from vote choice and electoral outcomes, but rather looking at how integration in the social mainstream and associated experiences can shape democratic satisfaction. And as opposed to focusing on the majoritarian and consensual features of the political system, this chapter examines how individual-level socialisation under different national contexts can shape orientations towards British democracy.

2.7: The role of socio-economic resources

Micro-level evaluations in the form of individual economic perceptions and evaluations of personal circumstances is to a degree linked with the civic resources model (Almond and Verba, 1963). This 'resources-driven' model of socio-political incorporation focuses on the 'social status' of an individual – job, education and income – and how these impacts on political participation. From the 'resources' perspective, political participation is linked to educational attainment, economic security, and social standing.

There are a number of reasons why more educated and independently wealthy individuals may be more inclined to participate in the formal political process. Reaching a high level of educational attainment can facilitate the development of critical thinking skills that enable one to effectively engage with the democratic process (Verba et al, 1993). These skills can help one to better digest and understand the complexities involved in evaluating public policy initiatives, which in turn enhances one's ability to verbally articulate informed points in a reasoned and sophisticated fashion. These are personal qualities that can positively influence one's psychological willingness to take an interest and engage with conventional modes of political participation.

With the long-established conventional view that there is a close association between educational attainment and material earnings in liberal democracies such as the US, UK and Canada (Blanden et al. 2002; Haux et al. 2012 Wise, 2007), it can be argued that education-oriented barriers form the core reason for political inactivity among the more economically-disadvantaged in Western societies. There are however other behavioural-economic explanations for the oft-cited link between socio-structural disparities and participatory inequalities.

As economically active, wealthier members of society shoulder a considerable tax burden in liberal democratic societies with progressive tax systems, they have a personal financial vested interest in matters regarding government expenditure. Socio-political scientists such as Lane Kenworthy have argued that this is because people with more income are 'likely to feel like they have more at stake in terms of taxes, public services and various benefits' (Censky, 2012). Such economically 'secure' individuals possess a psychological sense of entitlement over 'having their say' on how governing powers utilise their taxes, and expressing their thoughts on the perceived implications various spending plans may have for wider society.

While this literature focuses on the relationship between civic resources and political **participation,** there is a comprehensive body of 'trust' literature which stresses the importance of 'civic resources' in the formation of trust – both social and political. Based on the existing literature, there seems to be a growing consensus that individuals in the 'higher echelons' of the socio-economic ladder are the most 'socially trusting' in society (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Delhey and Newton, 2005) – perhaps because the wealthiest and most 'economically secure' can better afford the 'risks of trust' in comparison to poorer individuals who can ill-afford to lose money and property (Zmerli and Newton, 2013). There is also the 'rainmaker hypothesis' (Newton and Norris, 2000; Putnam, 2000; van Der Meer, 2003) – which suggests that higher-income individuals are more trusting as they are usually surrounded and socially interact with other 'trusting' individuals of similarly comfortable socio-economic positions.

In regards to educational attainment, a number of studies have found that the most highly educated in society tend to be the most socially trusting (Paxton, 2007; Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2002). From these studies, a number of explanations have been provided for the

relationship between educational attainment and social trust. More educated individuals are better able and equipped to 'generalise and abstract their experience with known and similar others to unknown and dissimilar others' (Zmerli and Newton, 2013). It could also be because the 'better-educated' are usually wealthier and have more 'social standing' – which are associated with social trust. This is also why unemployment is often associated with lower levels of trust (Brehm and Rahn, 1997).

Due to much of the existing scholarship on trust emphasising the overlap between social and political trust, it is perhaps unsurprising that 'stronger possession' of civic resources has been linked with higher levels of political trust. It has been frequently mentioned in the existing trust literature that those who are more 'socially trusting' are more likely to put their trust in the government, parliament, and political parties. As those who are more 'socially trusting' tend to be more 'economically secure', they tend more trusting and supportive of formal political actors and the system of government which helps to sustain the economic system under which they have accumulated their wealth and reached their social standing (Anderson and LoTempio, 2002). Political trust is also associated with knowledge, engagement, and interest, which in turn is associated with education, income, and socio-economic status.

McCloskey and Chong (1985) provide an interesting account of political trust which can be linked to the implications of the civic resources model. Their theoretical perspective on trust holds that political distrust (and potentially social distrust) is most frequently found among those with 'paranoid tendencies' and a 'victim mentality'. As their wish for a fundamentally different model of political economy falls on 'deaf ears' as the majority of society continue to support the continuation of the status quo, their political distrust is consolidated. This is to a degree supported by Kluegel and Manson (2004), who find in their Eastern European study that 'economic fairness evaluations' have a significant effect on political trust, with perceptions of 'system unfairness' driving down levels of trust and confidence in formal political institutions. This re-emphasises the expectation that socio-economic disparities play an important part in contributing towards variations in political trust.

2.8: Qualitative theorising of resources-trust relationship

The general pattern in the existing 'trust' literature is that people of high social class, occupational status, income, and educational attainment are more satisfied with political

institutions and more trusting of others. It is quite understandable to expect that those who have been successful and generally treated kindly by life to have a more 'trusting' attitude and outlook to life – and there are theoretical groundings to why these expectations have been formed for this thesis. These are broadly post-material, psychological, rational, sociological and institutional in nature.

One theory holds that those who are more educated and wealthier in advanced liberal democracies such as the UK tend to be more 'post-materialist'. We would expect post-materialist types to exhibit comparatively high levels of trust because, by virtue of being more affluent and being freer from material concerns, they are better able to focus on matters on more 'social' values such as trust, collaboration, co-operation, and respect for others – irrespective of social class, ethnicity or religion (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Therefore, education and wealth 'frees' individuals from the constraints of material grievances, enabling them to concentrate on social values which include trust and mutual respect – incorporating those of a different ethnic background.

Social-psychological theorising of trust dynamics tend to emphasise the importance of optimism. We would expect those who are optimistic and co-operative to be more trusting and to have a more benevolent, positive view of humanity in general. Morris Rosenberg, who was heavily involved in laying the foundations for our existing understanding of trust, labelled the battery of questionnaire items to measure trust and distrust 'the misanthropy scale' (1956, 1957) – a 'dislike for humankind'. More recent work by trust scholars such as Eric Uslaner (1999, 2000, 2002) argue that the ability to trust others requires an optimistic perspective on life. The 'winners' in society, the higher-educated wealthy types, generally have much reason to have an optimistic view of life. Those struggling to get by, consumed by material grievances and frustration over their personal circumstances, have more to be cynical, pessimistic, and distrusting about.

It can also be argued that the ability to trust is simply a matter of rationality. It is rational for society's winners to be trusting. It is often said that trust entails risk because people who are trusting put themselves at the mercy of the trustworthiness of others in society who may betray the confidence placed in them (Watson and Moran, 2005; Cvetkovich and Lofstedt, 2013). These 'winners' may risk a fair bit in absolute terms if they lose their personal fortunes, but they usually risk a relatively smaller amount than society's 'losers'.

Theoretical explanations of a more sociological nature are closely tied with the 'rainmaker hypothesis' discussed earlier. Society's successful types may be more trusting by virtue of living within more trustworthy environments. It is society's strugglers, those living in deprived neighbourhoods, who are more likely to be personally plagued by unemployment, crime, drug addiction, ill health, family breakdown and discrimination in society. From the sociological perspective, it will be those people living in Britain's leafy suburban areas who are more likely to experiences expressions of courtesy, kindness, patience, helpfulness and understanding. If survey items measuring generalised social trust – questions such as: 'Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?' – is to do with how they judge the trustworthiness of the society they live in as well as their own individual psychological propensities, than it may be the case that the winners are also more trusting due to environmental factors.

A more institutional-oriented theorisation of trust follows the trend of society's 'winners' being the trusting types. Those who are successful have more reason to place their trust in the institutions and formal actors which are responsible for society's governance and management – especially those which help them to succeed, maintain law and order, ensure protection of private property, and restrain and discipline citizens who may otherwise behave in a disorderly, untrustworthy manner. In this case, we would expect the most economically advanced to place stronger levels of trust in the police and the judicial system.

Society's winners are also better positioned to make use of social and political institutions, using their money, social status, economic power, education, life successes and connections to help them understand the internal workings of formal organisations, to gain access to others in positions of influence, provide them with the resources to defend their personal interests, and to plan strategies to achieve desired results. Therefore, civic resources enable one to better understand the system of governance, locate the 'points of power', and utilise their resources to gain personal influence – meaning they are more comfortable with (and less sceptical over) placing their trust in such institutions of society.

In brief, the winners of society are expected to be the most socially and institutionally trusting by virtue of coming out well so far in the social and economic spheres of life. Generalised social trust – the ability to place trust in others of a different ethnic background, people who may be complete strangers – and confidence in political institutions are expected to be the

strongest among the more educated and socio-economically integrated, in comparison to those who languish at the 'lower rungs' of the civic resources scale. It is also expected that due to both individual and environmental factors, it is the optimistic winners who are 'more open' and experience more positive interactions with others, while it is the pessimistic, suspicious, low-resource 'losers' – particularly those living in deprived neighbourhoods – who are more likely to be subject to negative experiences which contribute to their distrustful condition.

2.9: Social contact and trust

This thesis approaches trust – both social and political – from a different angle in comparison to much of the existing literature which has been reviewed so far in this chapter. In regards to social trust, there is a wealth of literature which looks at how neighbourhood-level contexts impact on social trust. With political trust – particularly satisfaction with democracy – there is a clear dominant focus in recent times on the role of electoral outcomes, vote choice and party identification. The conventional literature on trust incorporates much theorisation of how individual-level socio-economic resources – education, social class, wealth – are positively associated with both social and political trust. While the literature examining the shaping and conditioning of social and political trust formation is fairly well-established, this thesis focuses on how the ethnic composition of one's networks - social, economic and organisational as well as residential - and their social contact with people of different ethnic backgrounds may **impact differently** on their social and political trust. This line of investigation itself represents a break of sorts from conventional wisdom, which view social and political trust as fundamentally intertwined phenomena.

Negative intergroup contact: An underdeveloped area of research

As discussed earlier, what seems to be a glaring lacuna in the existing inter-group contact literature is the role of **negative** interethnic contact in social trust formation – particularly instances of discrimination experienced by ethnic minorities. The existing literature on interethnic relations prioritises the positive effects of intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). However, it is simply not the case that all social interactions are positive – and whereas positive contact might help to build trust between different ethnic groups by

reducing intergroup prejudices and anxiety, negative contact could plausibly have a negative impact on both social and political forms of trust.

As previously mentioned, Thomas Pettigrew, a major contributor to interethnic studies literature, has argued that our understanding of intergroup contact is 'limited by an emphasis on positive contact' (2008: 187). In reality, negative intergroup contact and its effects on both social and political trust remains an underdeveloped area of research in comparison to studies which document the positive effects of interethnic relations (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Negative intergroup contact in form of racial and religious discrimination and its potentially corrosive effects on ethnic minority generalised trust continues to be an under-researched area of social science. This thesis intends to address this glaring lacuna in the existing relevant literature through qualitative as well as quantitative research (with deeper explanation of the research methodology being provided over the course of Chapter 3).

It is worth acknowledging that there is much conflict as to whether experiences (of both the positive and negative variety) have much impact on generalised trust in general. The first school of thought believes that social trust is not 'experience-related', but rather a 'stable psychological propensity' (Becker, 1996; Couch and Jones, 1997; Uslaner, 2002). Supporting Erikson (1968), Uslaner (2002) has suggested that generalised trust is largely unaffected by social interactions, but is rather of a stable quality which is primarily influenced by early-life experiences (usually involving one's immediate family members).

There have been recent studies which have questioned the notion of generalised trust being shaped by social interactions and experiences. Investigating the impact of positive contact through proxy variables such as membership of voluntary associations, Ingen and Bekkers (2015) found 'no causal relationship' with generalised trust. Using the British Household Panel Survey, Sturgis et al. (2009) found no connection between formal and informal social connections with generalised social trust. Looking specifically at negative interactions, Dinesen (2010) found no effect of discrimination experiences through teachers on the generalised trust of children of Turkish, Pakistani and Balkan descent in Denmark.

However, there is a host of academic scholars who argue that social interactions and experiences do have an effect on levels of generalised social trust (Offe, 1999; Hardin, 2002; Yosano and Hayashi, 2005; Glanville and Paxton, 2007). In regards to negative interactions

(i.e. discrimination, victimisation), MacMillan (2001: 12) argues that such experiences undermine generalised trust, stating that 'victimisation changes one's perceptions and beliefs about others in society…by indicating others as sources of threat or harm rather than sources of support'. Glanville and Paxton (2007) find that individuals develop generalised trust based on their experiences of different types of people in localised settings such as their residential neighbourhood. Utilising two panel waves, Glanville, Andersson and Paxton (2013) find that positive shifts in informal ties correspond with strengthening generalised trust.

As mentioned earlier, recent quantitative empirical evidence regarding negative interactions is a scarce resource. However, Dinesen and Hooghe (2010), using European Social Survey data, concluded that migrants who perceive that they belong to a discriminated group (fraternal relative deprivation) tend to have lower levels of generalised social trust. Relying on cross-sectional data from the General Social Survey, Brehm and Rahn (1997) find that experiences of burglary tends to have a depressive effect on generalised trust. Focusing on experienced victimisation (mainly in the form of bullying), a number of Scandinavian-based studies have found that such negative experiences had a weakening effect on the level of generalised trust among young people in Denmark and Finland (Salmi et al. 2007; Dinesen, 2012). This shows that there is hardly general consensus in this field of research looking at the relationship between forms of social contact and generalised social trust.

Much of the existing literature which has explicitly looked at how negative experiences have directly affected levels of generalised trust within ethnic minorities has tended to be in non-British contexts, in countries such as Germany (Gundelach and Traunmüller, 2014; Gundelach and Freitag, 2009; Koopmans and Veit, 2014) the Netherlands (De Vroome et al., 2013) and Switzerland (Bauer, 2014). However, the possibility of how social integration can heighten exposure to negative intergroup contact, or how positive contact through ethnically-mixed networks can neutralise the negative impact of discrimination, are under-investigated across these research studies. There is a clear gap in the relatively thin existing literature on the relationship between negative intergroup contact and generalised trust within ethnic minorities as this particular relationship has yet to be extensively investigated in the British context. This research project seeks to build upon the existing literature on the general relationship between intergroup contact and generalised trust (which is currently internally conflicted) and aims to address the gap in the existing ethnic studies literature by not only

investigating the impact of negative intergroup on generalised social trust among British ethnic minorities, but also exploring how social integration can counteract the potentially negative effects of discrimination by providing opportunities for positive interethnic contact.

2.10: Social Integration, discrimination and social trust

The relationship between discrimination and social integration can be hypothesised from a variety of perspectives with differing theoretical implications. The 'contact hypothesis', regarded as one of the most influential ideas developed in the field of social psychology (Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami, 2002), posits that positive contact between ethnic groups can reduce intergroup prejudice (Allport, 1954). Over the last decade, the number of studies supporting the contact hypothesis has grown. This is demonstrated by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who conducted an influential meta-analysis which found that 94% of the 515 relevant studies found a link between intergroup contact and lower levels of outgroup prejudice.

Although this hypothesis has been extensively examined from the white majority perspective (Molina et al. 2015), rather less is known about how interethnic contact affects ethnic minorities themselves. This thesis intends to address this asymmetry. One possibility is that ethnic groups who have more social contact with 'outgroup members' (particularly the white British) are less likely to experience outgroup hostility on the grounds that interethnic contact breeds familiarity, acceptance and mutual understanding. 'Integrated threat theory' (Stephan and Stephan, 1993, 1996) suggests that individuals and groups who are not part of mainstream social, economic and residential networks will find it harder to develop bonds of familiarity, acceptance and mutual understanding with outgroupers. This in turn fosters "suspicion of the unknown" and group-level hostility which can manifest itself into individual-level experiences of discrimination borne out of interethnic tensions. Therefore, from this perspective, integration helps to develop social trust, with segregation being associated with distrust.

It has also been argued that people who remain within their 'ethnic enclave' and are part of formal and informal social networks may be largely insulated and 'sheltered' from negative intergroup contact and offensive behaviour that may be racially or religiously motivated (Heath et al., 2013). Therefore, they are neither aware of, nor directly exposed to, the true extent of discrimination. Based on this logic, more 'socially integrated' ethnic minority

individuals which are part of more ethnically-mixed networks may be more exposed and aware about the ethnic penalties and discrimination they suffer from. This is known as the 'paradox of social integration' (Sigelman and Welch, 1993) – more 'integrated' ethnic minorities operating in less co-ethnic social settings may report higher discrimination-related disaffection.

By being more 'socially integrated' and engaged in a higher degree of 'social mixing', ethnic minority groups such as Black Caribbeans (which have relatively high levels of inter-racial marriages with the white British population and near-universal command of the English language) may face a 'heightened exposure' to negative intergroup contact. From this perspective, we could well expect ethnic minorities which are more socially integrated to report higher levels of discrimination – as heightened opportunities for interethnic contact potentially increases the probability of suffering negative experiences involving outgroup members of society.

To formulate a hypothetical example – a Black Caribbean individual may strike an inter-racial relationship with an 'outgroup' member of society who belongs to one of the three South Asian ethnic minority groups. This inter-ethnic intimate partnership would be considered as a form of social integration – as this relationship cuts across ethnic boundaries. However, if the family of the Black Caribbean's partner disapproves of the relationship due to its interethnic nature (the UK's South Asian ethnic groups are infamous for their traditionally high rates of co-ethnic partnership), this could be reported as a form of racial discrimination – an example of negative intergroup contact. Therefore, positive ethnically-mixed ties which represent social integration, can lead to exposure to negative inter-ethnic interactions and experiences which may reduce generalised social trust.

This leads onto the 'moderating' function of bridging social networks and relationships. In this instance, the fact that a person is in an intimate relationship with an 'outgroup' member of society may counterbalance and neutralise the negative effects of discriminatory experiences. If one is part of a friendship network which mainly consists of 'outgroup' members, then this could help to counteract the negative effects of discriminatory encounters which take place. While social integration may heighten exposure to and awareness of discrimination, they can also generate opportunities for positive interethnic contact which can moderate the negative effects of discriminatory experiences on generalised social trust. It may be the case that

positive interethnic ties within one ethnically-mixed domain (friendship group) can compensate for discriminatory experiences which take place in another ethnically-mixed domain (workplace). This research project wants to investigate these matters regarding exposure, insulation, and moderation, and how this relates to the inter-relationship between social integration, negative intergroup contact and generalised social trust.

2.11: Social integration, discrimination and political trust

The central point of research for this thesis is exploring the possibility that while social integration is beneficial for building generalised social trust among social trust, it heightens exposure to and awareness of discrimination, which in turn undermines democratic satisfaction. When considering attribution of responsibility, this thesis hypothesises that exposure to discriminatory behaviours and awareness of prejudicial attitudes **do not** undermine trust in people living in broader society, but rather**, erodes satisfaction with the democratic system of governance**. This hypothesised relationship between social integration and dissatisfaction with the democratic system challenges conventional wisdom in the existing relevant literature. Bridging ties and ethnically-mixed relations have previously been identified as potentially important facilitators of political inclusion, providing access to knowledge on mainstream politics and entry into mainstream pressure groups (Heath et al. 2013).

This thesis seeks to test the process of social integration exposing ethnic minority people to discriminatory behaviours and heightening awareness of racial (and religious) penalties, which in turn may feed into political disaffection and undermine their satisfaction with how democracy works in Britain. There are studies which have explored the relationship between social experiences and political trust in the United States. In the American context, a host of scholars have found that experiences of racial discrimination have a negative effect on the political trust of ethnic minority individuals (Garcia Bedolla, 2005; Michelson, 2001, 2003; Pantoja et al., 2003; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). 'Segmented assimilation theory' (Zhou, 1999) suggests that immigrants who have experienced racial or ethnic discrimination are less likely to have confidence in the political system than those who have no experiences of ethno-racial discrimination.

This study builds on these studies in the American setting by investigating the inter-relationship between social integration, negative intergroup contact and democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context. As discussed across the first two chapters of this thesis, much of the research into political trust have been cross-national, as opposed to looking at levels of political trust within the ethnic minority population of individual countries. In a broader sense, much of the existing research into political trust explores how it is shaped by economic considerations. This includes macro-level evaluations related to national economic management as well as personal micro-level considerations over one's own socio-economic position. This thesis therefore represents a break from the dominant features of the existing literature on political trust in two main ways by shifting the attention onto how **patterns of social relations and intergroup contact** shape and condition democratic satisfaction within Britain's **ethnic minority groups**. Specifically looking at democratic satisfaction, this thesis adopts a different approach to examining what shapes and conditions this all-encompassing measure of political trust. As previously discussed, much of the recent existing research has examined the role of electoral results, vote choice and party affiliation when looking at what impacts on people's satisfaction with the democratic system. This thesis breaks away by redirecting the attention away from electoral outcomes, and towards people's social relations and how they can expose individuals to discriminatory behaviours and heighten their perception of Britain being an unfair country where the allocation of rewards is not based on merit and skill – which ultimately undermines their satisfaction with the democratic system of governance.

2.12: Conclusion

The primary function of this chapter was to critically analyse the existing strengths and weaknesses of the existing literature on intergroup relations, social trust and political-institutional trust. When looking at the existing state of affairs regarding intergroup relations literature, a number of issues have been identified. As Molina et al. have stated, much intergroup relations research has 'examined questions primarily from the vantage point of dominant group members' (2015: 234). This research project distinguishes itself from much of the existing literature by examining points of interest from the 'ethnic minority' perspective – and doing so by treating UK ethnic minorities as specific groups, as opposed to merging them into 'convenient' superordinate ethno-racial categories. The degree of 'disaggregation'

in British ethnic studies has at times been inadequate in terms of identifying between-group differences in social and political attitudes.

As Pettigrew (2008) has argued, a major weakness of existing intergroup relations literature is the overwhelming focus on positive interethnic contact and the underdevelopment of research into the negative effects of intergroup contact. In the British context, reported discrimination remains widespread across the UK's ethnic minorities (something which will be presented in Chapter 4). Therefore, if we are to better understand what shapes and influences the social and political trust of British ethnic minorities, then negative as well as positive intergroup contact needs to be critically investigated in order to provide a more well-rounded account.

When specifically looking at the issue of ethnic, racial and religious discrimination in the British context, much of the recent literature have tended to be discursive historical accounts as opposed to providing solid quantitative analysis of the potential causes and consequences of negative intergroup contact. What seems to be a potentially rich area of research which has been overlooked in the British context is how negative intergroup contact impacts on levels of generalised social trust within UK ethnic minorities. Considering discrimination remains a genuine public issue (particularly for many ethnic minority people themselves) and generalised trust is essential for collective action which often cut across ethnic boundaries, then this particular relationship needs to be better investigated in the British context.

Existing literature which has explored the relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust in the British context have challenged American studies which have seemed to concentrate on the negativity of ethnic effects, instead identifying the powerful role of deprivation effects. As this research project is interested in potential ethnic density and economic deprivation effects, both will be considered over the course of this thesis. Where the existing British-based literature on this relationship is weak is its lack of granularity – tending to categorise certain ethnic minorities as 'Blacks', 'Asians', and 'Bangladeshi/Pakistanis'. This thesis will look at between-group levels of generalised trust across five established minority categories, exploring the impact of social integration and negative intergroup contact. Generalised social trust – that is placing trust in outgroup members of society which incorporates strangers – is a subject which has received surprisingly little attention in British ethnic studies. While Demireva and Heath (2014) do look at bridging

and bonding contact and reported discrimination as a 'conflict' measure when looking at ethnic minority levels of generalised trust, this thesis builds on this study by examining how different ethnically-mixed networks can potentially moderate the negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust. Conversely, this thesis is also interested in exploring whether the negative effects of discrimination are more severe among those who are socially and residentially segregated – people who have little to no opportunity for positive contact with outgroupers.

Most 21st Century studies investigating conventional political trust have tended to be cross-national social survey analyses within Europe (Rose and Mishler, 2001; Marien and Hooghe, 2011; Mishler and Rose, 2013; van der Meer and Hakhverdian, 2016), Asia (Wong et al., 2011) and Africa (Hutchison, 2011). These studies measure political trust at national level – making little to no reference to political trust within specific ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, cross-national survey analyses which have referred to the political trust of migrants have tended to treat ethnic minorities as a 'homogenous bloc' as opposed to investigating between/within-group variation among ethnic groups (Bloemraad and Wright, 2012; Staerklé et al. 2010). One-country studies which have provided in-depth analysis of levels of political trust within particular ethnic minorities are a scarce resource – meaning there is a real opportunity for this thesis to make a meaningful contribution by looking at how social relations and intergroup contact shapes and conditions democratic satisfaction among the UK's main ethnic minority groups.

This chapter has articulated a clear vision of how it will develop scholarly understanding on matters such as the social integration of ethnic minorities, the effects of intergroup contact, and the supposedly intrinsic link between social and political trust. Now we will move onto the research methodology for this research project, explaining the research approaches which will be adopted to test the various inter-relationships of interest which have been discussed and theorised over the course of this chapter.

Chapter 3: Main Research Questions, Data and Research Methodology

3.1: Introduction

This thesis intends to provides answers to a number of questions. Does one's level of social integration expose (or insulate) ethnic minority individuals from negative intergroup contact? Can ethnically-mixed networks counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination? Where do discriminatory experiences tend to take place? Does exposure to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes diminish trust in people, or undermine satisfaction in the democratic system? In order to answer these questions, I adopt a mixed-methods approach which is driven by quantitative analysis and includes complementary qualitative research in the form of semi-structured interviews.

For the quantitative analysis, I utilise the 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study survey dataset. This data represents a very valuable resource – and is one of the few large-scale, methodologically rigorous surveys ever carried out on the socio-political attitudes and behaviour of ethnic minorities. The survey contains a wealth of information on reported instances of discrimination, feelings of relative deprivation, social distance, generalised social trust, and political-institutional trust (including satisfaction with the British democratic system). This data – which has still not been widely used by the broader social science academic community – has the potential to help provide a deep understanding of ethnic minority civic inclusion in the British context.

The data also provides reliable evidence on the experiences and attitudes of different ethnic groups living in Britain. This provides an important opportunity to go beyond the restrictive categorisation of previous ethnic studies which have tended to 'homogenise' ethnic groups into superordinate racial blocs such as 'South Asian' and 'Black' (see Letki, 2008; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Sturgis et al., 2011). As this chapter makes clear, aggregating ethnic groups this way can mask important differences ethnic groups. For example, there may be sharp differences between Black Caribbeans and Black Africans in terms of the extent to which they report racial and religious discrimination and their level of satisfaction with the British democratic system – something which will be presented over the course of the thesis.

In addition to the main quantitative analysis, I will also explore key inter-relationships of interest through semi-structured interviews. The purpose of this qualitative research is to not only gain a more critical understanding of the key findings of the quantitative analysis, but to also compensate for the limitations of the 2010 EMBES dataset. This will be discussed later in more detail. Conducted in the multi-ethnic, religiously diverse English town of Luton, a total of 25 interviewees were held: 5 interviewees for each of the 5 main ethnic groups under analysis.

This chapter comprises five sections: 1) I discuss the key hypotheses and how they relate to the central research questions that I intend to answer in this thesis; 2) I provide a brief methodological overview of the 2010 EMBES dataset; 3) I discuss the conceptualisation, operationalisation and measurement of the main variables of interest for the quantitative analysis; 4) discuss how I plan to use semi-structured interviews to complement my empirical analysis; and 5) I finish by reflecting on some of the limitations of the research design.

3.2: Key points of research

The main aim of the thesis is to explore the inter-relationships between patterns of social relations and intergroup contact, generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction in order to develop a more sophisticated of the civic inclusion of Britain's ethnic minorities. To this end, I explore a number of research questions using the 2010 EMBES dataset, which provides useful individual-level and neighbourhood-level data related to the civic inclusion of different Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups living in Britain. This analysis will be complemented by qualitative research in the form of semi-structured interviews in order to better interpret and understand the quantitative findings.

Building on the theoretical discussions outlined in Chapter 2, the three main research questions I will address are as follows:

Are higher levels of social integration associated with a heightened exposure to and awareness of discrimination?

Can opportunities for positive intergroup contact through social integration act as a counterweight to the potentially negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust?

Does heightened exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, through greater social integration, undermine satisfaction with the democratic system of governance?

Addressing these questions will help to develop existing research in a number of ways. As already discussed, much of the existing research in the field of intergroup relations supports the theoretical implications of contact theory by extolling the virtues of interethnic contact. This was demonstrated through the meta-analytical study conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), which found that the vast majority of the 714 studies they surveyed found a significant relationship between greater intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. This academic tendency has meant that research on the negative effects of intergroup contact remains underdeveloped (Pettigrew, 2008). By addressing the first question and testing the relationship between social integration and discrimination, this thesis addresses the imbalance caused by the overwhelming emphasis on the positive outcomes of intergroup contact.

This thesis does not seek to discredit contact theory, but rather adopts a balanced approach to exploring how patterns of intergroup relations and contact shape generalised social trust. Indeed, the formulation of the second research question is inspired by the existing body of research which claims that intergroup contact can reduce inherent prejudices towards outgroupers (Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010). Building on this existing literature, this thesis explores whether ethnically-mixed networks (specifically ethnically-mixed friendship groups) provide opportunities for positive intergroup contact which counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust. The possibility that discrimination has a particularly negative impact on the social trust of those who have few to no friends of a different ethnicity, will also be investigated.

The thesis also strives to develop understanding of the various effects of social integration. While being socially integrated may be generally positive for social trust, does the associated heightened exposure to (and awareness of) discriminatory behaviours and attitudes have a negative impact on democratic satisfaction? Social integration has long been identified as an important facilitator of political incorporation, enabling access to knowledge of conventional politics and mainstream pressure groups (Heath et al. 2013). However, and rather

paradoxically, social integration may be associated with political disaffection, if it exposes people to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes which subsequently damage confidence in the democratic system of governance - one which may be expected to ensure the fair, merit-based allocation of rewards. Therefore, this line of inquiry importantly taps into matters related to the attribution of responsibility for discriminatory experiences.

3.3: Data and Methodology: The 2010 EMBES

To investigate the key research questions and hypothesised relationships of interest, this thesis will primarily rely on the ESRC-funded 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study survey, which was conducted in the aftermath of the 2010 UK General Election. The survey comprehensively covers the social and political behaviour and attitudes of five established non-white ethnic minority groups in the UK – Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, and Black African. The main topics covered in the survey include attitudes towards conventional public policy issues, ethnic composition of social networks, experiences of discrimination, generalised social trust, trust in political institutions and satisfaction with democracy. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and conducted by social research company TNS-BMRB (now known as Kantar Public UK), the survey remains one of the largest and most rigorous ever held when it comes to investigating the socio-political incorporation of ethnic minorities in an advanced liberal democracy, comprising a grand total of 2,787 respondents (1,339 men and 1,448 women) and being national in terms of coverage. Due to the comprehensive information on socio-political behaviours and attitudes, along with the relatively large, nationally representative ethnic minority sample, the 2010 EMBES is considered a richer resource in comparison to more recent forms of data.

Table 3.1: Coverage, Universe, and Methodology (2010 EMBES)

Time Period	2010 – 2010
Dates of Fieldwork	May 2010 – August 2010
Country	United Kingdom
Spatial Units	Government Office Regions
Observation Units	Individuals
Kind of Data	Numeric Data Individual (micro-level)
Universe	National Adults aged 18 and over resident in the UK who would self-classify into one of the five main census groups: Black Caribbean, Black African, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi
Time dimensions	Cross-sectional (one time) study
Sampling procedures	Multi-stage stratified random sample
Number of units	2,787
Method of data collection	Face-to-face interview, self-completion
Weighting	Weighting used.

Source: UK Data Service

The primary focus of the 2010 EMBES was on the five largest ethnic minority groups in the UK – Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African. Addresses were selected and a screening exercise was implemented on the doorstep to identity eligibility before the interviews were conducted. For sake of clarity, the target population for the 2010 EMBES survey was defined as adults aged 18 or over, resident in the UK, and would self-classify into one of the five ethnic minority groups stated.

The Ethnic Minority British Election Study involved a large-scale face-to-face survey with over 31,000 addresses selected (of which 83% were screened). Interviews were conducted across England, Scotland and Wales, resulting in one of the largest scale ethnic minority surveys in recent times. Fieldwork was carried out in home by interviewers from TNS-BMRB. Interviewing began the day after the 2010 UK General Election (May 7th 2010) and was completed by 31st August 2010. The survey consisted of a face-to-face computer-assisted

personal interview (including a self-completion module) and a mail-back paper questionnaire. Interviewers on this survey came from a diverse range of backgrounds; this is broken down for the 197 interviewers who carried out fieldwork on this study in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Ethnic background of 2010 EMBES Interviewers

Ethnicity	Number of interviewers
White	133
Indian	19
Pakistani	12
Bangladeshi	1
Other Asian	17
Black African	9
Black Caribbean	6

Source: Howat et al. 2010

Interviewers received a full day briefing which familiarised them with the EMBES 2010 questionnaire, selection prodecure and screening. They were also reminded about cultural sensitivity and how to administer translated versions of the questionnaire. In the vast majority of cases, the respondent had no difficulty in the interview being conducted in English. The mean interview length was 47 minutes, with the median interview length being 45 minutes. At the end of the interview a 10-page questionnaire was left with all respondents together with a reply-paid envelope. If necessary, up to three postal reminders were sent to obtain the mail-back supplement. More information on the 2010 EMBES can be obtained from the technical report on the UK Data Service (Howat et al. 2012).

3.4: Conceptualisation, operationalisation and measurement of key variables

This section provides an overview of the key variables which will be used to explore the key inter-relational relationships of interest. I briefly discuss the conceptualisation, operationalisation and measurement of the key EMBES 2010 variables which are used in the quantitative analysis. These variables are categorised in terms of the following: social integration, negative intergroup contact, generalised social trust, political-institutional trust, individual-level civic resources, neighbourhood-level ethnic density and neighbourhood deprivation (IMD).

3.4.1: Social integration

Social integration occupies a central role in the research undertaken in this thesis. For the quantitative analysis, a composite measure of social integration designed by Heath et al. (2013) which is used in their book *"The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain"*, is utilised in this thesis.

This variable, which measures a respondent's level of social integration on a scale of 0-10, is a sum of five separate components. The first four components relate to the co-ethnicity of one's friendship group, workplace, neighbourhood and place of worship. The levels of co-ethnicity are "none", "a few", "about half", "most" and "all". "None" means no other members in that particular domain belong to the respondent's ethnic group (representing high social integration), with "all" meaning that the particularly domain universally comprises of members of the respondent's ethnic group (signifying no social integration). For all four of these components, "none" scores 2 points on the social integration scale, with "a few" scoring 1 point. No points are scored for the other higher levels of co-ethnicity.

The final component relates to the co-ethnicity of five types of civic associations that the respondent may belong to: sports club or team, hobby club, charity group, political or citizens group, and children's school group. If the respondent reported that none of the members were of the same ethnic background **across any of these associations**, this scores 2 points on the social integration, with 1 point being scored if the respondent reported that only a few of the members were co-ethnic. Therefore, the maximum score possible for the social integration measure is 10.

For the first four components for the social integration measure, EMBES 2010 respondents were asked:

"As far as you know, how many of your friends have the same ethnic background as you?"

"As far as you know, how many of the people you work with have the same ethnic background as you?"

"As far as you know, how many of the people in your neighbourhood have the same ethnic background as you?"

"As far as you know, how many of the people at your church or place of worship have the same ethnic background as you?" (asked if a specific religious affiliation was declared earlier in the survey).

The responses for each question were "none of them", "a few of them", "about half of them", "most of them" and "all of them", with the workplace variable including a "not in employment/work" option.

For the fifth and final component, respondents were initially asked:

"Have you taken part in any other kind of association or club in the past 12 months?" (prompt if necessary) For example, a sports team, hobby club, charity group, political or citizen's group, children's school group etc

If answered "yes", the respondent was then asked *"what kind of organisation(s) have you been active in?"*, and was invited to tick to three boxes for the five types of associations/clubs mentioned in the prompt included in the previous question (or to write in their own answer).

Afterwards, the respondent is asked about the co-ethnic character of the organisations stated:

"How many members of the [LOOP ITEM] are from the same ethnic group as you?"

Again, the responses are the ordered categories "none of them", "a few of them", "about half of them", "most of them" and "all of them".

The empirical chapters present models which include workplace co-ethnicity and co-ethnicity of friendship group as individual measures of social integration. The composite social integration measure includes a component which relates to the co-ethnicity of the respondent's neighbourhood. However, for these models, a 2010 EMBES neighbourhood-level ethnic density variable based on 2011 Census data is used (see Section 3.4.7 for more detail). For these models included in the empirical chapters of the thesis, two separate social integration variables regarding co-ethnicity of friendship group and workplace are used alongside the Census data variable associated with neighbourhood non-white density. An "ethnically-mixed network" is measured in cases where the respondent reports that none or only a few people in their friendship group or workplace are co-ethnic, with a "bonding network" being one where about half, most, or all of the people are co-ethnic. This follows

the co-ethnicity classifications used by Heath et al. (2013) when constructing their composite bridging measure (which is used as a measure of social integration in this thesis), and classifications made by Demireva and Heath (2014) in their study where "bonding contact" in an organisation is measured when around half of the members or more are co-ethnic. For these alternative variables for social integration, the friendship group variable is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, with the workplace variable being coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and not in employment/work = 2.

There are some minor issues regarding validity and reliability. The measurements are reliant on both the respondent's subjective perception and actual knowledge of their own social network's ethnic composition. However, I am comfortable in assuming that respondents are generally fairly aware of the co-ethnic character of their own social, economic, residential and organisational networks.

3.4.2: Negative intergroup contact

As previously discussed, there is an overwhelming focus on the positive effects of intergroup contact in the field of ethnic studies. This thesis wishes to address this asymmetry by looking at negative intergroup contact in the form of discrimination experienced by British ethnic minorities. The exact wording of the main survey question in the 2010 EMBES regarding discriminatory experiences was:

"Discrimination may happen when people are treated unfairly because they are seen as being different to others. In the past 5 years, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in the UK because of your ethnicity, race, skin colour, language, accent, religion, age, gender, sexuality or disability?"

If the respondent responded "yes" to this main question, a follow-up question asks:

"Looking at this card, in the past 5 years, do you feel you have been discriminated against for any of these reasons?"

- *Your ethnicity, race or skin colour*
- *Your language or accent*
- *Your religion*
- *Your age*

- *Your gender*
- *Your sexuality*
- *A disability*
- *None of these*

Utilising this 2010 EMBES data, three measures of negative intergroup contact are created. The main complex discrimination variable measures whether someone has experienced discrimination which falls into the first three categories (ethnicity, race, skin colour, religion, language and accent) and is coded as "did not report discrimination" = 0 and "did report discrimination" = 1. This main variable is further split into two separate variables which measure "ethno-racial" (based on race, ethnicity, skin colour, language and accent) and "religious" discrimination. In Chapter 5, these are used as dependent variables in binary logistic regression, with the main discrimination variable incorporating both racial and religious discrimination then being used as an independent variable in Chapters 6 and 7 when investigating the impact of negative intergroup contact on generalised social trust and satisfaction with British democracy.

With the vast majority of literature in intergroup studies examining contact across ethnic groups, this thesis seeks to develop the existing relevant literature by treating religious discrimination in its own right. This is especially pertinent, as a number of studies have found a rise in anti-Muslim bigotry in the UK (Atta et al. 2017), which is usually directed towards people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim origin – two ethno-religious groups which feature prominently over the course of the thesis.

There are limitations to these measurements of negative intergroup contact. There is no information on the racial, ethnic, or religious background of the people who are held responsible by the respondent for these discriminatory experiences. Therefore, the quantitative research is unable to identify possible forms of intergroup tensions on the grounds of race, ethnicity and religion. This is something the semi-structured interviews seek to compensate for through its line of investigation (explained later in this particular chapter).

3.4.3: Generalised social trust

Generalised social trust is considered by this research project to be an integral part of ethnic minority civic inclusion. With the UK being a multi-ethnic democracy, I have decided that civic inclusion in British society includes the ability to trust those who are not personally known to one – including strangers who belong to a different ethnic group (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008: 441). With generalised social trust involving the willingness to place trust in others (including strangers who may be of a different ethnicity), there is a strong case for it to be considered as a vitally important aspect of ethnic minority civic inclusion in the UK's diverse liberal democracy.

The 2010 EMBES survey questions regarding generalised social trust asked respondents:

"Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?"

There were three responses that respondents could choose from:

- *People can be trusted*
- *You can't be too careful*
- *Depends*

The wording of the survey question and its responses are remarkably similar to the questioning and measurement of generalised social trust in the highly-respected World Values Survey (Sturgis et al. 2011). The main dependent variable is coded as "can't be too careful" = 1; "depends" = 2 and "people can be trusted" = 3 (in the ordered logistic regression model in Chapter 6). For binary logistic regression analysis, generalised social trust will be recoded into two categories (Cautious = 0 and Trusting = 1), with the 'depends' and 'can't be too careful' responses being merged into the 'cautious' category, with respondents who stated 'people can be trusted' representing the new 'trusting' category for the binary dependent variable. While this may understandably give rise to concerns over data dredging, the multinomial logistic regression model in the Appendix (Model A3) presents few significant findings between the "can't be too careful" and "depends" responses. It can also be argued that these two responses are more cautious and conditional in nature, while the "people can be trusted" response is a clear, positive indication of being socially trusting.

It is important to note that this is the only variable in the entire 2010 EMBES dataset which is related to the social trust of respondents. The complementary semi-structured interviews explore forms of particularised as well as generalised social trust, investigating whether people are naturally more trusting of those of the same ethnic background and/or religious affiliation. Another shortcoming of the 2010 EMBES is that none of the questions asked respondents whether or not they found particular groups of people more difficult to trust than others. This will also be compensated for through the qualitative research undertaken in this thesis.

3.4.4: Satisfaction with democracy (political trust)

As well as generalised social trust, this thesis looks at the political trust of British ethnic minorities – primarily in the form of democratic satisfaction. As previously discussed, satisfaction with the democratic system is considered to be an integral part of political trust (Easton 1965, 1975), which can incorporate perceptions of "regime performance" on matters such as fairness and equality (particularly in the ethnic minority context). Therefore, alongside generalised social trust, it is considered to be a vital component of ethnic minority civic inclusion.

The 2010 EMBES survey question regarding democratic satisfaction asked British ethnic minority respondents:

"On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy works in this country?"

Respondents were provided with four ordered categorical responses:

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- A little dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

For the quantitative analysis undertaken in Chapter 7 of the thesis, this is treated as a dependent variable in an ordered logistic regression model (due to the ordered nature of the categorical responses. In the ordered logistic regression model, the dependent variable is coded as "very dissatisfied" = 1; "a little dissatisfied" = 2; "fairly satisfied" = 3 and "very satisfied = 4. The dependent variable is transformed into a binary dependent variable for

alternative logistic regression models. The first two responses are merged into a "dissatisfied" category, while the last two responses are merged to form a "satisfied" category (with the binary dependent variable being coded as dissatisfied = 0; satisfied = 1).

While this thesis (specifically Chapter 7) ultimately focuses on satisfaction with the British democratic system, the 2010 EMBES dataset also provides useful data on respondents' level of trust in Parliament and British politicians in general. In the dataset, there are a number of traditional forms of political trust which are measured. Trust in national parliaments and legislative bodies, as well as politicians in general, are examined across the political trust literature (Easton, 1965, 1975; Hetherington, 1998; Mishler and Rose, 2001). Trust in the UK Parliament is worth exploring, as it is ultimately responsible for the formulation and passage of legislation (including anti-discrimination) which form an essential part of the governance of Britain's multi-ethnic society.

The 2010 EMBES survey question wording and measurement for the UK Parliament and British politicians ask respondents how much trust they have in the Parliament at Westminster and British politicians generally, with trust being measured on a 0-10 scale (0 being no trust, 10 representing high trust). For the quantitative analysis presented in this thesis for trust in Parliament and British politicians in general, the level of trust has been divided into three separate categories: low (0-3), medium (4-6) and high (7-10). Bivariate analysis using these measures of political trust will be included in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

3.4.5: Structural integration (education and social class)

In order to examine the impact of structural integration I examine education, occupational class and generation. Education is measured in terms of qualifications (where none = 0, low = 1, GCSE = 2, A-level = 3 and degree = 4) and includes qualifications obtained from outside as well as within the UK. None includes people with no educational qualifications, low includes qualifications at ISCED level 1, GCSE includes lower secondary qualifications such as GCSE or overseas equivalent (ISCED level 2), A-level includes upper secondary qualifications such as A levels or foreign equivalent, or other qualifications below degree level (ISCED levels 3 and 4), and Degree includes degree-level qualifications (ISCED level 5). For the quantitative analysis, educational attainment is used as a continuous independent variable (due to its ordered nature).

Occupational class is broken down into five categories: (Salariat = 1, Intermediate = 2, Manual Working = 3, Never Worked = 4 and Other = 5). The salariat category includes respondents who are classified as being in professional or higher technical work, manager or senior administrator. The intermediate category includes clerical workers, those working in sales or services, small business owners and people in foremen/supervisory roles. The manual working category includes skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Never worked includes those who have never held any form of employment. A number of missing cases are replaced with partner's occupational class. The categorisation for occupational class is based on a developed version of the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (Goldthorpe, 2016), with the NS-SEC being the main social classification in use in British official statistics since 2001. In this thesis, the social class variable is used as a categorical independent variable.

3.4.6: Socio-demographic characteristics

I also control for ethnic group, age, gender, main language spoken at home and birthplace. The ethnic group variable includes the five BAME groups (Black Caribbean = 1, Black African = 2, Indian = 3, Pakistani = 4 and Bangladeshi = 5). Black Caribbeans are set as the reference ethnic group. For the analysis, the natural logarithm for age will be used. Gender is coded as male = 0 and female = 1.

Main language spoken at home is coded as English not main language = 0 and English main language = 1. This is used as a proxy for command of the English language. There is a question in the 2010 EMBES which asks the respondent to self-evaluate their own English language proficiency. However, this variable suffered from an exceptionally high level of missing cases. Therefore, the main language at home variable is considered a suitable alternative as a proxy for English language proficiency.

The birthplace variable used in the quantitative analysis divides respondents into those born in, and outside of, the UK. This independent variable is coded as born abroad = 0 and born in UK = 1. This variable will be used to measure socialisation effects in both Chapter 6 and 7.

3.4.7: Neighbourhood-level context

Neighbourhood-level deprivation and ethnic density are both considered over the course of the thesis. To measure the level of deprivation in the neighbourhood I use the Index of

Multiple Deprivation (IMD) measure which came with the 2010 EMBES dataset. IMD includes a range of economic, social and housing issues. It is a regularly-used measure of neighbourhood economic deprivation (Laurence, 2011; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Sturgis et al., 2011; Twigg et al., 2010). With the social integration measure including co-ethnicity of neighbourhood, and there being a strong relationship between neighbourhood BAME density and neighbourhood deprivation in the UK, it is important to control for neighbourhood-level deprivation, which has often been cited as having a significant negative effect on social trust in the British context (Letki, 2008; Laurence, 2011).

The social integration includes a component which relates to the co-ethnicity of the respondent's neighbourhood. However, for alternative models, a neighbourhood-level ethnic density variable based on 2011 Census data are used. This individual variable included in the 2010 EMBES dataset measures the percentage of non-white people living in Lower-Layer Output Areas (LSOAs). For statistical models which include the neighbourhood non-white density variable, two separate domains of social integration are included – co-ethnicity of workplace and friendship group. This eliminates any problems surrounding multicollinearity between the full social integration measure (which includes co-ethnicity of neighbourhood) and the 2011 Census data variable measuring neighbourhood non-white density. The 2010 EMBES dataset also included individual neighbourhood variables measuring Black Caribbean, Black African, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi population density.

3.5: Purpose of semi-structured interviews

While quantitative analysis can produce interesting findings, qualitative research can help to better interpret such results, as well as providing them with a personal, human dimension. Recognising the value in adopting a mixed-methods approach, semi-structured interviews were conducted to complement the quantitative analysis reliant on the 2010 EMBES. Semi-structured interviews 'generally involve a small number of interviews in which the interviewer uses a combination of structured questions to obtain factual information, and unstructured questions to probe deeper into people's experiences (Heath and Halperin, 2012). The semi-structured interviews contain both structured and more unstructured 'probing' questions designed to develop greater insight into the meanings of the subject's experiences and the potential reasons behind the social and political attitudes they hold.

There are a number of strengths of this research technique for this study. The interviews were conducted as a fairly free-flowing conversation where rapport was built between the interviewer and the interviewee. I strived to generate and establish an atmosphere which enabled the interviewees to discuss issues in detail and depth – whether this was about their discriminatory experiences, reasons for political disaffection, level of trust in public institutions, or sense of attachment to their country of residence. The meanings behind such attitudes and experiences can be easily revealed without much direction from the interviewer. Therefore, the qualitative findings from the semi-structured interviews can be considered to be highly valid (Heath and Halperin, 2012).

While the number of semi-structured interviews is admittedly small, the discussions will play a useful role in terms of building upon the quantitative analysis reliant on 2010 EMBES dataset. The interviewer intended to ask 'probing' questions and delve into matters such as the specific ethnic composition of personal social and economic networks, how much trust in placed in 'outgroup' and 'ingroup' members of society, the reasons behind forms of political disaffection, trust in public institutions, and what the interviewee felt was the main issue facing their own ethnic group. The key inter-relationships of interest will be better understood through the holding of these semi-structured interviews – also giving the thesis a more 'personalised' dimension through qualitative indicative findings.

There is also the advantage of the interviewer being able to provide clarification in the event of a question not being properly understood by the interviewee. The discussion and clarification of particular issues raised is important, as the interviewer can probe areas of interest suggested by the participant's answers – potentially being able to collect information that had either not occurred to the interviewer or of which the interviewer had little prior knowledge. This has the potential to strengthen the research project as a whole.

Semi-structured interviews also guard against the issue of 'pre-judgement' (Klenke, 2015). The problem of the researcher pre-determining what will or what will not be discussed in the interview is resolved. Not relying on a large number of 'pre-set' questions and being more interested in what is revealed through more probing questions, the interviewer is not 'pre-judging' what is and what is not important information. The interviews themselves are relatively easy to record (in this case, through audio taping).

3.5.1: Choice of site and interviewees

It was decided that these semi-structured interviews would take place in Luton, due to its richly diverse demography (and to counter against largely differing 'local effects' interfering with the integrity of the qualitative findings). The 2011 UK Census found that 30% of people living in Luton categorised themselves as "Asian or Asian British", with nearly 10% self-categorising as "Black or Black British". In addition to this, over 1 in 4 people (25.6%) in Luton identified as Muslim in the 2011 UK Census.

With 5 semi-structured interviews being allocated for each of the five ethnic minority groups, interviewees were selected in a manner which provided a reasonable degree of diversity in terms of age, gender, early-life political socialisation, social class and religious affiliation. As can be seen from Table 3.3 on the next page, there was a fairly even split in terms of gender (12 female, 13 male) and birthplace (12 born abroad, 13 born in the UK). Among the interviewees, there was an age range of 62 years. The youngest interviewee was 20 years old, and the oldest being 82 years of age. Across the 25 interviewees, there were a total of 8 different countries of birth. 16 of the interviewees were university-educated, with professions among the full set of 25 including an actuary, community organiser, council officer, a self-employed bricklayer and a number of workers in the health and social care sector. Most interviews lasted between 45-60 minutes. The shortest interview lasted for 23 minutes, with the longest lasting for 87 minutes.

Table 3.3: List of interviewees for semi-structured interviews

	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Country of Birth	Education	Occupation
1	Black Caribbean	Male	35	UK	College	Water Technician
2	Black Caribbean	Male	29	UK	Degree	Assistant Manager
3	Black Caribbean	Female	28	UK	Degree	Administrator
4	Black Caribbean	Male	29	UK	Degree	Senior IT Consultant
5	Black Caribbean	Female	74	Jamaica	Degree	Retired
6	Black African	Female	61	Zimbabwe	College	Social care worker
7	Black African	Male	52	Kenya	Degree	Healthcare worker
8	Black African	Female	57	Nigeria	Masters	Head of Civic Association
9	Black African	Female	28	UK	Degree	Community Organiser
10	Black African	Male	28	UK	Degree	Charity Worker
11	Indian	Male	80	India	High School	Retired
12	Indian	Male	71	Uganda	Degree	Retired
13	Indian	Female	28	UK	College	Small business owner
14	Indian	Male	58	India	Degree	Lawyer
15	Indian	Female	30	UK	College	Beautician
16	Pakistani	Male	28	UK	College	Bricklayer
17	Pakistani	Female	28	UK	Degree	Banker
18	Pakistani	Female	28	UK	Degree	Paralegal
19	Pakistani	Male	52	Pakistan	Degree	Software Consultant
20	Pakistani	Male	82	Pakistan	College	Retired
21	Bangladeshi	Male	56	UK	Degree	Social care worker
22	Bangladeshi	Female	51	Bangladesh	Masters	Council officer
23	Bangladeshi	Male	29	Bangladesh	Degree	HR Advisor
24	Bangladeshi	Female	20	UK	College	Student
25	Bangladeshi	Female	28	Bangladesh	Degree	Paralegal

3.5.2: Possible issues with semi-structured interviews

With all forms of interviews, there was the risk of 'interview bias' – where the researcher consciously or subconsciously elicits inaccurate information from study subjects (Gail and Benichou, 2000: 455). This could involve a partiality towards a preconceived response based on the structure, phrasing and tenor of interview questions, which can lead to a distortion in responses given – thus compromising the validity of the information collected. To reduce any potential effects, the questions were asked in the most impartial fashion possible, and time was taken to process and record the observations from the audio taping from the discussions to identify any potential instances of interview bias. It is important to note that the interviews themselves were a mixture of face-to-face and phone-recorded discussions. There is the possibility that interviewees may have felt more confident in expressing stronger opinions over the phone, as opposed to being face-to-face with the interviewer.

There is also the issue of 'social desirability bias' which occurs when an interviewee provides a response to a question which they think 'will present them in a good light, rather than one which reflects their true feelings' (Heath and Halperin, 2012: 431). This is an understandable concern, as some of the topics and subjects discussed were of a deeply sensitive nature. In addition to this, a number of the interviewees were recruited through personal and familial networks. This could have potentially resulted in the interviewees being less forthcoming when it came to expressing a view or opinion which could be seen as controversial. To mitigate against this, I continuously stressed to participants the confidential nature of the research and that there was no such thing as a "wrong answer" in this context. There was also the possibility that non-South Asian interviewees may have been more reluctant to express "negative" views on people of South Asian origin, due to my own ethnic background (Bangladeshi-Indian mixed-origin). However, interviewees were regularly assured of the fact that the interviews were being conducted in the spirit of non-judgement.

As the sample of interviewees was admittedly low (25), it is difficult to draw generalisations from the semi-structured interviews. The set of interviewees were collectively highly-educated, with 18 of the 25 being university-educated. It is also important to note that all of the interviews were conducted in English, with no language issues coming to surface. Therefore, the set of ethnic minority interviewees were collectively unrepresentative in terms of educational attainment and command of the English language. As participants were asked

different “probing” questions across the interviews (non-standardised), there may be reliability issues. However, every effort was made to ensure the questions asked did not deviate from the central objective of collecting information which could enhance our understanding of the quantitative findings. It is important to note that the semi-structured were ultimately designed to augment the quantitative analysis as opposed to making generalisations solely on the basis of qualitative indicative findings. This complementary qualitative research is intended to support the quantitative analysis as opposed to being a dominant part of the broader research design.

3.6: Broader research limitations

The broader research design admittedly has its limitations which restrict the extent to which how far we can go in terms of eventually making conclusions. The lack of time series data is one such limitation. Time series data would allow us to consider the effect of changing social networks and how they increase or decrease exposure to negative intergroup contact (as well as moderating the negative effects of discrimination). It could show how changes in the ethnic density of neighbourhoods and economic conditions (at both individual and area-level) could be related to ‘ethnic composition shifts’ in social networks, changes in exposure to discrimination and changing levels in forms of trust.

In the absence of such data, the 2010 EMBES dataset only offers a ‘snapshot’ of inter-relational linkages between the ethnic composition of social networks, patterns of intergroup contact, generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction. However, it should be acknowledged that these are key inter-relationships which have been underexplored in the British ethnic minority context – and despite the fact that data collection for the EMBES dataset took place in 2010, it remains one of the most up-to-date and comprehensive surveys on the social and political behaviours and attitudes of British ethnic minorities. In addition to this, the holding of semi-structured interviews was designed to build upon the quantitative findings and to explore topics and themes which cannot be comprehensively investigated through analysis of 2010 EMBES survey data alone.

As discussed in the previous section, there are potential issues which have been identified with the holding of semi-structured interviews. There are risks surrounding interviewer and social desirability bias, along with the fact that there are limits to the extent to which

generalisations can be made from the interviews. However, provisions were made to reduce these risks and to maximise the validity of findings collected from the semi-structured interviews. As already stated, the central purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to help with understanding findings generated through the quantitative research. This research project does not intend to make generalisations solely based on the qualitative findings. Rather, it is hoped the interviews will provide information which ultimately helps to better understand findings produced through the quantitative analysis.

3.7: Conclusion

This chapter, covering the main research questions, data and research methodology, provides much of the rationale and direction behind this mixed-methods research project. The research motivated by the key research questions will build on existing insight into what shapes and conditions generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction among British ethnic minorities. This chapter has critically engaged with the strengths of the 2010 EMBES dataset, which remains the highly rich resource which provides useful data on the social life and socio-political attitudes of Britain's ethnic minority people. The wealth of data relating to the ethnic composition of networks, the nature of discriminatory experiences, levels of generalised social trust and satisfaction with Britain's democratic system, means that the 2010 EMBES will be utilised in order to address the main questions formulated and set for this thesis.

However, this is not to say that there are issues with using the 2010 EMBES. The fact that fieldwork for it was conducted 8 years ago means that the data has somewhat aged. The dataset itself is cross-sectional, meaning that changes in the key inter-relationships of interest over time are not part of the analysis presented in this thesis. The variables related to social integration only provide data on the degree of co-ethnicity of networks – not on the ethnic background of "outgroup" members in cases of high social mixing. This could have helped to identify cases of high social integration with the white British majority, or perhaps other ethnic minority groups of the same religious affiliation. While there is a useful variable specifically relating to generalised social trust, no questions in the 2010 EMBES survey asked people's level of trust in specific ethnic and religious groups. This could have helped to identify possible social tensions between specific ethnic groups, or instances of social solidarity with other co-racial and/or co-religious minorities.

However, the complementary semi-structured interviews with BAME people resident in the ethnically and religiously diverse English town of Luton are designed to build on the quantitative findings reliant on the 2010 EMBES, and to compensate for the dataset's shortcomings. As well as complementing the quantitative analysis, the semi-structured interviews provide more recent information by virtue of being conducted over the course of 2018. As well as qualitatively testing the main hypotheses and key research questions for this thesis, the interviews tackle recent events which are especially pertinent for UK's ethnic minorities and their place in Britain. These include the rise of both far-right neo-fascism and Islamic extremism in the UK, the Leave result for the June 2016 referendum on EU membership, and the Windrush scandal involving the Home Office. As this thesis progresses, the value of these semi-structured interviews will become more apparent.

The following chapter presents descriptive statistics using the 2010 EMBES dataset. Chapter 4 can be described as a "bridging" chapter which presents survey data leading up to the multivariate analysis presented later in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The next chapter presents descriptive statistical data on the social and socio-economic integration of Britain's main ethnic minority groups, as well as levels of reported discrimination and feelings of relative deprivation. Survey data on generalised social trust, democratic satisfaction and trust in institutions such as the UK Parliament and the police is also included in Chapter 4, which begins to develop a picture of the social life and experiences of Britain's ethnic minorities, and their trust in the broader democratic system as well as other people living in their society.

Chapter 4: Descriptive Statistics

4.1: Introduction

Having discussed the main research questions, data, measurement and broader design of the research project, I now turn to providing descriptive analysis of the main variables of interest that form the key components of the detailed path diagram outlined in the introduction (see Figure 1.2, page 14). This will develop a picture of how the five ethnic minority groups under analysis – Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Black Caribbeans and Black Africans – differ in regards to social and economic integration, reported discrimination, social trust and political-institutional trust (through bivariate analysis). The chapter has two main purposes: to provide important descriptive data from more recent sources along with the 2010 EMBES, and to highlight preliminary ethnic group and generational differences which will be tested more rigorously through the multivariate analysis presented in the coming chapters.

Firstly, I examine the structural integration of ethnic minority groups in Britain. I do so with reference to their ownership of socio-economic resources, which, as previously discussed, could potentially influence between-group variation in civic inclusion. Socio-economic resources surrounding educational attainment, occupational status and home ownership will be considered. This is followed by looking at the degree of co-ethnicity across employment and social networks. The degree of neighbourhood co-ethnicity, the extent to which respondents' place of worship is attended by fellow co-ethnic people, and levels of bonding associational membership, will all be considered.

I examine levels of reported racial and **religious** discrimination across the five ethnic minority groups. As stated earlier in the thesis, one of the key contributions of this thesis is the extent to which it examines religious discrimination in its own right – something which has been under-researched in the field of intergroup relations in the broader European context. The findings at the bivariate level reveal noticeable differences in the nature of the discriminatory experiences reported by Britain's ethnic minority groups.

The chapter then presents descriptive statistics for the two dimensions of civic inclusion - generalised social trust and satisfaction with democracy. Following the section on generalised social trust, bivariate-level survey data for levels of political trust across the five BAME groups will be presented. This includes two-way cross-tabulations which highlights between-group

differences when it comes to placing trust in public institutions such as the UK Parliament. The descriptive statistical data for the core measure of political trust used later in Chapter 7 - satisfaction with democracy – also reveals noticeable between-group findings. Bivariate analysis on feelings of egoistic and fraternal relative deprivation regarding government treated will also be presented.

Once the descriptive statistics on ethnic minority civic inclusion have been presented, a deeper explanation of how this bivariate analysis will help to guide the orchestration of semi-structured interviews will be provided. This chapter interesting reveals sharp intergenerational differences across a range of measures, which suggest that differing life experiences surrounding socio-political socialisation play important roles in this area of research. These clear differences between first-generation migrants and their British-born-and-raised descendants, which are further explored through the complementary semi-structured interviews, become more apparent during this chapter and the ones that follow.

4.2: Structural integration

When referring to 'structural integration', the focus is on ethnic minority integration into the educational and employment spheres of British life. This is potentially important in a number of ways for civic inclusion – with conventional theories in social science advancing that educational and financial material resources enable one to be more 'trusting' in both a generalised social (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Uslaner, 1999, 2000, 2002; Watson and Moran, 2005; Cvetkovich and Lofstedt, 2013) and political-institutional sense (McCloskey and Chong, 1985; Anderson and LoTempio, 2002; Kluegel and Manson, 2004).

Educational advancement can enable a level of critical thinking which allows one to actively engage with and place trust in conventional political institutions but can also facilitate material progress which in turn enhances trust in public institutions - bodies which help to sustain the politico-economic structures under which that progression takes place. However, there is an alternative strand of literature which suggests that higher education and being more "structurally integrated" can heighten awareness of and exposure to discrimination (Buijs et al. 2006; Verhuyten, 2016) – which could have a potentially negative effect on civic inclusion.

It is well known in the field of ethnic studies that British ethnic minorities have not been equally successful in the UK, with UK Indians developing a reputation for being more successful in an educational and economic sense in comparison to other ethnic minority groups (Heath et al. 2013). It should also be recognised that all five BAME groups under analysis have developed established middle classes and are now noticeably stratified internally by social class. This means typifying ethnic minorities is something to be avoided – particularly from a social science research perspective. However, as an initial starting point, it is sensible to present between-group differences at ethnic-group level.

Table 4.1: Structural integration of BAME groups

Ethnic Background	Homeowner	Salariat	Manual/ Never worked	University Degree	English at home	N
Indian	67.4%	42.0%	34.6%	39.8%	55.7%	*583*
Pakistani	68.1%	20.1%	53.7%	24.4%	47.2%	*662*
Bangladeshi	36.8%	16.4%	58.6%	15.0%	37.5%	*269*
Black Caribbean	44.2%	28.1%	43.8%	14.5%	99.0%	*654*
Black African	19.9%	27.3%	45.5%	32.0%	66.7%	*564*
BAME	49.2%	28.0%	45.8%	26.0%	64.5%	*2,592*
White British	69.5%	33.7%	32.2%	18.3%	-	*3,119*

EMBES 2010 (weighted data); BES 2010. The Ns are for the item on homeowner.

Table 4.1 presents an overview of bivariate analysis for the structural integration of the five British ethnic minority groups. This focuses on rates of home ownership, occupational status, levels of university education, and the percentage of people who speak English as the primary language in their household. The bivariate analysis also includes figures for the white British ethnic group (obtained from the 2010 BES). There are noticeable group-level differences which can be identified between the ethnic minority groups, as well as between the white British group and broader BAME population.

When looking at educational attainment, British Indians and Black Africans are some distance ahead of the other three ethnic groups when it comes to holding a university degree. Indeed, this analysis shows that nearly 4 in 10 Indians in the 2010 EMBES are university-educated (39.8% to be exact). The analysis shows that Black Caribbeans and Bangladeshis are the least likely out of the five groups to hold a university degree (14.5% and 15% respectively). These are the only two ethnic minority groups which have a lower proportion of degree-holders than the white British group (18.3%). However, it is worth noting the relatively youthful profile of the British Bangladeshi ethnic group.

The relatively high ownership of socio-economic resources among British Indians is also reflected when looking at occupational status. Members of the "salariat class" are those who are in higher-level professional, managerial and administrative positions within the UK labour market. Indians are most likely to be higher-level salaried professionals at 42%. The figure for British Indians nearly 14 percentage points ahead of the second most-likely group – Black Caribbeans at 28.1%. Indeed, Indians are the only ethnic minority group with a higher proportion of professionals than the white British group (33.7%). The relatively strong labour market outcomes for UK Indians is also reflected in more recent government data, which shows that 32% of British Indians are employed in professional roles – the highest percentage for all ethnic groups, including white British people (Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2017). As well as having a relatively low percentage of university degree holders, Bangladeshis are the least likely to be in higher-level salaried positions (16.4%). This is 11.6 percentage points below the BAME average of 28%. What it interesting to take from the analysis is that white British people are less likely to be degree-educated than Black Africans and Pakistanis but are more likely to hold higher-status jobs than people in both of these ethnic minority groups. What is also interesting is the relatively weak occupational integration among Black Africans living the UK, despite their comparatively high proportion of university-degree holders.

Looking at the lower end of the British labour market, figures are presented the percentage of people who are either in manual occupations or have never been in employment. Continuing the trend of relatively weak structural integration, Bangladeshis are the most likely to be in a manual job or never been in work (58.3%), followed by Pakistanis at 53.7%. Indians are the least likely to be working in a manual occupation or never been in work out of the five

ethnic minority groups (34.6%). The relatively high concentration of Pakistani and Bangladeshi-origin people in the lower rungs of the UK labour market is also reflected in more recent sources of data. Based on the occupational class schema used by the Department of Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, a merged UK Pakistani-Bangladeshi bloc had the highest percentage of workers in the three lowest-skilled occupations combined: elementary (11%), process, plant and machinery operatives (17%) and consumer service (13%). The total figure of 41% is noticeably higher than the corresponding percentage for UK Indians (23%).

The trend of relatively strong levels of structural integration among British Indians is also reflected in the rates for home ownership. In the analysis presented, 67.4% of Indians owned their own home. This is only bettered by the Pakistani ethnic group (68.1%). Bangladeshis, in keeping with their relatively low level of structural integration for other indicators, have a home ownership rate of only 36.8% - lagging some way behind their South Asian counterparts. Black Africans – many of whom are recently settled migrants or refugees who have fled war-torn countries – have the lowest home ownership out of the five ethnic groups (19.9%).

The final structural integration indicator looks at whether or not English is the main language spoken at home. Black Caribbeans in the UK near-universally speak English as their primary language at home (99%). This is followed by Black Africans at 66.7%. All three South Asian groups are below the BAME average of 64.5% when it comes to having English as the main language of their household. The ethnic group with the lowest figure for this particular measure of structural integration are Bangladeshis, with only 37.5% having English as their main language spoken at home.

The bivariate analysis for structural integration across the five BAME groups provide a couple of interesting insights. Out of the three South Asian groups, Bangladeshis are the least structurally integrated – having the lowest percentage of higher-level salaried professionals, the lowest rate of home ownership, the highest proportion of people who are either in routine manual employment or never been in work, and the lowest level of university graduates. This could be partly because of the group's relatively youthful profile. Bangladeshis also rank the lowest out of all five BAME groups in regards to having English as a main language at home.

Much of the existing ethnic studies literature tends to homogenise various black ethnic groups as well as different South Asian ethnicities – creating a super-ordinate "Black" and "Asian" racial category. Indeed, government departments such as the Department for Business, Energy and continue to offer figures for "Black" ethnic group and a merged Pakistani-Bangladeshi bloc. However, the 2010 EMBES descriptive statistics presented for structural integration reveal noticeable between-group differences within the "British Black" population. While Black Caribbeans and Black Africans are similar in terms of occupational status, the two are vastly different when it comes to home ownership. While Black Africans are more likely to be university-educated than Black Caribbeans, the latter are more likely to own their home. The factors behind this intriguing state of affairs surrounding structural integration within the UK's "black population" will be explored during the semi-structured interviews.

4.3: Social integration

Social integration – the ethnic composition of one's social networks and relations – may possibly be associated with structural integration. While negative intergroup contact in the form of discrimination are a fairly obvious explanation for the existence of ethnic penalties in the British labour market, there are also network-related factors which can place ethnic minority individuals in a disadvantageous position. A shortage of 'bridging connections' can reduce one's chances of finding and securing well-paid employment in the wider British economy (Heath et al. 2013). A lack of fluency in English also naturally poses its problems in terms of developing productive bridging relations which can help one to come across opportunities which can facilitate labour market integration.

Before looking at levels of reported discrimination, generalised social trust, satisfaction with democracy and other forms of political-institutional trust, it is important to understand social integration across the five BAME groups. A lack of social integration is often thought of as a 'potential villain' which undermines other forms of integration – particularly socio-economic and political forms of integration. As touched upon, bridging ties can create economic opportunities and facilitate efficient labour market integration. Such relations can also be important for political integration as they provide access to knowledge about mainstream British politics and facilitate entry into mainstream pressure groups (Heath et al. 2013).

Table 4.2: Bonding networks and relations for BAME groups

Ethnic Background	Workplace	Friends	Neighbourhood	Place of Worship	Belongs to ethnic, cultural or religious association	N
Indian	22.0%	74.0%	33.9%	85.4%	41.4%	*581*
Pakistani	31.8%	79.6%	63.8%	90.0%	23.2%	*652*
Bangladeshi	28.3%	83.8%	54.4%	84.3%	25.9%	*265*
Black Caribbean	15.6%	67.3%	27.6%	57.8%	27.5%	*648*
Black African	18.4%	68.8%	24.7%	58.1%	31.9%	*564*
BAME (overall)	22.7%	73.6%	40.1%	75.5%	30.2%	*2710*
Born abroad	24.7%	76.8%	39.4%	74.1%	29.6%	*1713*
Born in UK	19.5%	68.5%	41.7%	78.9%	31.5%	*977*

EMBES 2010 (weighted data). Bonding if half, more or all members of network/place of worship/association are of the same ethnic background as respondent. The base for place of worship excludes those who have no declared religious affiliation or place of worship. The Ns are for the item on friends.

Table 4.2 presents descriptive statistical data for social integration across the five ethnic minority groups. Five measures of social integration are considered for this bivariate analysis: employment network, social network, neighbourhood network, place of worship and membership of an ethnic/religious/cultural association. Bonding is measured in cases where about half or more work colleagues, friends, neighbours, worshippers and association members are of the same ethnic background. Therefore, these items measure **a lack of social integration.** In this case, lower figures represent high social integration, while higher figures demonstrate membership of more co-ethnically homogenous networks.

The analysis shows that Britain's ethnic minorities tend to be part of more co-ethnic, bonding networks when it comes to their social networks and their place of worship (73.6% and 75.5% respectively). Ethnic minorities are more likely to "bridge" through work, with only 22.7% of BAME people being part of a bonding employment network. This suggests that ethnic minority people, overall, opt to bond with co-ethnic members of society when relations are of a more intimate nature and allow for more "self-selection". The bivariate analysis presented reveals noticeable between-group variation in social integration across the five

measures considered. Overall, Britain's South Asian groups are less socially integrated and display stronger bonding tendencies than the two black ethnic groups.

Discounting bonding associational membership, British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are the two least socially integrated ethnic groups, being most likely to be part of bonding employment, social and neighbourhood networks (as well as place of worship). These two groups are particularly segregated when it comes to neighbourhood co-ethnic density. 63.8% of Pakistanis report that about half or more of their neighbours are co-ethnic – 23.7 percentage points above the BAME average. The corresponding figure for Bangladeshis is 54.4%. The figure for the more upwardly-mobile, higher-status Indian group is considerably lower at 33.9%. Indians are also less likely to be part of a bonding employment and friendship network than their South Asian counterparts.

Black Caribbeans and Black Africans share relatively similar levels of social integration. The analysis suggests that an "Asian-Black" split of sorts exists in the UK when it comes to social integration. Black Caribbeans are overall the most socially integrated out of the five ethnic groups – being the least likely to be part of a bonding employment and social network. Black Caribbean people are also the least likely to attend a predominantly co-ethnic place of worship and be a member of an ethnic/religious/cultural association. When taking the entire group into account, the figure for place of worship would be far lower than the 57.8% presented for Black Caribbeans who do attend a place of prayer (as a relatively high percentage of Black Caribbeans are not religiously affiliated).

While British-born descendants are more likely to live in a predominantly co-ethnic neighbourhood and attend a more co-ethnic place of worship (and are also more likely to belong to an ethnic, religious or cultural 'bonding' civic association), ethnic minority people born outside of the UK are first-generation migrants are **less socially integrated through friends and work**. However, the bivariate analysis for structural and social integration does provide a number of interesting patterns. As well as owning a relatively low level of socio-economic resources, British Bangladeshis are the least socially integrated out of the five ethnic groups. Indeed, the two Muslim-dominant ethnic groups – Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – are the least socially, occupationally and residentially integrated. Residentially, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are far more segregated than the other three ethnic groups.

4.4: Racial and Religious Discrimination

Negative intergroup contact in the form of racial and religious discrimination occupies a central role in this thesis. Much of the existing ethnic studies literature focuses on the positive effects of intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), and the underdeveloped research on negative intergroup contact has itself given relatively little attention to religious discrimination. Chapter 5 of the thesis explores which ethnic minority subgroups are more exposed to racial and religious discrimination through multivariate analysis, with the following chapters examining the effects of negative intergroup contact on generalised social trust (Chapter 6) and satisfaction with British democracy (Chapter 7).

Bivariate analysis on self-reported racial and religious discrimination can help to identify initial associations between social integration and negative intergroup contact. One theory is that deeper social integration can lead to heightened exposure to discrimination. This is known as the 'paradox of social integration' – as one develops more bridging ties and becomes more 'socially integrated', they potentially increase their exposure to discriminatory acts perpetrated by 'outgroup' members of society (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). Conversely, being part of predominantly co-ethnic 'bonding' social networks may 'shelter' and insulate one from negative intergroup contact.

As discussed earlier in the thesis, the influx of 'visible' migrants from the 'new Commonwealth' countries, along with those who have fled war and persecution from unstable non-Commonwealth African societies, has fundamentally transformed British society and the substantive nature of UK politics. This is no more apparent than in the area of discrimination, where prejudicial behaviour on the grounds of race, religion and ethnicity remain a concern for a substantial number of ethnic minority individuals living in Britain.

The UK has passed a number of laws and established equality bodies which have been specifically created to combat ethno-racial discrimination and best ensure racial parity in British society – particularly within the labour market, education system, and over the provision of public goods and services. Current Prime Minister Theresa May recently ordered a race audit looking into ethnic inequalities and discriminatory practices in schools, health and social care, law enforcement agencies and the court system.

Despite existing anti-discrimination laws and the existence of bodies such as the Equality and Human Rights Commission, there are both high levels of reported racial discrimination – particularly among BAME people born and raised in the UK (see later in Chapter 5). This directly questions Britain's liberal claims of being a country where rewards are allocated based on merit and has prevailing social and economic structures which operate in accordance with the principles of equality of opportunity and 'fair play'.

Table 4.3: Reported Racial and Religious Discrimination

Ethnic Background	**Racial Discrimination**	**Religious Discrimination**	**N**
Indian	25.1%	4.1%	*590*
Pakistani	20.8%	**13.2%**	*669*
Bangladeshi	17.8%	**11.9%**	*270*
Black Caribbean	**43.5%**	2.3%	*662*
Black African	32.2%	5.4%	*575*
BAME (overall)	29.2%	6.9%	*2766*
Born Abroad	23.9%	5.6%	*1751*
Born in UK	39.0%	9.2%	*990*

EMBES 2010 (weighted data). Reported discrimination measured by experiences of discrimination in the last five years on the grounds of race/ethnicity, and religion. Figures => 5 percentage points higher than BAME average in bold. Chi-Square <0.05 across all three measures.

Table 4.3 presents bivariate analysis for levels of reported racial and religious discrimination across the five ethnic groups. The figures provide an interesting initial insight in the discriminatory experiences of Britain's various ethnic minorities. 29.2% of BAME people in the analysis report racial discrimination. While the figure reported by the three South Asian groups are below the BAME average, the percentages for the two black ethnic groups are above the BAME average. Black Caribbeans, who emerged as the most socially integrated ethnic group in Section 4.2, are the most likely to report racial discrimination out of all five ethnic groups (43.5%), followed by Black Africans at 32.2%. Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, who are the two least socially integrated ethnic groups, are the least likely to report racial

discrimination. Only 17.8% of Bangladeshis in the analysis report discrimination on ethno-racial grounds. At the bivariate level, there is emerging support for the "paradox of social integration" thesis.

However, the picture is very different when it comes to religious discrimination. BAME people in the analysis are far less likely to report discrimination on the grounds of religion (6.9%). While British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis were the least likely to report racial discrimination, these near-universally Muslim groups are the most likely to report religious discrimination (11.9% and 13.2% respectively). In the wake of post-9/11 securitisation and the proliferation of far-right organisations of an anti-Muslim nature following the 7/7 London bombings (such as the English Defence League), this is perhaps expected. The British Indian group, which includes high proportions of Hindu and Sikh people, returns a figure of only 4.1% for religious discrimination. Black Caribbeans, who are the most likely to report racial discrimination, are the least likely to report discrimination on religious grounds. This is perhaps unsurprising, considering a high percentage of Black Caribbeans have no declared religious affiliation.

There is a clear intergenerational pattern, with British-born ethnic people more likely to report both racial and religious discrimination than the less socially integrated first-generation migrants. While 23.9% of first-generation migrants reported experiencing racial discrimination, nearly 4 in 10 (39.0%) ethnic minority people born in the UK did so. While religious discrimination is collectively reported on a far lower scale, the figure for first-generation migrants reporting discrimination on religious grounds is 3.6 percentage points lower than the figure for their British-born descendants. Binary logistic regression analysis predicting for both reported racial and religious discrimination will be presented in Section 5.4 of the thesis.

4.5: Generalised social trust

The chapter now moves onto our first measure of civic inclusion – generalised social trust. As previously explained, generalised social trust – the ability to trust people not personally known who may belong to a different ethnic background – is a key component of ethnic minority civic inclusion in the British context. What is interesting to investigate is how structural integration, social integration and negative intergroup contact potentially 'tie in' with levels of generalised social trust among Britain's ethnic minority groups. This section

presents results at the bivariate level – multivariate analysis of generalised social trust will be presented in Section 6.4 of the thesis.

Table 4.4: Generalised Social Trust for BAME groups

Ethnic Background	"Most People Can Be Trusted"	"Depends"	"Can't be too careful"	N
Indian	23.4%	29.9%	46.7%	*576*
Pakistani	24.5%	19.6%	55.8%	*652*
Bangladeshi	20.2%	35.0%	44.9%	*263*
Black Caribbean	18.5%	20.5%	61.0%	*659*
Black African	19.6%	28.3%	52.0%	*561*
BAME	21.4%	25.3%	53.3%	*2711*
Born Abroad	23.6%	26.9%	49.5%	*1707*
Born in UK	17.6%	22.3%	60.2%	*979*

EMBES 2010 (Weighted Data). Don't know/Refused/Not Stated dropped from the analysis. Pearson Chi-Square <0.05 (0.00).

Table 4.4 shows the levels of generalised trust across the five established ethnic minorities, with three possible responses to the survey question: *"Can most people be trusted?"*. When looking at the most positive response choice "people can be trusted", there is very little difference between the five ethnic groups, with none of them deviating any further than 3.1 percentage points away from the BAME average of 21.4% for this response category. All the figures for this response to the survey question fall within a 6 percentage-point range – with Pakistanis ranking first at 24.5%, and Black Caribbeans positioned the lowest with 18.5%.

However, there are noticeable differences which can be identified when looking at the most negative response choice *"can't be too careful"*, which naturally implies feelings which incorporate 'outgroup' suspicion. Within this response category, Black Caribbeans are over 5 percentage points ahead of the second 'least trusting' group for this response (Pakistanis at 55.8%). Indeed, these are the only two groups which have percentage figures higher than the overall BAME figure of 53.5% for this categorical response on generalised social trust.

Depending on one's perspective, this is perhaps surprising. Black Caribbeans are the most socially integrated out of the five ethnic minority groups under analysis. One could understandably assume that Black Caribbeans would hold the highest level of generalised social trust, as they have the strongest social bridging tendency out of the five BAME groups. Equally, an even lower figure could have been expected for Black Caribbeans, given their relatively high level of reported racial discrimination.

There is a clear intergenerational pattern at bivariate level for generalised social trust. First-generation migrants born outside of the UK appear to be more socially trusting than their British-born descendants. For the most 'trusting' option, 23.6% of ethnic minority people born outside of the UK felt that most people can be trusted – exactly 6 percentage points higher than the corresponding figure for their British-born descendants. When looking at the most 'cautious' option, 60.2% of ethnic minority people born in the UK felt that one "can't be too careful" when trusting others – 10.7 percentage points higher than the figure for those born abroad.

While the between-group differences in reported racial discrimination were noticeable in Section 4.3, the variation between the ethnic groups in levels of generalised social trust are less so. This casts initial doubt over whether there is a direct association between racial discrimination and generalised social trust – something which will be investigated more deeply in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

4.6: Political-institutional trust

In the previous chapters, satisfaction with democracy as well as generalised social trust is advanced as a crucial component of ethnic minority civic inclusion. In Chapter 2 (Section 2.5), a number of origins and determinants of political-institutional trust are identified: socio-economic integration, educational attainment, perception of equal opportunities, feelings of fraternal relative deprivation, ethnic structure of social networks and membership of bonding associations included. Conventional trust literature has traditionally referred to the supposedly intrinsic relationship between social and political trust – that trust in conventional political institutions is closely associated with the ability to trust 'outgroup' members in societies – societies where such institutions form the 'representative core' of multi-ethnic democracies.

Table 4.5: Level of Satisfaction with British Democracy for BAME groups

Ethnic Background	"Very satisfied"	"Fairly satisfied"	"A little dissatisfied"	"Very dissatisfied"	N
Indian	13.8%	60.3%	17.0%	8.9%	*572*
Pakistani	17.8%	58.5%	16.0%	7.7%	*639*
Bangladeshi	14.9%	63.7%	15.6%	5.7%	*262*
Black Caribbean	6.9%	41.3%	35.4%	16.5%	*642*
Black African	19.5%	53.7%	20.5%	6.3%	*555*
BAME	14.4%	54.3%	21.8%	9.6%	*2,670*
White British	7.1%	54.4%	28.9%	9.5%	*2,934*
BAME (Born Abroad)	19.0%	58.9%	15.3%	6.7%	*1678*
BAME (Born in UK)	6.4%	46.1%	32.8%	14.6%	*965*

EMBES 2010 (Weighted data). Don't know/Refused responses dropped from analysis. Pearson Chi-Square <0.05 (0.00).

The core measure of political trust considered in this thesis, satisfaction with democracy, is the subject of multivariate analysis later in Chapter 7. Table 4.5 presents findings for democratic satisfaction at the bivariate level for all five ethnic minority groups, along with the white British majority group. Noticeable between-group differences can be identified from the start – unlike in the case of generalised social trust. Black Caribbeans lag considerably behind the other four BAME groups when it comes to being satisfied with British democracy. For the "very satisfied" categorical response, Black Caribbeans are the only ethnic minority group with a single-figure percentage (6.9%), and also, the only ethnic group with a double-figure percentage (16.5%) for the most negative response "very dissatisfied". Indeed, Black Caribbeans are the only BAME group which report a higher percentage than the white British majority for the most negative response.

What can also be identified from Table 4.5 is the fact that the level of democratic satisfaction within the Black African group fits in more with the three South Asian groups - as opposed to their co-racial Black Caribbean counterparts. This measure of political trust highlights the between-group variation within the 'Black British' population when it comes to levels of satisfaction with British democracy. The three subcontinental BAME groups report the highest

levels of satisfaction with Britain's democratic system – with Bangladeshis overall being the most satisfied with how democracy functions in the UK (combined percentage of 78.6%).

There is a clear intergenerational difference in democratic satisfaction among the 2010 EMBES respondents, with first-generation migrants being more satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. 77.9% of first-generation migrants reported that they were either "very satisfied" or "fairly satisfied" with Britain's democratic system. The corresponding figure for their British-born descendants is just 52.5%. While only 6.7% of first-generation migrants stated that they were very dissatisfied with British democracy, the corresponding figure for ethnic minority people born in the UK is more than double, at 14.6%. Multivariate analysis of democratic satisfaction will be presented in Section 7.4 of the thesis.

Table 4.6: Levels of Democratic Satisfaction and Political Trust for BAME Groups

Ethnic Background	Satisfied with British Democracy	High Level of Trust in Parliament	High Level of Trust in British Politicians	N
Indian	74.1%	35.9%	26.9%	*572*
Pakistani	76.4%	37.0%	28.3%	*639*
Bangladeshi	78.6%	42.8%	29.3%	*262*
Black Caribbean	**48.1%**	**12.5%**	**8.5%**	*642*
Black African	73.2%	33.8%	26.3%	*555*
BAME	68.7%	30.8%	22.9%	*2,670*
White British	61.5%	19.5%	10.9%	*2,640*
BAME (Born Abroad)	77.9%	39.7%	30.2%	*1678*
BAME (Born in UK)	52.5%	15.6%	10.5%	*965*

EMBES 2010 (Weighted data). BES 2010. Don't know/Refused responses dropped from analysis. Pearson Chi-Square <0.05 (0.000). High Level of Trust measured in cases where respondent states their personal level of trust is 7 or more out of 10 (0 – no trust; 10 – great deal of trust). Ns for item on democratic satisfaction.

Table 4.6 presents an overview of bivariate analysis for all five ethnic minority groups across three measures of political trust – satisfaction with democracy, trust in Parliament and trust in politicians in general. High level of trust is measured in cases where the respondent

positions himself/herself on a score of 7 or more on a trust scale of 0-10 (0 – no trust; 10 – great deal of trust). The analysis shows that BAME people in the UK report higher levels of satisfaction with British democracy than white British people (68.7% to 61.5%) and are also more likely to hold a high level of trust in both Parliament and politicians in general.

The figures for Table 4.6 show that British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – the two least socially integrated groups – report the highest levels of democratic satisfaction and are the most likely to hold a high level of trust in both Parliament and politicians in general. Bangladeshis, who are also poorly integrated in a socio-economic sense, are the most democratically satisfied and politically trusting group in the analysis. This suggests that there is a seemingly paradoxical association between social segregation and greater political inclusion – something which will be more deeply explored in Chapter 7 of the thesis.

4.7: Relative Deprivation and Government Treatment

Relative deprivation, while closely associated with discrimination, relates more to the psychological feelings of injustice. Relative deprivation involves the perception that oneself or one's group/collective is at an unfair disadvantage in comparison with others in society (Pettigrew et al. 2008; Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin and Bialosiewicz, 2012). Feelings of relative deprivation contain three core aspects (Smith et al., 2012). First, there must be individual or group-level comparisons made. Second, the comparison must lead to the perception that one is at a relative disadvantage with respect to other individuals or groups. Third, the perceived disadvantage should be seen as being unfair.

While fraternal relative deprivation is based on "collective" group-based perceptions of unfairness, egoistic relative deprivation is rooted in individual-level perceptions of personal injustice. This section of the chapter presents descriptive data which essentially merges feelings of relative (fraternal and egoistic) deprivation with political trust by looking at how ethnic minority people perceive how their ethnic group and themselves as individuals are treated by the government. It is important to see the extent to which feelings of relative deprivation exist over governmental treatment in multi-ethnic, racially diverse democracies such as the UK.

Table 4.7: Feelings of egoistic and fraternal relative deprivation (government treatment)

Ethnic Background	"Government treats people like me fairly"	"Government treats my ethnic group fairly"	N
Indian	68.4%	67.7%	583
Pakistani	70.1%	63.5%	652
Bangladeshi	68.5%	65.4%	264
Black Caribbean	**36.4%**	**29.4%**	648
Black African	55.3%	48.5%	565
BAME	58.4%	53.4%	2712
Born Abroad	65.0%	60.1%	1719
Born in UK	47.2%	42.1%	968

Relative deprivation indicators measured on 'agree with' statement basis (combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree' responses). Chi-Square <0.05 across both measures. Ns are for first item.

Table 4.7 presents bivariate analysis for two measures of relative deprivation regarding government treatment. The first, a measure of egoistic relative deprivation, asked respondents whether they agreed with the statement: "does the government treat people like me fairly?". The second, a measure of ethnic-fraternal relative deprivation, asked respondents whether they felt the government treated their ethnic group fairly. The figures presented are combined percentages based on whether the respondent "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the given statement.

The figures show that the three South Asian groups are more likely to feel that both their ethnic group, and they themselves as individuals, are fairly treated by the UK government. Black Caribbeans, who are the most socially integrated ethnic group and report the highest percentage for racial discrimination, display particularly high levels of relative deprivation across both measures. Only 29.4% of Black Caribbeans felt that their ethnic group was fairly treated by the government, and just 36.4% felt that people like themselves were fairly treated. This is more than 20 percentage points below the BAME average for both measures. Across both measures of feelings of relative deprivation regarding government treatment,

Black Caribbeans fall between the three South Asian groups and their Black Caribbean co-racial counterparts.

There is further evidence in support of this paradoxical relationship between social integration and political inclusion when looking at the figures for the Black Caribbean group. Black Caribbeans are the least likely to be satisfied with British democracy - and are also the least likely to report a high level of trust in both Parliament and politicians in general. Indeed, the Black Caribbean percentage for reporting democratic satisfaction – 48.1% - is more than 20 percentage points lower than the BAME average of 68.7%. Black Caribbeans are the only ethnic minority group which is more politically disaffected than the white British group across the three measures in Table 4.7. In addition to this, feelings of egoistic and fraternal relative deprivation are particularly widespread within the Black Caribbean group in comparison to the other four ethnic minority categories under analysis. The bivariate analysis for Black Caribbeans suggests that social integration can lead to greater exposure to racial discrimination, and this is turn may feed into political disaffection. The potential inter-relationship between social integration, racial discrimination and democratic dissatisfaction will be rigorously investigated through quantitative analysis presented in Section 7.4 of the thesis.

The bivariate analysis for political trust also shows that the political disaffection of Black Caribbeans is not shared by their Black African co-racial counterparts. In fact, Black Africans appear to be closer to the three South Asian groups when it comes to democratic satisfaction and political trust in the British context. Previous ethnic studies in the British context have tended to 'merge' these ethnic groups to create a racially homogenous 'Black' group. While Black Caribbeans and Black Africans may be counterparts in a 'racial' sense, the two British ethnic minority groups sharply differ in terms of democratic satisfaction and institutional trust.

There are sharp intergenerational differences to report across all three measures of political trust. At the bivariate level, first-generation migrants are far more likely to be satisfied with British democracy, and hold a high level of trust in the UK Parliament and British politicians in general. The figures for first-generation migrants are considerably higher than those of their British-born descendants when it comes to reporting democratic satisfaction (25.4

percentage points), a high level of trust in the UK Parliament (24.1 percentage points) and a high level of trust in British politicians as a whole (19.7 percentage points).

4.8: Complementary semi-structured interviews

The bivariate analysis has provided a number of interesting initial findings – particularly when looking at the two co-racial ethnic groups on a comparative basis. Black Caribbeans are less likely to hold a university degree but are more likely to own their home than Black Africans. While the differences are relatively slim, Black Caribbeans are more socially integrated than their African-origin co-racial counterparts – and are also more likely to report racial discrimination. Where the most glaring differences lie, is in political trust. Black Africans are far more likely to be satisfied with British democracy and hold a high level of trust in conventional political actors than the generally more "established" Black Caribbeans – with Black Africans nestling more with levels of political trust among Britain's South Asian ethnic minorities.

These "within-race" differences give rise to interesting questions. Are Black Caribbeans more likely to report racial discrimination due to greater social integration in mainstream society? It could well be the case that contact with the white British majority leads minorities to become more exposed to and aware of the prejudice and discrimination that persists in Britain. Could Black Africans (along with the three South Asian groups) report a lower figure for reported discrimination than their Black Caribbean co-racial counterparts due to having less contact with white British people? Or indeed, having less contact with other ethnic minority groups? The figures for the measures of political trust dispels the myth of a 'Black British' collective which is utterly disillusioned with how democracy works in Britain and is acutely distrustful of conventional politics. Black Caribbeans may be far more 'socially integrated' than Black Africans, but the latter is certainly better 'politically integrated'. What is driving this between-group variation when it comes to satisfaction with the British democratic system and its formal institutions?

Much of the existing literature on social networks argues that bridging social contacts can facilitate political integration for minorities. However, it is possible that the higher level of reported discrimination among Back Caribbeans through 'social integration' and greater contact with the dominant white British majority may contribute to political disaffection. This

hypothesised process also suggests that the higher levels of political trust (specifically democratic satisfaction) for the other ethnic minority groups could be down to their predominantly co-ethnic networks providing insulation from discriminatory experiences which may feed into political disaffection.

There is also the matter of the political culture in the country of origin. Black Africans, who are the most 'recently-settled' of the five BAME groups under analysis, may find it easier to express satisfaction with British democracy and place their trust in the UK's public institutions. This could be down to the sheer fact that a substantial proportion have personally fled from political persecution, experienced up-close the destructive effects of institutional corruption, and witnessed the injustices resulting from the client-patron politics in their country of origin. It could be the case that the more 'established' Black Caribbean group, who are more likely to be born and brought up in the UK and originate from countries with relatively well-functioning political systems, may have far higher expectations of how British parliamentary democracy should function – which may directly contribute to political disaffection as they are more sensitive to disappointment.

This leads onto the intergenerational differences which have been reported at the bivariate level over the course of this chapter. First-generation migrants – people born outside of the UK – are less socially integrated through work and friends, less likely to report racial and religious discrimination, and more satisfied with and trusting of Britain's democratic political system, in comparison to their British-born offspring and grandchildren. Indeed, some of these differences are stark – in the case of democratic satisfaction, it exceeds 25 percentage points.

As well as being less exposed to discriminatory experiences due to their more ingroup networks, it could be the case that first-generation migrants are more satisfied with British democracy due to their first-hand experiences of living under more repressive, authoritarian and corrupt political systems in their country of origin. Therefore, socio-political socialisation may play a role in generating intergenerational differences in democratic satisfaction among British ethnic minority people. It is also important to note that at the bivariate level, first-generation migrants appear to be more socially trusting. Could this be a natural process of "aging"? Or maybe past experiences of living in unstable societies abroad with weak law and

order are implicated in this intergenerational gap where first-generation migrants are more socially trusting than their British-born BAME counterparts.

These are interesting research questions which cannot be fully answered only through quantitative analysis reliant on the 2010 EMBES dataset. The holding of semi-structured interviews is expected to help with developing a greater understanding of patterns which emerge from the quantitative analysis. The semi-structured interviews will be conducted across all five ethnic minority groups – and importantly, a fairly even balance of first-generation migrants and those born and raised in the UK. With 5 semi-structured interviews being dedicated to each ethnic minority group, a total of 25 interviews will be conducted to better interpret and understand the inter-relationships between social integration, negative intergroup contact, generalised social trust and satisfaction with Britain's democratic system.

4.9: Conclusion

This chapter covering descriptive statistics for the socio-economic integration and civic inclusion of ethnic minorities provides much of the rationale and direction behind this research project – including how the complementary semi-structured interviews were set out. At face-value, there is a distinct lack of evidence to suggest racial discrimination has a strong direct impact generalised social trust, with levels of social trust being fairly even at ethnic group-level, despite considerable variation in reported discrimination. However, there are clear between-group differences which support the hypothesised process of social integration leading to greater exposure to discrimination, which in turn may feed into political disaffection.

Interestingly, it seems like Black Africans tend to 'nestle in' with the three South Asian groups when it comes to satisfaction with British democracy and trust in formal institutions such as the UK Parliament – with their Black Caribbean racial counterparts being an outlier of sorts in regards to their relatively high levels of political disaffection. What is particularly interesting from this initial analysis at bivariate level, is the fact that Bangladeshis demonstrate high levels of democratic satisfaction and institutional trust - despite their low level of socio-economic resources and strong degrees of social segregation. When it comes to political-institutional trust, the British Black Caribbean ethnic minority group are the most dissatisfied with British democracy and are the least likely to hold a high level of trust in Parliament as an institution

and British politicians in general. The severity of distrust and disaffection makes Black Caribbeans a clear outlier group out of the five BAME groups under analysis.

Even though descriptive statistics should be treated with caution, it appears that past claims which have been made regarding co-ethnic networks and the stated forms of civic inclusion are questionable. Political commentators and public policymakers alike have previously speculated over the potentially detrimental role of social and residential segregation in undermining the political integration of ethnic minorities and their membership of the 'British democratic collective'. However, at group level, the bivariate analysis presented in this chapter provides little evidence of this.

The two groups which report the highest levels of democratic satisfaction and conventional political trust – Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – are also the **most socially segregated** through work, friends, neighbourhood and place of worship. This finding for these two near-universally Muslim groups is all the more interesting when considering the dubious political circumstances surrounding Britain's involvement in the Iraq War – with both Labour and the Conservatives broadly providing their support for the 2003 invasion through a parliamentary vote. Considering debates on the supposed incompatibilities between Western-style democracy and orthodox Islamic doctrine continue, this preliminary finding may come as a surprise to many.

What is clear, is that previous ethnic studies which have created super-racial 'Black' and "Asian" categories when looking at issues surrounding civic inclusion have failed to recognise noticeable differences between co-racial ethnic groups. Black Africans report relatively low levels of racial discrimination and have comparatively higher levels of political trust, while Black Caribbeans are more socially integrated and report severe political disaffection. It is hoped the complementary semi-structured interviews, along with the multivariate analysis conducted in the following empirical chapters, will build upon and shed light on these interesting differences discovered at bivariate level.

The thesis now moves onto Chapter 5 – the first empirical chapter which includes multivariate analysis in the form of binary logistic regression. Chapter 5 focuses on the relationship between social integration and reported experiences of discrimination. It will explore whether higher social integration is significantly associated with greater exposure to negative

intergroup contact (in the form of racial and religious discrimination) and heightened awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes. The chapter will also investigate whether the differences in reported discrimination between the ethnic groups at the bivariate level are also delivered through multivariate analysis which controls for a range of socio-demographic characteristics and neighbourhood context.

Chapter 5: Social Relations and Negative Intergroup Contact

5.1: Introduction

Research on the effects of ethnic diversity on a wide range of different social and political outcomes tends to adopt a positive view about the role of interethnic contact (André et al., 2010; Stephan et al., 2009; Snellman and Ekehammer, 2005; Verkuyten, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998 in d'Appollonia, 2015). In particular, many of these studies suggest that interethnic social contact leads to reduced 'outgroup' hostility as it fosters positive feelings of familiarity, acceptance and mutual understanding. Thus, social contact between different ethnic groups can help to foster social trust (Gundelach and Traunmüller, 2014; Stolle and Harrell, 2012) and moderate prejudices among the ingroup towards outgroup members of society (Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010).

However, underpinning much of this research is the assumption that all such instances of inter-ethnic contact are inherently positive (Dixon et al. 2005; Pettigrew, 2006; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008). This has given rise to a somewhat idealistic vision of the realities of intergroup contact. But there is another possibility. Specifically, from the perspective of the in-group, inter-ethnic contact with the majority out-group (and minority outgroupers) may be an occasion for negative social contact experienced through the form of racial and religious discrimination. Thus, there may be an asymmetry. And whereas contact with ethnic minorities may help to break down barriers for white British people, contact with white people may lead to negative social experiences for ethnic minorities if they are subjected to prejudice or discrimination. It is this possibility that the chapter explores.

In particular, I examine reports of discrimination experienced by ethnic minorities in Britain, and how these experiences are influenced by different patterns of social relations and structural integration. In doing so, I develop insights from prior research on the 'integration paradox' in the Netherlands (Buijs et al. 2006; Entzinger and Dourleijn, 2008; van Doorn et al. 2013; Verkuyten, 2016) which describes the seemingly paradoxical situation where well-resourced, socially integrated ethnic minority individuals psychologically 'turn away' from the host country, instead of developing a strong orientation towards it. This challenges the conventional wisdom established in the traditional literature - that structural and social integration is conducive to socio-political inclusion, reduces feelings of discrimination, and

helps to develop a strong sense of belonging and positive perceptions of the host society (Alba and Nee, 2009 Esser, 2001; Gordon, 1964).

This chapter thus seeks to build on this literature, which has primarily been developed in the Netherlands, and apply it to the UK context. In doing so I contribute to the currently underdeveloped literature on the potential negative side effects of intergroup contact. The main findings are that ethnic minority people in Britain who are more socially integrated (particularly through work) are more likely to report discrimination, with higher educational attainment also being associated with greater likelihood of reporting discrimination. These findings lend support the integration paradox and provide a corrective to prior research that tends to prioritise the positive side effects of intergroup contact.

This chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, I review the existing literature on the social integration and intergroup contact, and how this ties in with negative interethnic experiences in the form of discrimination. Secondly, I set out in more detail the theoretical motivations behind the key hypotheses. Thirdly, I discuss the data and measurement of the key variables which will be used to test the key hypotheses. Fourthly I present the analysis and report the results. Finally, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings.

5.2: Theory and Contribution

The 'contact hypothesis' is often regarded as one of the most important ideas developed in social psychology (Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami, 2003). Broadly speaking, this hypothesis posits that positive contact between ethnic groups can reduce intergroup prejudice (Allport, 1954). The effect of contact on prejudice reduction "operates via improved knowledge, greater empathy, and especially, a reduction in intergroup anxiety" (Barlow et al. 2012; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006 in Kaufmann and Harris, 2015). Over the last decade, the number of studies supporting the contact hypothesis has grown. This is demonstrated by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who conducted an influential meta-analysis which found that 94% of the 515 relevant studies found a link between intergroup contact and lower levels of outgroup prejudice.

Although this hypothesis has been extensively examined from the white majority perspective, rather less is known about how interethnic contact affects ethnic minorities themselves. One possibility is that ethnic groups who have more social contact with 'outgroup members'

(particularly the white British) are less likely to experience outgroup hostility on the grounds that interethnic contact breeds familiarity, acceptance and mutual understanding. This view supports 'integrated threat theory' (Stephan and Stephan, 1993, 1996), which suggests that individuals and groups who are not part of mainstream social and economic structures will find it harder to develop bonds of familiarity, acceptance and mutual understanding with outgroupers. This in turn fosters "suspicion of the unknown" and group-level hostility which can manifest itself into individual-level experiences of discrimination.

While the conventional wisdom in the field of ethnic studies holds that higher educational attainment and socio-economic status are linked to positive socio-political outcomes such as reduced feelings of discrimination (Alba and Nee, 2003; Esser, 2001; Gordon, 1964), the 'integration paradox' (Buijs et al. 2006) suggests that higher-status, more socially integrated ethnic-minority individuals ought to report **higher levels of discrimination** in comparison to lower-status groups. Much of the research on the paradoxical relationship between education and perceptions of discrimination within ethnic groups has taken place in the Netherlands (Buijs et al. 2006; Gijsberts and Vervoort, 2007; Muller, 2011; Tolsma, Lubbers and Gijsberts, 2012; Van Doorn, Scheepers and Davegos, 2013; Verkuyten, 2016) and has yet to be systematically investigated in the British context.

5.2.1: Theories of Exposure and Awareness

The investigation into the relationship between social integration and reported discrimination is theoretically driven by two closely inter-related theories – theory of exposure and theory of awareness. Discussion of these theories help to motivate this chapter's research investigation, which looks to how greater social integration and being part of more ethnically-mixed networks can heighten exposure to, and awareness of, discriminatory behaviours and attitudes.

Theory of exposure

The theory of exposure, otherwise known as the 'paradox of social integration', argues that greater intergroup contact may heighten exposure to discriminatory experiences for ethnic minorities living in Western democracies (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). The central assumption of this theory is that ethnic minority individuals who are part of more 'ethnically-mixed' social and employment networks may report higher levels of discrimination, than those who reside

in ‘ethnic enclaves’ - who are thus ‘sheltered’ and ‘insulated’ from racially-motivated harassment and prejudice.

Intergroup contact is supposed to increase with education level and socio-economic integration, with better-educated, more structurally-integrated ethnic minority individuals having more interethnic contact than less-educated groups (Buijs et al. 2006; Dagevos and Gijsberts, 2007; ten Teije, 2013; d’Appollonia, 2015). Under the contact hypothesis, it would be expected that better-educated, structurally-integrated individuals **perceive less discrimination**, as they have more opportunities to develop positive relations with outgroup members of society.

However, by having more intergroup contact due to involvement in ethnically-mixed networks, better-educated and more structurally-integrated ethnic groups may be more exposed to negative intergroup interactions and consequently report higher levels of ethno-racial (and religious) discrimination. By contrast, by being part of more co-ethnic social and economic networks, lower-status groups may be more ‘sheltered’ from such negative intergroup contact – therefore reporting lower levels of experienced discrimination.

The theory of exposure has potentially interesting implications for thinking about the association between different arenas for intergroup contact and reported discrimination. Exposure to contact with the majority population can be related to participation in the labour market. This can include interactions with colleagues as well as clients of a different ethnic background. Higher-educated migrants are more likely to have a job than their lower-educated counterparts and are therefore more exposed to interethnic contact in the public sphere (Dagevos and Gijsberts, 2007; Fong and Isajiw, 2000).

There are conflicting findings in this area of research. Van Doorn et al. (2013) find no association between labour market participation and perceived discrimination in the Dutch ethnic minority context. Alternatively, Wilson and Roscigno (2012) found that higher-educated, middle-class African-American workers were more vulnerable to day-to-day racial harassment in the workplace in comparison to poorly-educated, working-class African-Americans employed in more ‘occupationally segregated’ manual sectors. This chapter strives to develop a clearer understanding of how being more socially integrated through work can be associated with greater exposure to negative intergroup contact.

There is an existing body of literature which has evidenced the positive effects of inter-ethnic friendships on generalised social trust (Rydgren et al. 2013) and improving intergroup attitudes (Aberson et al. 2010). This is something which will be further explored in the next chapter. However, negative effects have also been reported in the relevant literature. For example, ethnic minorities who are part of racially-mixed friendship groups may encounter difficulties based on a lack of sensitivity and understanding on issues such as ethnic and racial identity (Orbe and Harris, 2007).

Seltzer and Johnson (2009) collect qualitative accounts of American individuals reporting racial incidents - including those associated with their friendship groups. Accounts include casual use of racial terminology by friends and suggesting that one was only able to attend college solely through affirmative action. The role of interethnic friendship networks potentially exposing individuals to racially discriminatory events is one which is understandably under-researched, due to the positive connotations the term "friend" carries. However, by taking the view that friendship networks could be a potential arena for discriminatory experiences, it will be considered as a measure of social integration when testing the theory of exposure.

Theory of awareness

Closely associated to the theory of exposure is the theory of awareness. Verkuyten (2016), refers to feelings of relative deprivation when examining how better-educated ethnic minorities "psychologically turn away" from the host society. In his paper, Verkuyten uses "perceived negative reactions" (in other words, negative intergroup contact) as an indicator of "relative deprivation".

One of the first formal definitions of relative deprivation, provided by Walter Runciman (1966), provides four preconditions (of Object X by Person A): Person A does not have X; Person A knows of other persons (or groups) that have X; Person A wants to have X; Person A believes obtaining X is realistic. In other words, relative deprivation concerns the psychological perception that oneself or one's group in at an unfair disadvantage in comparison with others (Pettigrew et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2012). Smith et al. (2012) newer conceptualisation of feelings of relative deprivation contains three main aspects. First, direct comparisons have to be made in one's mind (at the individual or group level). Second, the

comparison must lead to the established view that one is at a relative disadvantage in respect to other individuals and/or groups in society. Third, this perceived disadvantage must be considered as unfair.

It has been noted that in most Western industrial democracies, the level of unemployment is noticeably higher among ethnic minority groups compared with "native majority" members, controlling for educational attainment (Verhuyten, 2016). A meta-analysis of field experiments examining discrimination in markets, spanning across 17 countries, recorded a high level of discrimination against ethnic minority groups in labour markets (Rich, 2014). In addition to this, compared to similarly-educated native majority members of society, ethnic minority people tend to have lower-grade employment and are more likely to be in temporary work (Alba and Nee, 2003; Hall and Farkas, 2008; Kogan, 2006). Numerous research studies have shown that ethnic minority individuals suffer labour market penalties in the UK, often obtaining employment positions which are not commensurate with their educational qualifications (Cabinet Office Strategy Unit, 2003; Bell and Casebourne, 2008; Heath and Yi Cheung, 2008; Rafferty, 2012; Zwysen and Longhi, 2016). Despite the passage of race relations legislation and creation of anti-discrimination initiatives, ethnic penalties continue to persist in the British economy.

As well as being relatively underdeveloped in comparison to literature on positive intergroup contact, the existing literature on negative interethnic contact is overwhelmingly focused on racial discrimination (as opposed to religious discrimination). This is understandable, as "religion itself does not entail significant levels of reported discrimination…it is ethnicity - rather (or more) than religion – which acts as a visible and ready conduit for disadvantage and perceived discrimination" (Li et al., 2008: 67). Indeed, this was demonstrated in the previous chapter (see Table 4.10). However, recent studies suggest that religious discrimination – particularly towards British Muslims - is becoming an increasing problem in the UK labour market (Khattab, 2015; Adesina and Marocico, 2017).

An important theoretical contribution of this thesis is to examine how social integration can heighten awareness of racially-biased structures and give rise to feelings of unfair treatment among non-white ethnic minorities in the UK. While direct exposure to personal discriminatory experiences are an important part of this chapter, it is by no means implausible that social integration can also heighten awareness of discriminatory behaviours and

perceptions of structural bias in the UK. Indeed, this is evidenced by the findings of the semi-structured interviews, which will be presented later in the chapter following the quantitative analysis using the 2010 EMBES.

5.3: Data and Methods

In order to test the relationship between social integration and negative intergroup contact, I use data from the 2010 EMBES (see Chapter 3 for more detail), as well as examining information provided by complementary semi-structured interviews. The main dependent variable used for the quantitative analysis is a complex discrimination variable which is based on whether respondents experienced any discrimination in the last 5 years on the grounds of race, ethnicity or religion (where 1 = they have experienced discrimination on any of these grounds and 0 = they have not). In the second part of the analysis section, this main dependent variable is split into two dependent variables – with one model predicting for racial discrimination, and the other predicting for religious discrimination. Due to the binary nature of the dependent variables, binary logistic regression is considered a suitable method and used throughout the quantitative analysis in this chapter.

Social integration

For the quantitative analysis, the composite measure of social integration designed by Heath et el. (2013) and fleshed out in Section 3.4.1 of thesis, is used. For Table 5.4, a neighbourhood-level ethnic density variable based on 2011 Census data is used (see Section 3.4.7), along with two separate social integration variables regarding co-ethnicity of friendship network and employment network (see Section 3.4.1). For these alternative variables for social integration, the friendship group variable is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, with the workplace variable being coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and not in employment/work = 2. This will help to develop a more critical understanding of the relationship between specific domains of integration and reported discrimination.

Structural Integration (Education and Social Class)

In order to examine the impact of structural integration I examine education, occupational class and generation. Education is measured in terms of qualifications (where none = 0, low = 1, GCSE = 2, A-level = 3 and degree = 4) and includes qualifications obtained from outside as

well as within the UK. [1] Occupational class is broken down into five categories: (Salariat = 1, Intermediate = 2, Manual Working = 3, Never Worked = 4 and Other = 5).[2] Educational attainment is used as a continuous independent variable, while social class is used as a categorical independent variable.

Socio-demographic Characteristics

I also control for ethnic group, age, gender and main language spoken at home. The ethnic group variable includes the five BAME groups (Black Caribbean = 1, Black African = 2, Indian = 3, Pakistani = 4 and Bangladeshi = 5). Black Caribbeans are set as the reference ethnic group. For the analysis, the natural logarithm for age will be used. Gender is coded as male = 0 and female = 1. Main language spoken at home is coded as English not main language = 0 and English main language = 1. Birthplace is coded as born abroad = 0 and born in UK = 1.

Neighbourhood-level context

Lastly, I control for neighbourhood level deprivation. To measure the level of deprivation in the neighbourhood I use the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) (see Section 3.4.7 for more detail). For the model including individual social integration measures of friendship and workplace co-ethnicity, a neighbourhood non-white density variable based on 2011 Census data is used. This measures the percentage of non-white people living in Lower-Layer Output Areas (LSOAs). One LSOA typically includes 1,500-2,000 people. For the model which includes the 2011 UK Census neighbourhood ethnic density variable, two separate domains of social integration are included – co-ethnicity of friendship group and workplace.

[1] None includes people with no educational qualifications, low includes qualifications at ISCED level 1, GCSE includes lower secondary qualifications such as GCSE or overseas equivalent (ISCED level 2), A-level includes upper secondary qualifications such as A levels or foreign equivalent, or other qualifications below degree level (ISCED levels 3 and 4), and Degree includes degree-level qualifications (ISCED level 5).

[2] The salariat category includes respondents who are classified as being in professional or higher technical work, manager or senior administrator. The intermediate category includes clerical workers, those working in sales or services, small business owners and people in foremen/supervisory roles. The manual working category includes skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Never worked includes those who have never held any form of employment. A number of missing cases replaced with partner's occupational class.

5.4: Quantitative Analysis

The analysis proceeds in three parts. Firstly, I carry out a multivariate analysis predicting for discrimination on racial and/or religious grounds. The main dependent variable is then disaggregated, with two separate models predicting for racial and religious discrimination in their own right. The second part includes a binary logistic regression model where the main discrimination dependent variable is used, and social integration is disaggregated into co-ethnicity of workplace, co-ethnicity of friendship group and neighbourhood non-white density. The third and final part includes the presentation of predicted probabilities for reporting discrimination.

Analysis Part 1: Reported Discrimination

The first part of the analysis presents a binary logistic regression model which uses a dependent variable which incorporates cases of both ethno-racial and religious discrimination. Using the composite measure of social integration (which is on a scale of 0-10), the model controls for ethnicity, gender, age, birthplace, education, social class, main language at home and neighbourhood deprivation (IMD).

Table 5.1: Reported Discrimination (Binary Logistic Regression)

Model 5A	Log Odds (B)	Standard Error (SE)
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.305*	.143
Indian	-.670**	.144
Pakistani	-.639**	.144
Bangladeshi	-.446*	.190
Female	-.166	.092
(Ln) Age	-.714**	.147
Born in UK	.183	.109
Educational Level	.106**	.039
Social Class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	.011	.125
Manual Working	-.143	.129
Never Worked	-.523**	.188
Other	.121	.337
English Main Language at Home	.415**	.115
Social Integration	**.145****	**.028**
IMD	-.002	.002
Constant	1.622	.616

Model 5A Notes: Source: 2010 EMBES. N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 246.01. Degrees of Freedom: 15. -2LL: 1471.835. Pseudo R Squared: .08. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Table 5.1 presents an overview of multivariate analysis where the main discrimination binary dependent variable (which includes reported discrimination on racial and/or religious grounds) is used. There is a statistically significant positive relationship between social integration and reported discrimination *(b = .145).* This finding, which is significant at the 1% confidence level, indicates that ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated are more likely to report discrimination.

The negative direction of the co-efficients for all four non-Black Caribbean BAME groups indicate that when controlling for all other variable in Model 5A, Black Caribbeans are the most likely to report discrimination. Indians *(b = - .670)* and Pakistanis *(b = -.639)* are the least likely to report discrimination. Both of these findings are significant at the 1% confidence level. There is also a statistically significant negative association between age and reported discrimination *(b = -.714)*, which indicates that older ethnic minority individuals are less likely to report discrimination than younger people. This finding is also significant at the 1% confidence level.

A statistically significant positive relationship is found between educational attainment and reporting discrimination in Model 5A *(b = .106)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. Ethnic minority who have never worked are less likely to report discrimination than those working in salaried professional roles *(b = -.523).* This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. People who have English as a main language at home are more likely to report discrimination than those who do not have English as a main language at home *(b = .415)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. There are no neighbourhood deprivation effects to report from Model 5A.

Table 5.2: Racial and Religious Discrimination (Binary Logistic Regression)

	Model 5B: Racial Discrimination		**Model 5C: Religious Discrimination**	
	Log Odds (B)	Standard Error (SE)	Log Odds (B)	Standard Error (SE)
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	-.387**	.146	1.034**	.351
Indian	-.791**	.148	.546	.368
Pakistani	-.906**	.151	1.860**	.318
Bangladeshi	-.882**	.207	1.926**	.359
Female	-.263**	.096	-.193	.170
(Ln) Age	-.545**	.152	-.851**	.284
Born in UK	.267*	.113	.510*	.198
Educational Level	.132**	.041	.090	.071
Social Class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	-.017	.129	-.248	.227
Manual Working	-.137	.134	-.225	.256
Never Worked	-.457*	.201	-.175	.312
Other	.310	.344	-.822	.763
English Main Language at Home	.477**	.123	-.164	.191
Social Integration	.152**	.029	.051	.053
IMD	-.002	.002	-.002	.004
Constant	.839	.641	-1.038	1.778

Model 5B Notes: N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 290.48. Degrees of Freedom: 15. -2LL: 1376.671. Pseudo R Squared: .10. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Model 5C Notes: N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 290.48. Degrees of Freedom: 15. -2LL: 1376.671. Pseudo R Squared: .10. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Table 5.2 presents an overview of multivariate analysis where reported racial and religious discrimination are treated as dependent variables (in Models 5B and 5C respectively). It is firstly important to acknowledge that the patterns of findings are similar between Model 5A and 5B (demonstrating that the vast majority of cases of reported discrimination are on racial as opposed to religious grounds). While there is no significant relationship to report between social integration and religious discrimination, Model 5B shows that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between social integration and reporting racial discrimination *(b = .152).* This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level.

The negative direction of the co-efficients for all four non-Black Caribbean BAME groups indicate that when controlling for all other variables in Model 5B, Black Caribbeans are the most likely to report racial discrimination. Bangladeshis *(b = - .882)* and Pakistanis *(b = -.906)* are the least likely to report racial discrimination. However, Model 5C shows that these two groups are the most likely to report religious discrimination when controlling for all other variables *(Bangladeshis: b = 1.926; Pakistanis: b = 1.860)*. Both of these findings are significant at the 1% confidence level. Black Caribbeans are the least likely to report religious discrimination out of the five ethnic groups. Across Models 5B and 5C, Black Africans are less likely to report racial discrimination than Black Caribbeans *(b = -.387)* but more likely to report religious discrimination than their co-racial counterparts *(b = 1.034)*. Both of these findings are significant at the 1% confidence level.

Controlling for all other variables in Model 5B, women are less likely *(b = -.263)* to report racial discrimination than men. There is also a statistically significant negative association between age and both reported racial and religious discrimination *(b = -.545; b = -.851)*, which indicates that older ethnic minority individuals are less likely to report ethno-racial and religious discrimination than younger people. Both of these findings regarding age are significant at the 1% confidence level. Ethnic minority people born in the UK are more likely to report racial and religious discrimination *(b = .267; b = .510)* than first-generation migrants. Both of these findings are significant at the 5% confidence level.

While there are no education effects to report for Model 5C which predicts for reporting religious discrimination, a statistically significant positive relationship is found in Model 5B between educational attainment and reporting racial discrimination *(b = .132)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. While there are no class effects to report from Model

5C, ethnic minority people who have never worked are less likely to report racial discrimination than those working in salaried professional roles at the 5% confidence level *(b = .457)*. This finding is significant at the 5% confidence level. There are no language effects to report from Model 5C, but people who have English as a main language at home are more likely to report racial discrimination than those who do not have English as a main language at home *(b = .477)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. There are no neighbourhood deprivation effects to report from both Model 5B and Model 5C.

Overall, the characteristics of the people most likely to report racial discrimination are young, well-educated, British-born, Black Caribbean, male, highly socially integrated and speak English as a main language at home. By contrast, the profile of the person least likely to report racial discrimination is an elderly, female, first-generation migrant of Pakistani heritage with no educational qualifications who is likely to have Pahari as her primary language. Poorly social integrated and predominantly interacts with people who belong to her own ethnic group, such people have never participated in the labour market. The characteristics associated with reporting religious discrimination are being a young, British-born individual of Bangladeshi origin. The profile of someone who is the least likely to report religious discrimination is someone who is an elderly, first-generation Black Caribbean migrant.

Table 5.3: Religious Discrimination with Religious Affiliation (Binary Logistic Regression)

Model 5D: Religious Discrimination		
	Log Odds Ratio (B)	**Standard Error (SE)**
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	.138	.406
Indian	.119	.475
Pakistani	-.032	.442
Bangladeshi	.053	.471
Religion: Christian (ref)		
Muslim	**1.832****	**.350**
Hindu/Sikh	-.538	.563
Other Religion	.217	1.054
No Stated Religion	-.847	.513
Female	-.201	.174
(Ln) Age	-.750*	.290
Born in UK	.540**	.204
Education Level	.116	.072
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	.227	.231
Manual Working	-.214	.260
Never Worked	-.268	.317
Other	-.773	.769
English Main Language at Home	-.074	.193
Social Integration	.060	.054
IMD	.001	.004
Constant	-1.449	1.224

Model 5D Notes: N = 2,483. Chi-square: 183.29. Degrees of Freedom: 20. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 533.448. Pseudo R Squared: .147. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01. Hindu and Sikh respondents merged due to relatively low number of respondents reporting religious discrimination from these religious groups.

Model 5D presents on overview of binary logistic regression analysis predicting for reported religious discrimination. This model is essentially Model 5C plus religious affiliation. With Model 5C finding that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are the two ethnic groups which are most likely to report religious discrimination, this part of the analysis tests whether this is a "Muslim" effect where the vast majority of cases of reported discrimination are perceived to be anti-Muslim in nature. The results for Model 5D suggest this is the case. There are now no ethnic effects to report, with Muslims being the religious group most likely to report discrimination on religious grounds *(b = 1.832)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level.

Part 2: Reported Discrimination (disaggregation of social integration)

Part of the analysis examines the relationship between specific "domains" of social integration and reported discrimination (using the main dependent variable which incorporates discrimination on both ethno-racial and religious grounds). Social integration is disaggregated into three individual measures: co-ethnicity of friendship network, co-ethnicity of workplace and neighbourhood non-white density. For the first two variables, ethnically-mixed friendship group and ethnically-mixed workplace are set as the reference categories. A statistically significant negative relationship between co-ethnic, bonding networks and reported discrimination is expected, as it is assumed that people in these networks are "sheltered" and less exposed to negative intergroup contact.

Table 5.4: Reported Discrimination (Social Integration Disaggregated: Binary Logistic Regression)

Model 5E: Discrimination	Log Odds (B)	Standard Error (SE)
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.278	.142
Indian	-.686**	.145
Pakistani	-.682**	.145
Bangladeshi	-.455*	.191
Female	-.141	.093
(Ln) Age	-.675**	.147
Born in UK	.168	.109
Educational Level	.102**	.039
Social Class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	.028	.125
Manual Working	-.122	.130
Never Worked	-.385*	.195
Other	.136	.337
English Main Language at Home	.427**	.115
Workplace Co-Ethnicity: Ethnically-Mixed (ref)		
Bonding place of work	-.249*	.121
Unemployed/Not in Work	-.494**	.121
Bonding Friendship Network	-.091	.104
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.270	.224
IMD	-.002	.002
Constant	2.123	.627

Model 5E Notes: N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 240.646. Degrees of Freedom: 18. -2LL: 1474.518. Pseudo R Squared: .086. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Table 5.4 presents an overview of multivariate analysis where the main dependent variable, which incorporates both racial and religious discrimination, is used. In this binary logistic regression model, social integration is disaggregated into three separate measures – co-ethnicity of employment network, co-ethnicity of friendship group and neighbourhood non-white density.

Specifically focusing on these measures of social integration, there is no statistically significant relationship between neighbourhood non-white density and reporting discrimination. There are also no significant effects to report between those with bridging, ethnically-mixed friendship networks, and people who are part of more co-ethnic, bonding friendship groups. Ethnic minority people who are part of more co-ethnic, bonding employment networks *(b = -.249)* and unemployed/not in work *(b = -.494)* are **less likely to report discrimination than those who have jobs in ethnically-mixed "bridging" places of work.** This suggests that it is social integration through work which is especially associated with heightened reporting of discrimination.

Part 3: Predicted Probabilities

With a significant relationship being found between co-ethnicity of employment network and reported discrimination, predicted probabilities for reporting discrimination (on racial and/or religious grounds) are calculated for three groups of ethnic minority people: people who work in an ethnically-mixed workplace, people who have a job in a bonding place of work and people who are unemployed/not in work.

Figure 5.1: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Discrimination (Workplace Co-Ethnicity)

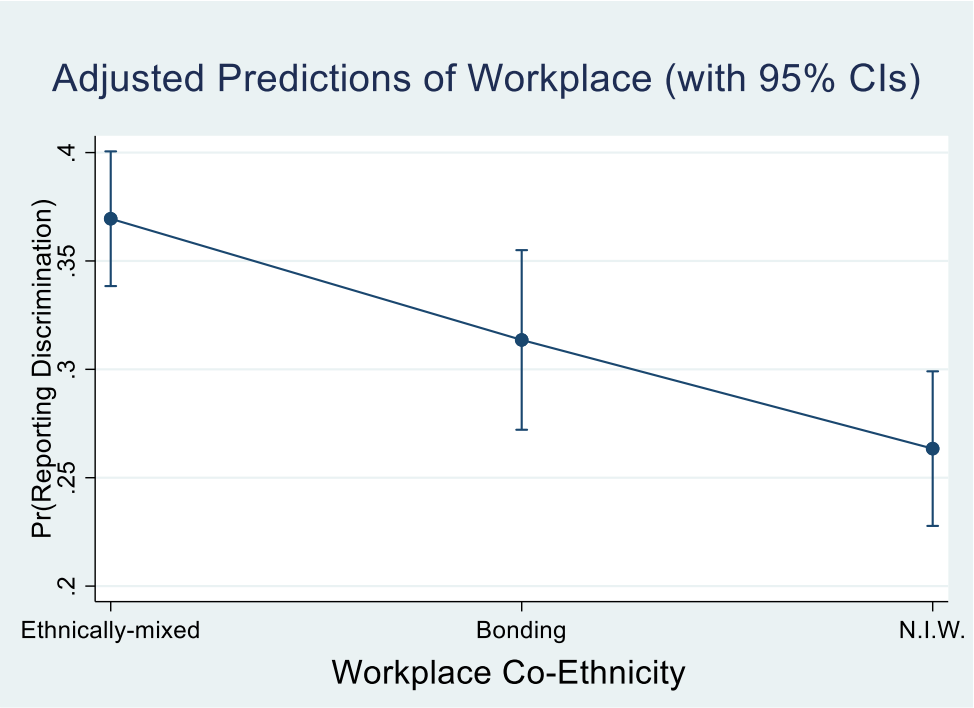


Figure 5.1 presents the predicted probabilities of reporting discrimination for three categories of ethnic minority people (with 95% confidence intervals): people who work in ethnically-mixed employment networks, people who have a job in more co-ethnic, bonding networks, and people who are unemployment/not in work. This is based on the results for Model 5E presented in Table 5.4. Figure 5.1 shows that the ethnic minority people who have a job in an ethnically-mixed workplace are more likely to report discrimination than those in more ethnically homogenous networks. People who are unemployed/not in work (labelled as N.I.W. on Figure 5.1) are the least likely to report discrimination.

Table 5.5: Selected Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Discrimination (Model 5E)

	Predicted Probabilities	Standard Error	95% Confidence Intervals	
Ethnically-Mixed Workplace	.369	.016	.338	.401
Ethnically-Mixed Workplace	.314	.021	.272	.355
Unemployed/Not in Work (N.I.W.)	**.263**	.018	.228	.355
Black Caribbean	**.419**	.024	.373	.465
Indian	.266	.021	.226	.306
Born in UK	.347	.019	.310	.384
Born Abroad	.310	.013	.284	.336
English main language at home	.357	.013	.331	.383
English not main language at home	.266	.018	.231	.301
Male	.340	.015	.311	.369
Female	.309	.014	.282	.336

Table 5.5 presents selected predicted probabilities calculated from the results of Model 5E, where the main measure of self-reported discrimination - including cases of ethno-racial and religious discrimination - was the dependent variable. The predicted probabilities presented are associated with workplace co-ethnicity, ethnicity, birthplace, main language at home and gender. The strongest predictor for reporting discrimination in Model 5E is **being of Black Caribbean origin (.419).** This is higher than the predicted probability for being employed of an ethnically-mixed "bridging" place of work (.369). The joint second-lowest predicted probabilities for reporting discrimination are being of Indian origin and not having English as the primary language at home (both .266). **Out of the predictors selected for inclusion in Table 5.4, being unemployed/not in work (NIW) is the weakest predictor for reporting discrimination in Model 5E (.263).**

5.5: Qualitative Findings

The quantitative analysis reliant on the 2010 EMBES provides considerable evidence which suggests that being more socially integrated is significantly associated with reporting discrimination (specifically ethno-racial) in the British ethnic minority context. However, this finding delivered through the quantitative analysis gives rise to interesting questions which were explored in the semi-structured interviews. Which people are involved in forms of discriminatory contact, and where do they tend to take place? Are most discriminatory experiences reported by ethnic minority people the result of integration into the white British mainstream? Is discrimination between ethnic minorities a growing problem? Building on the quantitative findings, the semi-structured interviews (which were exclusively conducted with residents of Luton) provide interesting insight into how social integration can heighten exposure to, and awareness of, discrimination. Supporting the central finding of the quantitative analysis, the semi-structured interviews found that participants who were more socially integrated and part of more ethnically-mixed networks, were also more likely to report experiencing racial – and in some instances religious – discrimination.

5.5.1: Discrimination and the workplace

A theme which emerged from the interviews was the concept of "excessive comfortability" among work colleagues. The majority of interviewees spoke of how work colleagues, friends and neighbours made discriminatory remarks "in jest" or as "banter" – but in reality, these comments were often considered insulting and offensive. One participant, a 28-year-old British-born black woman of Caribbean descent, described how she felt work colleagues used words such as "feisty" and "sassy" when describing her. The participant described these "microaggressions" as a form of "thinly-veiled racism" where non-black people (specifically white British people) use terms which tap into the unfair caricature of the archetypal black women being "overly assertive" and "inherently aggressive".

Claims of a subtler, less forthright racism were also made by another British-born female participant (in this case, of Pakistani Muslim heritage). This participant felt that discrimination experienced by ethnic minorities in the UK had moved away from more aggressive, blatant forms to a more "indirect and subtle nature". This involved fellow work colleagues making "dressed up" comments with underlying racial and religious connotations. Stating that the

people responsible tended to be white British, the participant felt these comments were the by-product of negative stereotypes and one-off negative interactions with specific groups. Even though these comments may not be directed at her specifically, the fact the discriminatory remarks referred to South Asian and Muslim people meant personal offence was nevertheless taken by the participant.

Another participant, a 28-year-old Muslim male of Bangladeshi origin who works as a Human Resources Advisor in the National Health Service, discussed the "undercover racism" of NHS management. This involved a clearly stated claim that NHS management (which is predominantly white British) tends to treat non-white employees (including himself) unfairly and behave more unprofessionally towards them in comparison to white British employees. In his words: "racism is very subtle, but it's definitely there...if you ain't white, you ain't right." Meanwhile, a degree-educated British-born female participant of Pakistani origin, who works in banking, spoke of a "white backlash" in employment practices within her sector. The participant stated that a firm in the banking sector decided to employ a white British individual over a "perfectly-qualified" woman of Indian origin on the basis that it already had "disproportionate BAME profile", and that needed to be "rebalanced".

An interesting take on discriminatory experiences was offered by a participant who works for the local council. A first-generation migrant of Bangladeshi origin, the participant discussed how she encountered discriminatory attitudes from not only white British people, but also members of other non-white ethnic minority groups in her capacity as a Council Officer. The participant felt that there were instances where both white British and Black Caribbean superiors were disinterested and adopted an uncaring attitude when targeted health service provision for vulnerable South Asian people was discussed in team meetings. Making a broader point, the participant observed from professional meetings that there was a clear long-standing tension between Luton's Black Caribbean and South Asian groups (particularly over the distribution of the council's financial resources).

5.5.2: Discrimination and Friendship Group

However, these discriminatory experiences are by no means exclusively confined to the workplace. Despite the quantitative analysis finding no significant relationship between social integration through friends and reported discrimination (see Table 5.3), the semi-structured

interviews found that the concept of "excessive comfortability" is also applicable among friends. A 52-year-old first-generation migrant of Bangladeshi origin spoke of her white British friends using derogatory terms which could be considered racist, such as "chink" to describe people of Chinese origin. Another interviewee, also of Bangladeshi origin but a British-born male, discussed how some of the most blatantly racist comments he had encountered was within his own social network. This participant, a Sunni Muslim, heard friends make "sweeping generalisations" regarding British Muslims and issues such as radicalisation, extremism and terrorist activities – also explicitly making the point that this included non-Muslim friends of Indian origin as well as white British friends. This was supported by a female British-born interviewee of South Asian origin. While she stated that she had never suffered direct personal discrimination within her friendship group, she nevertheless was exposed to "jokes" and "banter" about South Asian people which she found "insulting and harmful". However, it is important to make the point that experiences associated with friendship network were ultimately episodes where friends (and their extensions) revealed controversial social and political attitudes, as opposed to personally/directly mistreating the interviewee (which appeared to be more applicable for negative intergroup contact in the workplace).

5.5.3: Discrimination outside of personal networks

The general theme across the semi-structured interviews, irrespective of ethnicity, education and social class, was the view that there is a "new" discrimination – one which is subtler and indirect in nature in comparison to more blatant and direct behaviours and attitudes.

A 26-year-old British-born male participant of Vincentian heritage provided two interesting accounts of discrimination – one with an estate agent and the other with the police. The participant recently purchased a property in a "relatively affluent" neighbourhood. According to the interviewee, two white estate agents automatically assumed that the property would be purchased on the government's "Help to Buy" scheme (where the state lends up to 20% of the property cost for a newly-built home, meaning a cash deposit of only 5% is required). The participant, who purchased the new build without any form of government assistance, stated that he had never mentioned the Help to Buy scheme with any of the estate agents at any point. Describing the behaviour of the estate agents as "deeply unprofessional", the participant suggested that he was perhaps "pigeon-holed" due to being a "young, black man".

The participant also spoke of an incident with the police which provided an interesting view of the relationship between social integration and reported discrimination. Driving from a work meeting towards London, the participant was stopped in rural Worcestershire by the police for overly tinted windows. According to the participant, the police approached his vehicle in an "overly aggressive, intimidating manner", banging on his window and shouting at him to open the driver door. In the words of the interviewee, the police officers "approached me like I had a weapon" and instantly "threatened" him with a court case and possible fine of £5,000. The interviewee pointed out that his white British friend was previously stopped by the police for tinted windows on his car (which were much darker) and black number plates (which are illegal in the UK). During a brief, calm exchange with the police officers, his friend was given a simple verbal warning to lighten the tinted windows and change the number plates. The participant states that his **best friend's more "positive" experience helped him form the view** that the police officers would have treated him in a less intimidating, more professional manner if he was white instead of black.

A 29-year-old British-born male of Jamaican origin who works in the fitness industry stated that he faced discriminatory behaviour in the workplace, but this was usually during contact with gym members as opposed to fellow work colleagues. The participant recalled an incident where he refused to allow a white British individual to enter the gym where he works as he did not have the correct documentation to use the facilities. The individual proceeded to direct racist terminology towards the participant. This incident demonstrates that working in a mainstream company, in any sector, can expose ethnic minority people to discrimination - but not only potentially because of the ethnically-mixed nature of their work colleagues and superior management, but also the clientele and service users.

The contribution made by another interviewee demonstrated how one could be more exposed to discriminatory attitudes *through* their friendship network, as opposed to *within* it. While around her white British's friend's house, the 20-year-old Luton-born female interviewee of Bangladeshi origin overheard her friend's partner (also white British) making derogatory statements about British men of South Asian origin. The interviewee and her friend had an evening cinema planned with their mixed-gender friendship group, with her friend's partner commenting: "You sure you both want to go with those [Asian Muslim] blokes? They're creepy and dodgy, you know what they're like". The interviewee felt this was

a highly discriminatory and offensive comment, and stated to her friend that she would not be coming to her house again.

5.5.4: Insulation from discrimination: co-ethnic networks

An important part of this thesis is not only looking at how higher levels of social integration can heighten exposure to and awareness of racial discrimination, but also how lower levels of social integration (i.e. social segregation) may shield and insulate ethnic minority people from racial discrimination and harassment. The contributions of two participants of South Asian origin provide interesting insight into the relationship between segregation and lower exposure to (and awareness of) discrimination. One of the participants, a 28-year-old British-born self-employed construction worker of Pakistani origin, stated that:

"I haven't personally experienced discrimination. I've seen derogatory remarks on social media towards South Asian Muslims, but haven't experienced much discrimination myself…I'd be lying if I said otherwise".

This particular participant reported a relatively low level of social integration in comparison to the other interviewees (most of whom reported personally experiencing discrimination on racial and/or religious grounds). Roughly 80% of his friends and 50% of his neighbourhood are also of Pakistani origin, as well as 90% of the worshippers at his local mosque. It is also important to acknowledge the participant's self-employment status, which in itself is a very different arrangement to others who work in the wider labour market and regularly interact with co-workers within fixed teams and departments.

As well as being part of predominantly ingroup networks and not personally experiencing discrimination, an 80-year-old participant of Gujarati origin offered an interesting view on the "framing" of discrimination in the British context. While stating that he felt non-white people in the UK were generally held back from fulfilling their maximum potential, he felt that some British ethnic minority people find it "a bit easy to claim discrimination" at times.

Interestingly, to support his view, the participant referred to his own experiences of racial discrimination when living as a young man in Kenya, arguing that state policies of "Africanisation" ultimately led to him fleeing to the UK at the age of 28. "Because of their race, people were brutally treated by police, had their businesses taken away…even their

lives". This account in itself shows how the socialisation of first-generation migrants under more repressive, authoritarian settings can influence their perceptions of issues in the UK, such as discrimination. The impact of social and political experiences under different national contexts will be considered in the next two chapters on generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction.

5.6: Discussion

This chapter has presented a number of interesting findings regarding the differing social life experiences of Britain's ethnic minorities. Offering a different angle on the virtues of integration, the chapter finds a statistically significant relationship between higher social integration and heightened reporting of discrimination. Black Caribbeans, who demonstrate relatively strong levels of social integration through work and friends (see Table 4.2), are the most likely to report **racial discrimination** when controlling for a range of variables in multivariate analysis. Bangladeshis Pakistanis – who are the least likely to be part of an ethnically-mixed place of work or friendship group – are also the two ethnic groups which are least likely to report racial discrimination. This suggests being part of more co-ethnic social networks can provide insulation from negative intergroup contact in the form of racial discrimination. This evidence of 'insulation', along with the Black Caribbean experience of 'discrimination through integration', lends support to the paradox of social integration thesis.

However, by considering **religious** discrimination (a social phenomenon which has been under-researched by previous studies on negative intergroup contact), a very different state of affairs is uncovered. British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – the country's largest Muslim-dominant ethnic minorities - are the two groups most likely to report religious discrimination. Black Caribbeans, who report the lowest level of religious affiliation, are the ethnic group least likely to report religious discrimination. This "Muslim" effect is clearly demonstrated by Model 5D, and suggests that much of the religious discrimination reported by Britain's ethnic minorities are anti-Muslim in nature.

The findings obtained through the semi-structured interviews helped to gain a more insightful understanding of the relationship between social integration and discrimination experienced by British ethnic minorities. The thread which tied the majority of the interviews together was the view that racial (and religious) discrimination in Britain very much exists, but in more

subtle, indirect forms. Interviewees spoke off “thinly-veiled” racial microaggressions and subtle comments which were perceived to have discriminatory undertones. While the majority of the experiences reported had taken place in the competitive world of work, some interviewees spoke of an “excessive comfortability” where friends happily revealed attitudes which were considered racist and xenophobic. This builds upon growing research in the United States which has looked into “casual racism” and subtler forms of discrimination within ethnically-mixed friendship groups. It is also important to acknowledge that discriminatory experiences may not directly take place within personal networks, but rather may be the result of contact with “extensions” of those ethnically-mixed networks – such as relatives of friends or business clients for one’s own firm. What this chapter clearly demonstrates is that there are drawbacks to social integration which previously went under-investigated, with prior relevant literature tending to prioritise the positive effects of intergroup contact.

Important significant findings related to educational attainment lend strong support to the integration paradox – a thinly researched theory which has yet to be systematically investigated in the British ethnic minority setting. The findings lend considerable support to the “theory of expectations”. Ethnic minority people who have strived to develop educational resources, are more likely to be disappointed by personal employment outcomes in comparison to those with lower socio-economic resources. Higher-educated ethnic minority people may also feel more confident in claiming that perceived misallocation of rewards is based on racial discrimination, as they possess greater academic qualifications and more technical skill sets. This can potentially explain for the positive relationship between educational attainment and reported racial discrimination presented in this chapter.

The positive relationship between educational attainment and reporting discrimination is all the more interesting when one considers that existing research tends to discuss of the liberal, tolerant attitudes which tend to characterise the higher-educated sections of the white-majority ethnic group in Western societies. This finding will naturally stimulate much debate in both academic and policy circles. Does this provide evidence of a prevailing “top-down” discrimination produced by the prejudicial behaviours and attitudes of the higher-status white British managerial and professional classes? Or is more a reflection of higher-educated ethnic minority people more sensitive to perceiving negative labour market experiences – not

being invited to interview, missing out on a role or promotion – on the grounds of their race and ethnicity, as they view themselves to be well-qualified? These are admittedly sensitive but important questions to raise in light of this finding.

The statistically significant relationship between speaking English as a main language at home and heightened reporting of racial discrimination is an interesting finding in its own right. In this thesis, speaking English as a primary language at home is treated as a reliable proxy for command of the English language. Possessing a more sophisticated, nuanced command of the English language can facilitate both social and labour market integration – but also equips one with the ability to 'pick up on' and better detect racially discriminatory behaviours of a subtler nature.

Interestingly, people who do not have a place of work or are unemployed are less likely to report discrimination than those who 'bridge' and 'bond' through work colleagues. This suggests an important difference is not only whether one is employed in an ethnically-mixed workplace or a bonding place of work, but rather whether or not one participates in the British labour market. While research on labour market discrimination in the Netherlands has indicated that pre-entry discrimination occurs more frequently than post-entry discrimination (Andriessen et al. 2007; Andriessen et al. 2012), the results presented in this chapter suggest that post-entry discrimination is certainly an issue when looking at ethnic minority interaction with the British labour market.

Interestingly, traits which are traditionally associated with ethnic minority social mobility – being born in the host country, socially integrated, well-educated, proficient in the host language – all appear to be linked with heightened perceptions of discrimination. Alternatively, characteristics which are usually thought to be associated with discrimination and feelings of relative deprivation among ethnic minorities – being foreign-born, separated from the social mainstream, poorly-educated and economically inactive – are all associated with a lower likelihood of reporting discrimination.

Exploring the effect sizes gives rise to a number of interesting thoughts and reflections. The predicted probabilities presented in Table 5.4 demonstrate the importance of the relationship between labour market inactivity and lower probability of reporting discrimination among British non-white ethnic minority people. However, what is interesting, are the strong ethnic

effects – even after controlling for a range of socio-demographic variables and multiple measures of social integration. The strongest predictor for reporting discrimination is being of Black Caribbean origin; with one of the weaker predictors being of Indian origin. This suggests that group-based psychologies and forms of "collective identity grievance" may be implicated in the reporting of minority forms of discrimination.

In addition to this, UK-born BAME people are more likely to report racial discrimination than those who were born outside of Britain – again, after controlling for socio-structural variables such as education level and various "domains" of social integration. This suggests that prior experiences of identity-based persecution and victimisation in other countries – including the expulsion of South Asians from Uganda – can potentially "frame" how discrimination is viewed and defined in the British context. Perhaps for UK-born ethnic minority people, being socialised under the white British mainstream's liberal-egalitarian norms inculcates a worldview which reframes more experiences as discrimination. The points raised further open up the debate on the differences between "actual" and "perceived" discrimination - the impact of "psychological frame of reference" on self-reported measures of discrimination, and what discrimination itself actually constitutes.

In Chapter 6, my attention turns to generalised social trust. Empirical findings from this chapter has helped to raise a number of interesting questions. Is there a clear link between reported discrimination and lower levels of generalised social trust? Does being part of more ethnically-mixed networks potentially create opportunities for positive interethnic contact which counterbalance the potentially negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust? Are there any differences in generalised social trust based on education and socio-political socialisation? These are some of the key research questions that will be addressed in the coming chapter.

Chapter 6: Generalised Social Trust

6.1: Introduction

The findings from Chapter 5 support the theoretical implications of the paradox of social integration. Higher levels of social integration are associated with heightened reporting of racial discrimination. This gives rise to interesting questions for social trust. Are socially integrated people less socially trusting due to this discrimination? Or do their ethnically-mixed networks provide opportunities for positive interethnic contact which counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination on social trust? How socially trusting are those in more co-ethnic networks – people who are insulated from discrimination, but have little contact with people of a different ethnic background to their own? And how is neighbourhood level context positioned in this relationship between contact and trust?

While interpersonal social trust tends to focus on actual social relationships, attitudes surrounding generalised social trust 'extend beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction and incorporate people who are not personally known to each other' (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008: 441). The reality that citizens in some countries, region, cities, or neighbourhoods are able to trust one another (without personal contact) and thereby able to co-operate and solve collective problems, while others are unable to, continues to be one of the most interesting puzzles in social science research.

Much research identifies the positive impact of intergroup contact (Snellman and Ekehammer, 2005; Verhuyten, 2005, Dovidio et al., 2003, André et al., 2010, Stephan et al., 2009 and Pettigrew, 1998 in d'Appolllonia, 2015). These studies collectively affirm that social contact between different groups leads to reduced 'outgroup' hostility. Fostering bonds of familiarity and mutual understanding, intergroup contact can help to build social trust in diverse societies (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle and Harrell, 2012), compensating for innate human prejudices towards outgroup members of society (Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010).

Building upon this literature, I investigate how the negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust can be counterbalanced by positive intergroup contact in ethnically-mixed networks. In doing so, a balanced approach is adopted, where the effects of both negative and positive intergroup contact on social trust are incorporated. In addition to this,

the negative impact of discrimination on the social trust of those in ethnically-mixed networks, and more co-ethnic networks, are compared. This investigates whether the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust is stronger for those who are part of predominantly co-ethnic networks and have limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact. Thus, understanding of how social context is positioned in the relationship between negative intergroup contact and generalised social trust is developed.

This chapter presents evidence which supports the view that social integration creates more opportunities for positive intergroup contact, which helps to counteract the negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust. The findings also suggest that discrimination may have a stronger negative impact on social trust for people who are part of more co-ethnically homogenous friendship networks. Demonstrating the complexity of how social trust is shaped in the British ethnic minority context, this chapter does present analysis which suggests that employment in ethnic economic enclaves is particularly bad for social trust when living in predominantly white areas.

This chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, I review the existing literature and discuss how this will be developed. Secondly, I discuss the data and measurement of the key variables which will be used to address the key research questions. Thirdly, I present the quantitative analysis and report the results. Fourthly, I discuss how the findings of the qualitative research tie in with the quantitative analysis. Finally, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings.

6.2: Theory and Contribution

The debate between contact and conflict theory is well established in the existing literature, and provides the general framework for the analysis. Allport (1954) advances the argument that positive intergroup contact can help to improve perceptions of outgroupers and reduce prejudice between different groups. There exists a wealth of research which supports this argument (André et al., 2010; Stephan et al., 2009; Verhuyten, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998 in d'Appollonia, 2015). These studies collectively suggest that greater interethnic contact reduces intergroup hostility and anxiety, as it helps to develop bonds of trust, familiarity and mutual understanding between different ethnic groups. Thus, intergroup contact can moderate prejudices among the ingroup towards outgroup members of society

(Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010) and help to develop social trust in diverse settings (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle and Harrell, 2012). As previously discussed, a meta-analytical study of 713 studies by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that in most cases, intergroup contact tended to be associated with prejudice reduction. Developing bonds of trust and mutual understanding, contact helps to reduce prejudice by providing improved knowledge of others, which helps to overcome both innate human prejudices and negative societal stereotypes (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Barlow et al. 2012).

Diametrically opposed to contact theory, conflict theory (otherwise known as "threat theory") advances the view that ethnic heterogeneity can have a taxing effect of social trust. Far from developing the bonds of familiarity, tolerance, mutual understanding and respect which underpin social trust, ethnic diversity gives rise to social tensions and heightens conflict (Putnam, 2007). This perspective finds its origins in the influential works of Key (1949) and Blalock (1957), with their landmark studies finding higher levels of majority-White animosity towards African-Americans in relatively diverse Southern states (especially in counties with high proportions of African-American people). Subsequent research in north-eastern and mid-western American states supported these findings (Stein, Post and Rinden, 2000).

As discussed in Section 2.3, much of the recent research into the relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust has taken place in the American context. Generalising the findings of previous research supporting the "racial threat hypothesis", these studies collectively identify the negative effect of ethnic heterogeneity on the building and maintenance of social trust in the American context (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2000, 2002; Costa and Kahn, 2003; Hero, 2003; Howard et al. 2005; Putnam, 2007). Robert Putnam (2000), developing the concepts of "bridging" and "bonding" social capital derived from Ross and Vidal (1998), argued that bonding – ties within one's social group – is good for "getting by", while bridging – relations outside of one's own group – is crucial for "getting ahead". Developing this existing literature, this chapter is interested in how "bridging" and "bonding" through work and friends relate to generalised social trust in the British ethnic minority context.

It is important to note that such findings have not been wholly supported in the British context, with UK studies tending to emphasise the negative effect of neighbourhood

deprivation on social trust, as opposed to neighbourhood ethnic diversity. This will be discussed at more length later in this section.

6.2.1: Social contact and generalised social trust

Alongside the debate between contact and threat theory, there is much conflict over the actual impact of social contact on forms of social trust. A strand of literature advances the argument that social trust is not experienced-based and susceptible to change, but rather a stable psychological propensity (Becker, 1996; Couch and Jones, 1997; Uslaner, 2002). Supporting Erikson (1968), Uslaner (2002) has suggested that generalised trust is largely unaffected by social contact, but is rather of a stable quality which is primarily influenced by early-life experiences usually involving one's parents. This suggests that experiences in later life (of both a positive and negative nature) do not necessarily have a considerable impact on shaping one's social trust.

A number of studies have delivered findings which support the view that social trust is not shaped by forms of social contact. Investigating the impact of positive interactions through proxy variables such as membership of voluntary associations, Ingen and Bekkers (2015) found no clear causal relationship with generalised trust. Utilising the British Household Panel Survey, Sturgis et al. (2009) found no connection between both formal and informal social ties with generalised social trust. Looking specifically at negative contact, Dinesen (2010) found no effect of teacher-led discrimination on the generalised social trust of children of Turkish, Pakistani and Balkan descent in the Danish school system.

However, there is an opposing strand of research which has found that social contact can influence social trust (Offe, 1999; Hardin, 2002; Yosano and Hayashi, 2005; Glanville and Paxton, 2007). In regards experiences of discrimination and victimisation, MacMillan (2001: 12) argues that such experiences undermine generalised social trust, stating that 'victimisation changes one's perceptions and beliefs about others in society…by indicating others as sources of threat or harm rather than sources of support'. Glanville and Paxton (2007) find that individuals develop generalised social trust based on their experiences of different types of people in localised settings such as their residential neighbourhood. Utilising two panel waves, Glanville, Andersson and Paxton (2013) find that positive shifts in informal ties correspond with strengthening generalised trust. Rydgren et al. (2013)

discovered that interethnic friendships were associated with stronger expressions of generalised social trust and 'interethnic tolerance' in the Iraqi cities of Erbil and Kirkuk.

6.2.2: Positive contact moderating negative effects of discrimination

Contact theory tells us that that greater intergroup contact can reduce prejudices towards outgroupers. Developing bonds of familiarity, empathy, mutual understanding and respect, interethnic contact can help to reduce intergroup anxiety and overcome negative stereotypes. Drawing inspiration from this literature and examining social trust from the vantage point of British ethnic minorities, this explores the possibility that positive intergroup contact through ethnically mixed networks can help to counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust.

Figure 6.1: Discrimination – Network - Social Trust Model

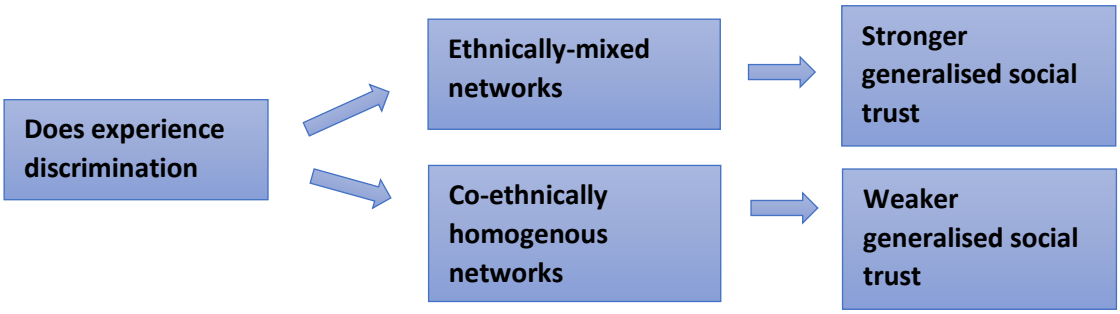


Figure 6.1 presents a diagrammatical overview of how ethnically-mixed networks may be able to counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination. The diagram includes two subcategories of ethnic minority people: people who are part of an ethnically-mixed network and do experience discrimination, and people who are part of a more co-ethnically homogenous network and do experience discrimination.

This hypothesises that the subgroup which would report stronger generalised social trust is the one which includes individuals who do experience discrimination, but are socially integrated through ethnically-mixed networks which offer opportunities for positive intergroup contact. The people who report a weaker level of generalised social trust are those who experience discrimination and are part of predominantly "ingroup" networks which offer little to no opportunity for positive contact with others of a different ethnic background.

The diagram is based on three core assumptions: socially integrated people are more socially trusting than less socially integrated people who are part of more co-ethnic "ingroup" networks; that the negative effects of discrimination can be counterbalance by positive intergroup contact through ethnically-mixed networks; and that discrimination is particularly damaging for social trust when the recipient is part of co-ethnically homogenous networks which provide limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact. This last assumption is particularly important, with both academic and non-academic literature advancing the argument that segregation breeds distrust as it limits positive, meaningful contact with different groups (Uslaner, 2000; Cantle, 2001; Carey, 2016).

6.2.3: Positivity and Self-Selection: The Benefits of Ethnically-Mixed Friendships

Despite interesting research into discriminatory behaviours and attitudes encountered within friendship groups (Seltzer and Johnson, 2009), friends are generally viewed to be important sources of support, encouragement and enjoyment. With a comprehensive body of research extolling the virtues of positive intergroup contact in terms of reducing intergroup anxiety and developing bonds of familiarity, tolerance and empathy, ethnically-mixed friendship ties can have the potential to produce positive outcomes for generalised social trust. This is supported by the experimental study conducted by Rydgren et al. (2013) in the Iraqi cities of Erbil and Kirkuk, which found that interethnic friendships were associated with positive perceptions of outgroupers and a stronger sense of intergroup tolerance and mutual respect.

Social integration potentially encompasses intergroup contact across a range of domains, such as friendship groups, place of work, neighbourhood, place and civic associations. While social contact within all of these domains have the potential to have an impact on social trust, it is important to treat particular domains in their own right, and examine how they relate to generalised social trust. This was demonstrated by the analysis in the previous chapter. While there were no significant effects to report for co-ethnicity of friendship group, being employed in an ethnically-mixed workplace was significantly associated with heightened reporting of discrimination (see Table 5.4 and Figure 5.1).

Despite being two important domains of everyday life for the majority of ethnic minority people, the nature of one's friendship network and place of work contrast in ways which mean the two may relate differently to generalised social trust. While friendship groups are

traditionally viewed as positive sources of support and enjoyment which are underpinned by bonds of trust, this does not necessarily apply for places of work (Turner, 1996). It cannot be as comfortably assumed that places of work are generally healthy sources of support, encouragement and mutual respect. While teamwork is in many cases an essential part of workplace success, individual performance-related assessments and vying for internal promotions mean that the world of work can be characterised by intense forms of competition and rivalry (Beal, 2010). This is further complicated by ethnic penalties which continue to persist in the UK labour market.

In addition to this, there is the important matter of self-selection. Freedom of self-selection is far greater in the case of friendship network in comparison to the workplace. An individual has much greater control over who they are friends are, as opposed to who they work with. Therefore, if one wishes to end a friendship with someone considered to be a disruptive influence, they are generally not constrained to do so. In this sense, one has considerable freedom in terms of shaping a friendship network which is a positive and healthy influence on their lives – having room to choose who they can engage (or disengage) with.

Conversely, freedom of self-selection is severely restricted in terms of work. People do not usually have the luxury of selecting their co-workers and have far less control in shaping their employment network. Being part of an ethnically-mixed friendship group involves a relatively high level of voluntary participation and freedom to disassociate in comparison to being part of an ethnically-mixed workplace (due to lack of self-selection and the reality of financial obligations). Ultimately, having a friend of a different ethnic background is a positive case of self-selection, while having a co-worker which happens to be outside of one own's ethnic group is in most cases a result of recruitment processes beyond one's personal control and influence. Therefore, an ethnically-mixed friendship network may be a particularly important domain for the positive intergroup contact which helps to counterbalance the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust.

6.2.4: Neighbourhood Ethnic Diversity and Economic Deprivation

As previously discussed, much of the recent literature on the negative effects of ethnic diversity on social trust has taken place in the American context. This extensive body of research, which finds its roots in the cornerstone studies of Key (1949) and Blalock (1957),

subsequently stimulated research on the relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social trust in the British context (Letki 2008; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Sturgis et al., 2011). Interestingly, the general findings in the American context, which emphasise the negative impact of ethnic heterogeneity on social trust, have not been replicated in the British context. Collectively, the British studies found an association between neighbourhood socio-economic deprivation and negative intergroup relations.

Emphasising the taxing effect of neighbourhood deprivation on social trust, Laurence (2011) advanced the view that it appeared to be 'more symptomatic' of weak civic-mindedness than ethnic diversity. This ties in with the idea that economic deprivation can breed feelings of hostility and suspicion, and in diverse areas (which tend to be more deprived in the British context), the competition for resources as jobs, social housing, welfare provision and public services, can lead to intergroup material conflict and social identity threat (Citrin et al., 1997; Quillian, 1995). While existing British research has emphasised the negative effect on neighbourhood deprivation on intergroup relations, this chapter seeks to develop understanding of how social integration and neighbourhood ethnic density interact with one another in the context of generalised social trust. The focus here is on the inter-relationship between co-ethnicity of workplace, neighbourhood ethnic (non-white) density and generalised social trust.

There is a rich body of research spanning decades on the formation of ethnic minority small businesses (EMSBs) and economic enclaves, in both the British and North American context (Sanders and Nee, 1987; Waldinger, 1993; Barrett et al. 1996; Kaplan, 1998; Loury et al. 2005; Dana, 2007; Wang and Altinay, 2010). Clark and Drinkwater (2000) examined the "push" and "pull" factors of ethnic minority self-employment in the UK, along with participation and involvement in co-ethnic economic enclaves. Research has identified two primary causal factors in disproportionately high levels of self-employment among ethnic minority people and the proliferation of self-sustaining economic enclaves in the UK. While pull factors include the accessibility to informal co-ethnic sources of labour and finance, along with the bonding influence of religion, push factors include structural obstacles in the wider labour market such as employer discrimination (Metcalf et al. 1996; Clark and Drinkwater, 1998).

Despite the consistently upward trajectory of the average daily work commute for the British worker in terms of both time and distance (Office for National Statistics, 2016), there remains

a traditional state commitment to boosting employment outcomes through local economic regeneration schemes such as Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) and Enterprise Zones. The discrimination-related push factors in the proliferation of ethnic minority businesses and self-employment, gives rise to interesting questions over how workplace co-ethnicity interacts with neighbourhood ethnic density in the context of generalised social trust. Are ethnic minority people who work in predominantly co-ethnic businesses less socially trusting if they live in predominantly white areas? Neighbourhoods where they have potentially encountered discrimination when seeking close-to-home jobs from local white British employers, and subsequently been "pushed" into working in ethnic enclave economies? This interesting, largely unexplored line of research forms the basis for the final section of this chapter's analysis.

6.3: Data and Methods

With the key inter-relationships of interest theoretically discussed, attention turns to how they will be tested through multivariate analysis.

The main dependent variable for this chapter is generalised social trust, which is based on a 2010 EMBES survey question asking ethnic minority respondents whether most people in British society can be trusted. There were three response categories for this question, with the dependent variable being coded as "can't be too careful" = 1; "depends" = 2 and "people can be trusted" = 3. Due to the relatively ordered to the responses, it has been decided that ordered logistic regression is the most appropriate quantitative research method for the first part of the analysis. This chapter's analysis section also includes a binary logistic regression model where the first two categories of the dependent variable are merged into a "cautious" category, with "people can be trusted" remaining as a category in its own right (cautious = 0; people can be trusted = 1). This allows for the practical interpretation and presentation of predicted probabilities for interaction terms included in the analysis. While the merging of the "can't be too careful" and "depends" categories could give rise to concerns over data dredging, the multinomial logistic regression model in the appendix section presents few significant results between these two responses (see Table A3), and are conditional and cautious in nature (in comparison to the clearly positive "people can be trusted" response).

As in the case of Chapter 5, the composite measure of social integration designed by Heath et al. (2013) is used (see Section 3.4.1 for more detail). This is used in the ordinal regression model which will be presented in Part 1 of the quantitative analysis. For the binary logistic regression model included in this chapter, two separate social integration variables regarding co-ethnicity of friendship group and workplace are used alongside the Census data variable associated with neighbourhood non-white density. For these alternative variables for social integration, the friendship group variable is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, with the workplace variable being coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and not in employment/work = 2.

This chapter uses the complex variable which incorporates cases of reported discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, and/or religion (coded as "did not report discrimination" = 0 and "did report discrimination" = 1). Used as a binary dependent variable in Chapter 5, this variable is now used as an independent variable which measures the impact of negative intergroup contact on generalised social trust.

In order to measure the impact of structural integration, I examine education and class effects on generalised social trust. Education is measured in terms of qualifications (where none = 0, low = 1, GCSE = 2, A-level = 3 and degree = 4) and includes qualifications obtained from outside as well as within the UK. [3] Occupational class is broken down into five categories: (Salariat = 1, Intermediate = 2, Manual Working = 3, Never Worked = 4 and Other = 5).[4] As in the case of Chapter 5, the educational attainment variable is used as a continuous independent variable, while the social class variable is used as a categorical independent variable.

[3] None includes people with no educational qualifications, low includes qualifications at ISCED level 1, GCSE includes lower secondary qualifications such as GCSE or overseas equivalent (ISCED level 2), A-level includes upper secondary qualifications such as A levels or foreign equivalent, or other qualifications below degree level (ISCED levels 3 and 4), and Degree includes degree-level qualifications (ISCED level 5).

[4] The salariat category includes respondents who are classified as being in professional or higher technical work, manager or senior administrator. The intermediate category includes clerical workers, those working in sales or services, small business owners and people in foremen/supervisory roles. The manual working category includes skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Never worked includes those who have never held any form of employment. A number of missing cases replaced with partner's occupational class.

I also control for ethnic group, age, gender and main language spoken at home. The ethnic group variable includes the five BAME groups (Black Caribbean = 1, Black African = 2, Indian = 3, Pakistani = 4 and Bangladeshi = 5). Black Caribbeans are set as the reference ethnic group. For the analysis, the natural logarithm for age will be used. Gender is coded as male = 0 and female = 1. Main language spoken at home is coded as English not main language = 0 and English main language = 1. To measure socialisation effects on generalised social trust, the birthplace variable is used (born abroad = 0; born in UK = 1).

As in Chapter 5, I control for neighbourhood level deprivation. To measure the level of deprivation in the neighbourhood I use the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). This variable is especially important, as a number of British studies have identified the negative effect of neighbourhood economic deprivation on the quality of interethnic relations (Letki, 2008; Laurence, 2011). For the binary logistic regression models, the neighbourhood non-white density variable based on 2011 Census data is used (alongside the co-ethnicity of friendship network and co-ethnicity of workplace variables used to measure social integration). The neighbourhood ethnic density variable measures the percentage of non-white people living in Lower-Layer Output Areas (LSOAs). This variable will be used when exploring how workplace co-ethnicity and neighbourhood ethnic density interact within the context of ethnic minority generalised social trust.

6.4: Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis for this chapter is sectioned into three parts. The first part examines the relationship between intergroup contact and generalised social trust through ordinal logistic regression analysis. This model includes the main social integration measure, testing the assumption that social integration provides opportunities for positive intergroup contact which are beneficial for generalised social trust. Also including the main discrimination variable, this model also examines the relationship between negative intergroup contact and generalised social trust. The model controls for ethnicity, gender, age, birthplace, social class, main language at home and neighbourhood deprivation.

The second part of the analysis sees social integration being disaggregated into co-ethnicity of friendship group and workplace. In this binary logistic regression model, neighbourhood non-white density variable based on 2011 Census data is also included. This part of the

analysis tests the assumption that ethnically-mixed networks can counterbalance the negative effect of discrimination on generalised social trust. In doing so, the analysis will also test whether discrimination has a stronger negative effect on the social trust of those who are socially and occupationally segregated and have limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact.

The third and final part of the analysis investigates how the relationship between social contact and generalised social trust is potentially influenced by neighbourhood ethnic density and economic deprivation. With ethnic diversity and economic deprivation effects being widely cited in the existing social trust literature, this is a particularly important aspect of the analysis in the chapter. This part of the analysis primarily focuses on how ethnic minority people employed in more co-ethnically homogenous workplaces may be less socially trusting when living in predominantly white areas, in comparison to those employed in ethnically-mixed workplaces.

Part 1: Ordered Logistic Regression (with composite measure of social integration)

Part 1 of the analysis conducts ordinal logistic regression analysis on generalised social trust. The question asked respondents: "can most people be trusted?". The dependent variable is coded as "can't be too careful" = 1; "depends" = 2 and "people can be trusted" = 3. The ordered logistic regression model tests the relationship between social integration and generalised social trust by using the main composite measure of social integration. To measure the effect of negative intergroup contact on generalised social trust, the main discrimination variable, which incorporates cases of racial and religious discrimination, is utilised. The ordinal logistic regression model controls for ethnicity, gender, age, birthplace, educational attainment, occupational class, main language at home and neighbourhood deprivation.

Table 6.1: Generalised Social Trust: Ordered Logistic Regression

Model 6A: Generalised Social Trust	**Ordinal Logistic Regression**	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.093	.133
Indian	.117	.130
Pakistani	.031	.133
Bangladeshi	.246	.165
Female	-.283**	.082
(Ln) Age	-.004	.127
Education Level	.122**	.033
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.175	.114
Manual Working	-.108	.116
Never Worked	.024	.154
Other	-.135	.324
English main language at home	-.222*	.098
Social Integration	**.086****	**.025**
Reports Discrimination	-.170	.087
Born in UK	-.411**	.100
IMD	.004	.002
Cut/1	.157	.546
Cut/2	1.322	.545

Notes for Model 6A: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 110.1. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2392.428 Pseudo R Square: .022. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 6.1 presents an overview of ordinal logistic regression analysis predicting for generalised social trust. There is a positive relationship between social integration and generalised social trust *(b = .086)*, meaning that more socially integrated ethnic minority people are more likely to be socially trusting. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. There is no significant relationship to report between discrimination and generalised social trust from the model (p-value = .051). There is a statistically significant positive relationship being educational attainment and generalised social trust *(b = .122)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level.

In regards to birthplace, people born in the UK are less likely to be socially trusting than those born abroad *(b = -.411)*. Controlling for all other variables, ethnic minority women are less likely to be socially trusting than men *(b = -.283)*. Both of these findings are significant at the 1% confidence level. People who have English as a main language at home are less likely to be socially trusting *(b = -.222)*, with this finding being significant at the 5% confidence level. There are no significant ethnic group or neighbourhood deprivation effects to report.

Part 2: Binary Logistic Regression and Interaction Terms

The previous section of the analysis showed that social integration was significantly positively associated with generalised social trust, with negative intergroup contact in the form of discrimination (on racial and/or religious grounds) surprisingly being non-significant in the ordinal logistic regression analysis. This section explores how social integration may provide greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact which counterbalance the potentially negative effects of discrimination. This part of the analysis explores how discrimination may have a stronger negative impact on the social trust of those in co-ethnically homogenous networks which offer few opportunities for positive intergroup contact.

The previous section included ordinal logistic regression analysis where the dependent variable was coded “can’t be too careful” = 1; “depends” = 2 and “people can be trusted” = 3. In this section of the analysis, binary logistic regression is the preferred quantitative method, as the interpretation and presentation of the results of the interaction terms (conducted through STATA) is more practical. For the binary logistic regression analysis, the dependent variable is recoded into a binary dependent variable, where the “can’t be too careful” and

"depends" responses are merged into a "cautious" category, with the "people can be trusted" response remaining as a category in its own right (cautious = 0; trusting = 1).

For this section of analysis, social integration is disaggregated into three separate measures – co-ethnicity of friendship group, co-ethnicity of workplace and neighbourhood non-white density. The reference category for the friendship and workplace variables is "ethnically-mixed", which means the results will be shown for those in more ethnically homogenous, "bonding" networks. This will allow for results relating to the relationship between social segregation and generalised social trust to be clearly presented in this section. Co-ethnicity of friendship group is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, and co-ethnicity of workplace is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and unemployed/not in work = 2. The classifications for "ethnically-mixed" and "bonding" are based on what constitutes "bridging" and "bonding contact" in Demireva and Heath (2014) (see Section 3.4.1 for more detail).

Table 6.2: Generalised Social Trust (Social Integration Disaggregated: Binary Logistic Regression)

Model 6B: Generalised Social Trust		
	Log Odds Ratio (B)	**Standard Error (SE)**
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.211	.174
Indian	-.054	.167
Pakistani	.152	.169
Bangladeshi	.034	.106
Female	-.344**	.106
(Ln) Age	.240	.165
Education Level	.059	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.230	.148
Manual Working	-.056	.145
Never Worked	-.011	.213
Other	.196	.385
English main language at home	-.305*	.125
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding friendship network	**-.250***	**.118**
Co-ethnicity of workplace: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding place of work	**-.334***	**.141**
Unemployed/not in work	-.444**	.140
Reports Discrimination	-.201	.113
Born in UK	-.343**	.130
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.279	.251
IMD	.000	.003
Constant	-1.282	.714

Notes for Model 6B: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 83.93. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1224.786. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 6.2 presents an overview of binary logistic regression analysis predicting for generalised social trust (cautious = 0; trusting = 1). In regards to co-ethnicity of friendship group and employment network, there is a statistically significant relationship between social and occupational segregation, and lower generalised social trust. Ethnic minority people in more co-ethnic, bonding friendship networks are less likely to be socially trusting than those who are part of ethnically-mixed friendship networks *(b = -.250)*, while those who employed in more co-ethnic places of work are less likely to be socially trusting than people who work in more ethnically-mixed workplaces *(b = -.334)*. Both of these findings are significant at the 5% confidence level. People who are unemployed/not in work are also less likely to be socially trusting than those who have jobs in ethnically-mixed workplaces *(b = -.444)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level.

Similar to Model 6A, there are no significant effects to report for discrimination. Ethnic minority women are less likely to be socially trusting than their male counterparts in this model *(b = -.344),* with this finding being significant at the 1% confidence level. Ethnic minority people born in the UK are less likely to be socially trusting than first-generation migrants *(b = -.343)*, while people who have English as a main language at home are less likely to be socially trusting *(b = -.305)*. Birthplace effects are significant at the 1% confidence level. There are no significant effects to report for both neighbourhood non-white density and neighbourhood deprivation.

Figure 6.2: Predicted Probabilities for Generalised Social Trust (Workplace Co-Ethnicity)

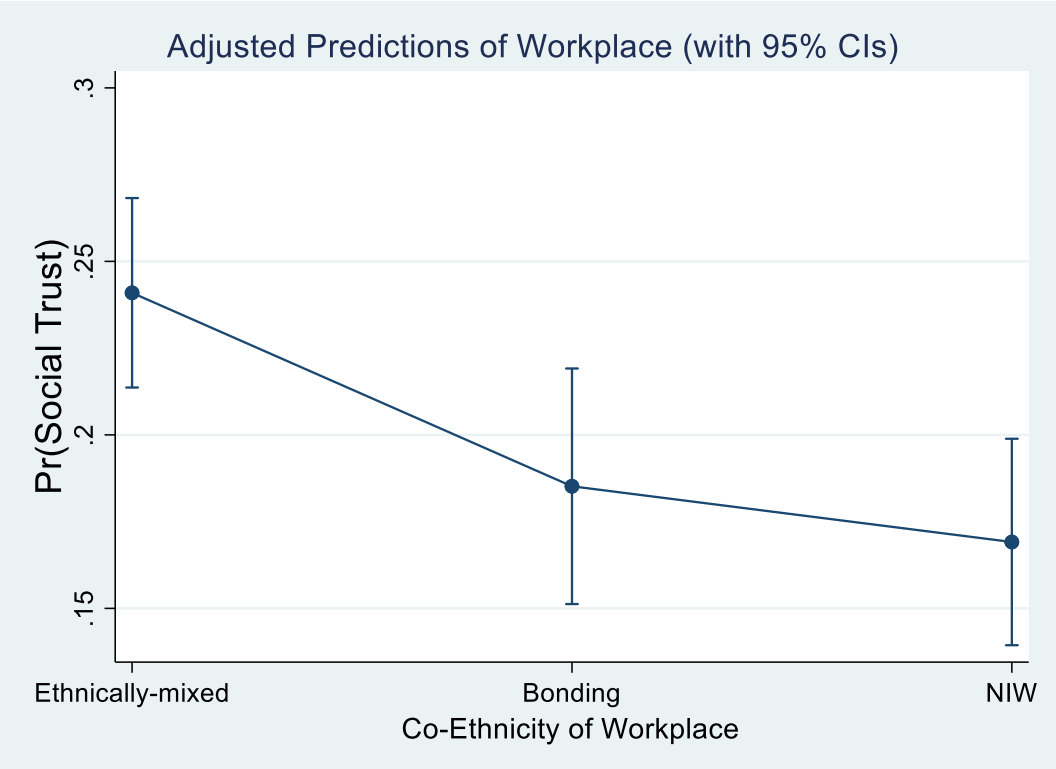


Figure 6.2 shows the predicted probabilities for reporting social trust, based on workplace co-ethnicity/status (based on Model 6B). The graph shows that the pattern for reporting discrimination, based on workplace co-ethnicity, is reversed in the case of generalised social trust. While ethnic minority people who are unemployed/not in work (NIW) are the least likely to report discrimination, they are also the least likely to be socially trusting. While BAME people working in ethnically-mixed "bridging" places of work are more likely to report discrimination than those who hold jobs in more co-ethnic "bonding" workplaces, they are more likely to be socially trusting than "occupationally segregated" BAME people.

The analysis moves onto exploring whether ethnically-mixed friendship groups can act as an effective counterweight to the potentially negative effects of discrimination on generalised social trust. This will also investigate whether discrimination has a potentially stronger negative effect on the social trust of those who are part of more co-ethnically homogenous networks and predominantly non-white areas which provide few opportunities for positive contact with outgroup members of society.

Table 6.3: Binary Logistic Regression (with interaction terms between discrimination and co-ethnicity of workplace, friendship group and neighbourhood non-white density)

Generalised Social Trust	Model 6C		Model 6D		Model 6E	
	Log Odds Ratio (B)	Standard Error (SE)	Log Odds Ratio (B)	Standard Error (SE)	Log Odds Ratio (B)	Standard Error (SE)
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)						
Black African	-.201	.174	-.209	.174	-.208	.174
Indian	-.045	.168	-.051	.168	-.056	.168
Pakistani	.166	.170	.154	.169	.150	.168
Bangladeshi	.047	.220	.036	.220	.031	.220
Female	-.342**	.106	-.345**	.106	-.346**	.106
(Ln) Age	.231	.165	.237	.166	.237	.165
Education Level	.059	.043	.059	.043	.061	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)						
Intermediate	-.228	.148	-.230	.148	-.226	.148
Manual Working	-.062	.146	-.055	.146	-.060	.145
Never Worked	-.021	.214	-.014	.214	-.014	.214
Other	.178	.385	.197	.385	.191	.385
English main language at home	-.298*	.126	-.306*	.126	-.307*	.126
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)						
Bonding friendship network	-.131	.147	-.248*	.118	-.251*	.118
Co-ethnicity of workplace: Ethnically-mixed (ref)						
Bonding employment network	-.334*	.141	-.267	.164	-.331*	.141
Unemployed/not in work	-.445**	.140	-.415**	.159	-.436**	.140
Reports Discrimination	-.014	.191	-.142	.142	.028	.208
Born in UK	-.343**	.130	-.340**	.130	-.345**	.130
Percentage Non-White	-.287	.251	-.279	.251	-.110	.282
IMD	.004	.003	.004	.003	.004	.003

Reported Discrimination by Co-Ethnicity of Friendship Group						
Reports Discrimination by Bonding Friendship Group	-.323	.232				
Reported Discrimination by Co-Ethnicity of Workplace						
Reports Discrimination by Bonding Place of Work			-.224	.290		
Reports Discrimination by Not in Work			-.078	.291		
Reported Discrimination by Neighbourhood Non-White Density					-.626	.485
Constant	-1.346	.716	-1.299	.714	-1.342	.715

Notes for Model 6C: N = 2,435. Chi-Square: 85.86. Pseudo R Squared: 0.03. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1223.823. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model 6D: N = 2,435. Chi-Square: 84.55. Pseudo R Squared: 0.03. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1224.479. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model 6E: N = 2,435. Chi-Square: 85.62. Pseudo R Squared: 0.03. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1223.942. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 6.3 presents three binary logistic regression models predicting for generalised social trust. Models 6C, 6D and 6E include the same variables in Model 6B presented in Table 6.2, but each include a different interaction term. Model 6C includes an interaction term between reported discrimination and co-ethnicity of workplace, Model 6D includes an interaction term between reported discrimination and co-ethnicity of friendship group, and Model 6E includes an interaction term between reported discrimination and neighbourhood non-white density. With all three interaction terms being non-significant, it is important to guard against over-interpreting the associated results and to approach them with caution.

Figure 6.3: Predicted Probabilities for Generalised Social Trust (Reported Discrimination by Co-ethnicity of Workplace)

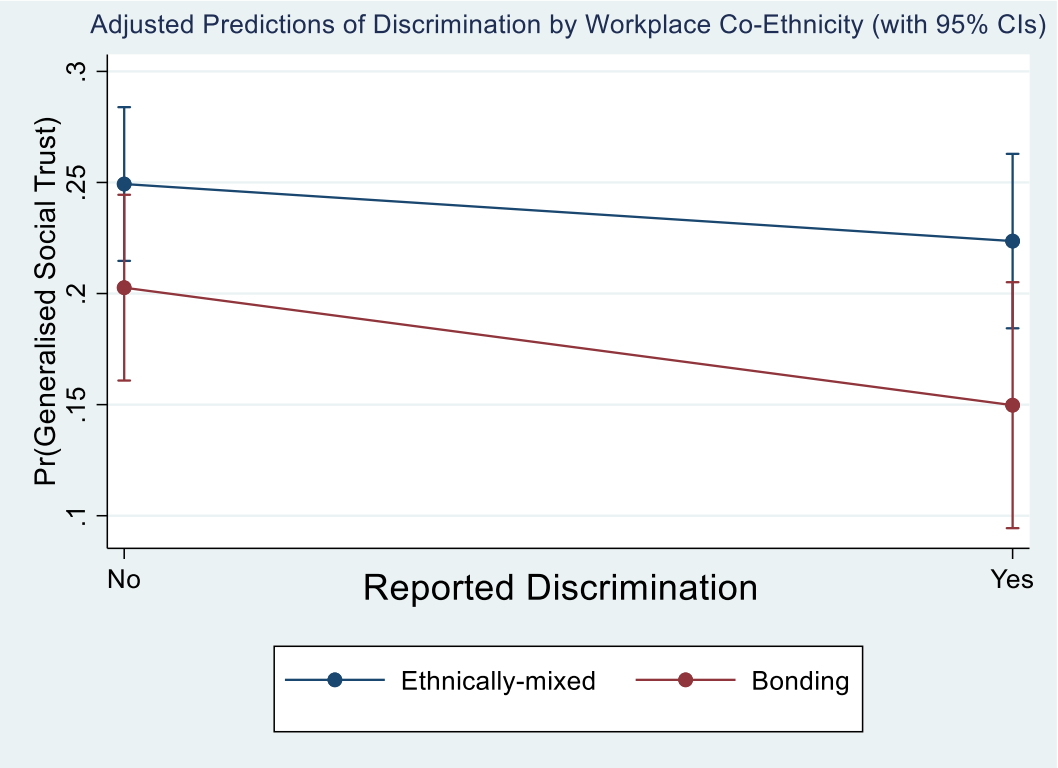


Figure 6.3 presents the results of the non-significant interaction term discrimination by workplace co-ethnicity. The results suggest that discrimination has a negative effect on the social trust of both those in ethnically-mixed workplaces and more co-ethnically homogenous "bonding" places of work. The negative effect of discrimination appears to be similar in both cases. Ethnically-mixed workplaces do not appear to be more able to counteract the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust.

Figure 6.4: Predicted Probabilities for Generalised Social Trust (Reported Discrimination by Co-ethnicity of Friendship Network)

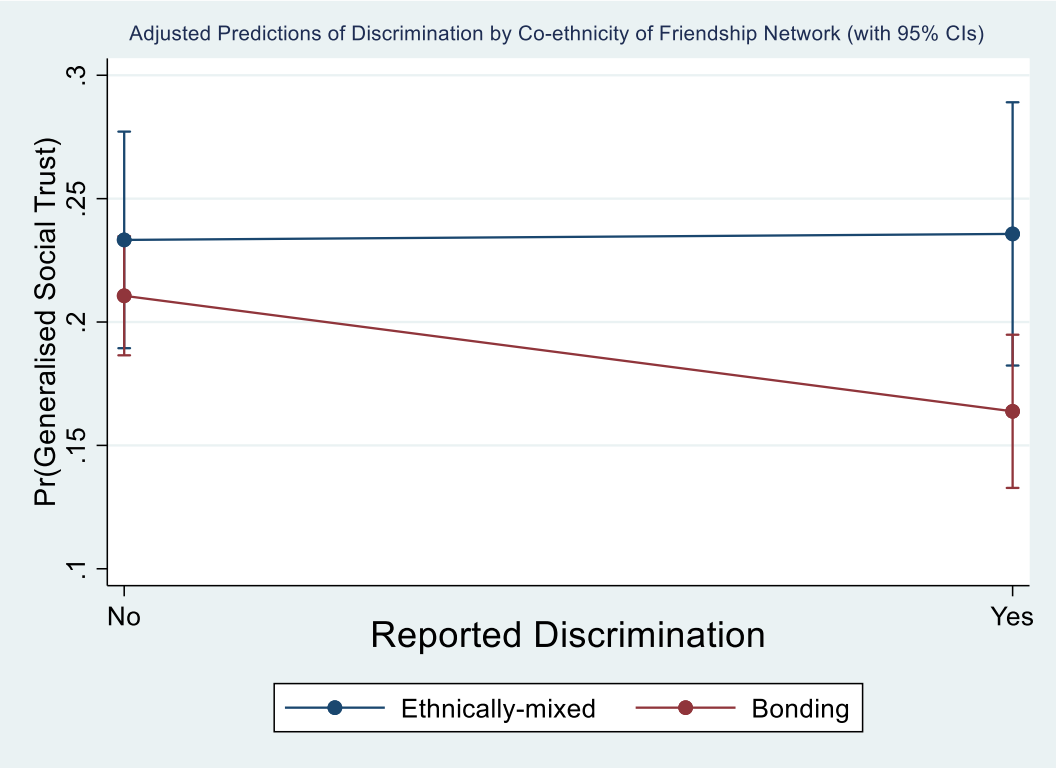


Figure 6.4 presents the results of the non-significant interaction term discrimination by co-ethnicity of friendship network. The results do suggest that being part of ethnically-mixed friendship groups may possibly to be more able to counteract the negative impact of discrimination on social trust. Experiencing discrimination may have a particularly negative effect on the social trust of those who are part of more co-ethnically homogenous friendship groups which offer little to no opportunity for positive intergroup contact.

Figure 6.5: Average Marginal Effects of Discrimination (Neighbourhood Non-White Density)

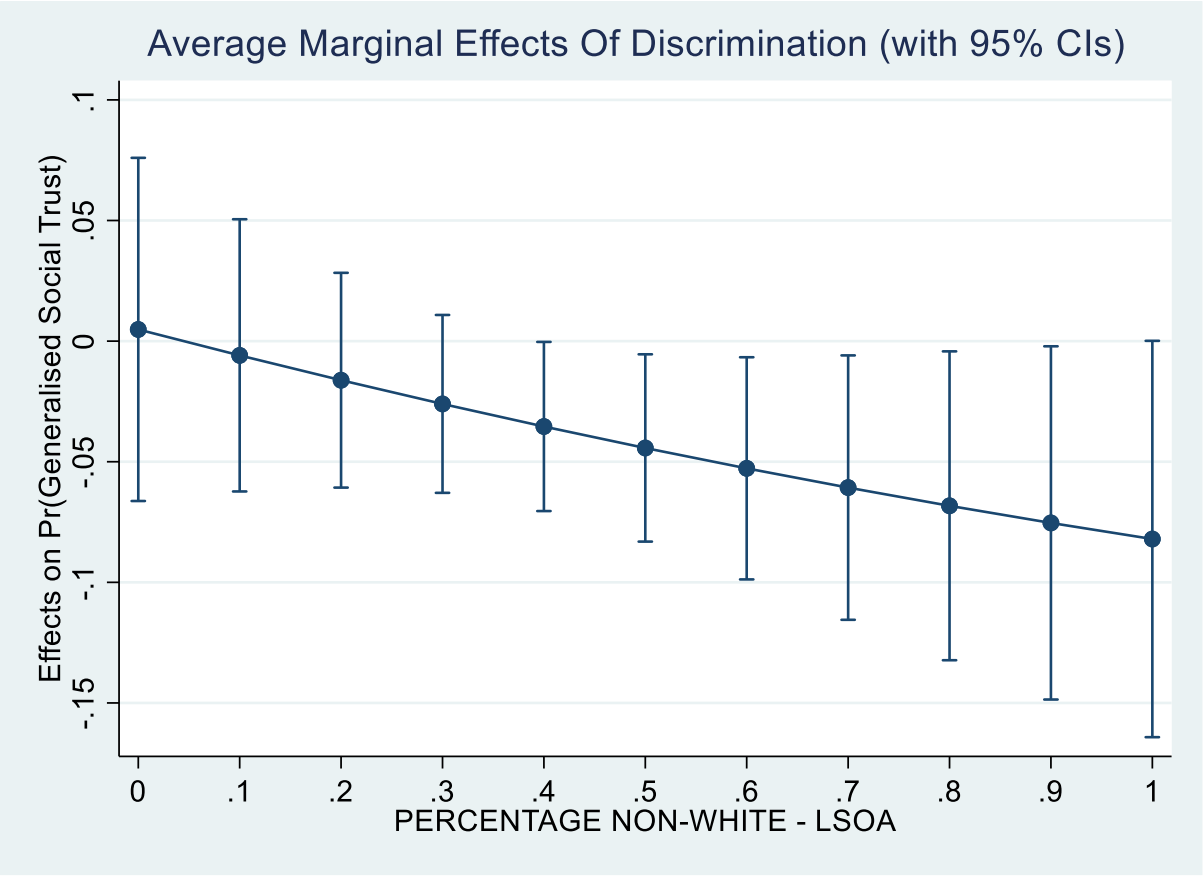


Figure 6.5 presents the results of the non-significant interaction term discrimination by neighbourhood non-white density. The results suggest that discrimination may have more of a negative effect on the social trust of ethnic minority people living in **predominantly non-white areas**. This suggests that experiencing discrimination may be particularly bad for those who are residentially segregated from the majority-ethnic white population, which limits opportunities for positive contact with white British neighbours. This lends some support to the view that experiencing discrimination may have a particularly negative effect on the social trust of ethnic minority people who are part of less ethnically-mixed settings and have few opportunities for positive intergroup contact. However, it should again be noted that these findings should be approached with a degree of caution, as the interaction term in Model 6E between reported discrimination and neighbourhood non-white density is non-significant.

Part 3: Co-ethnic economic enclaves and neighbourhood non-white density

The third and final part of the analysis explores how neighbourhood ethnic density may be positioned in the relationship between workplace co-ethnicity and generalised social trust. As discussed in Section 6.2, a "push" factor identified in the proliferation of ethnic minority enterprises operating within ethnic enclaves (and disproportionately high levels of ethnic minority people in self-employment) is employer discrimination in the wider British labour market. This part of the analysis explores the possibility that ethnic minority people employed in predominantly co-ethnic businesses are less socially trusting when living in predominantly white areas. A potential reason for this could be a lack of success in finding work locally within a predominantly white area and subsequently being "pushed" into employment within co-ethnic economic enclaves – with this process being potentially damaging for generalised social trust.

Table 6.4: Binary Logistic Regression (including interaction term workplace co-ethnicity by neighbourhood non-white density)

Model 6F: Generalised Social Trust		
	Log Odds Ratio (B)	**Standard Error (SE)**
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.211	.174
Indian	-.060	.168
Pakistani	.139	.170
Bangladeshi	.028	.220
Female	-.346**	.106
(Ln) Age	.233	.166
Education Level	.061	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.236	.148
Manual Working	-.064	.146
Never Worked	-.025	.214
Other	.176	.386
English main language at home	-.307*	.126
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		

Bonding friendship network	-.235*	.118
Co-ethnicity of workplace: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding place of work	-.917**	.290
Unemployed/not in work	-.381	.239
Reports Discrimination	-.199	.113
Born in UK	-.350**	.130
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.529	.339
IMD (Neighbourhood Deprivation)	.004	.003
Co-Ethnicity of Workplace by Neighbourhood Non-white Density		
Bonding Place of Work by Neighbourhood Non-white Density	**1.299***	**.567**
Unemployed/Not in Work by Neighbourhood Non-White Density	-.098	.510
Constant	-1.168	.723

Notes for Model 6F: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 90.30. Pseudo R Squared: 0.04. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1221.602. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 6.4 presents a binary logistic regression model which includes an interaction term between workplace co-ethnicity and neighbourhood non-white density. In Model 6E, people in more co-ethnically homogenous workplaces are less likely to be socially trusting than those on ethnically-mixed workplaces *(b = -.917)*, with this finding being significant at the 1% confidence level. There are significant interactions to report between neighbourhood ethnic density and workplace co-ethnicity *(b = 1.299)*, with this finding being significant at the 5% confidence level.

Figure 6.6: Average Marginal Effects for Workplace (Neighbourhood Non-White Density)

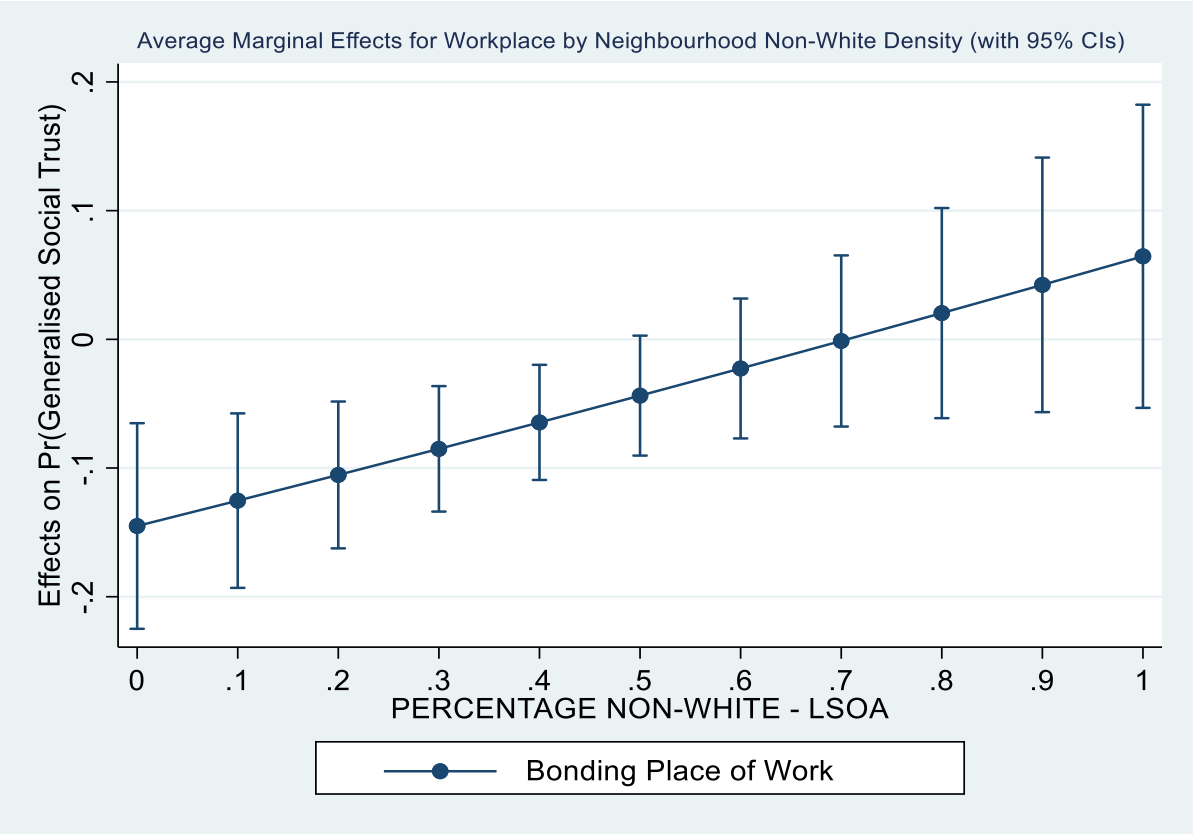


Figure 6.6 presents the average marginal effects for the interaction term between co-ethnicity of workplace and neighbourhood non-white density. The results shown suggests that ethnic minority people in co-ethnically homogenous workplaces living in predominantly white areas are **less likely to be socially trusting** than those employed in ethnically-mixed workplaces and live in such areas. However, people employed in predominantly co-ethnic "bonding" places of work and living in predominantly non-white areas have relatively high levels of social trust than those who are employed in ethnically-mixed workplaces and live in such areas. This could mean that employment in co-ethnic economic enclaves is particularly damaging for social trust when living in predominantly white areas, but less so when living in more non-white areas. Ethnically-mixed workplaces appear to serve as an important bridge for social trust in predominantly white areas, but less so in predominantly non-white areas.

6.5: Qualitative Findings

The quantitative analysis suggests that being more socially integrated by being part of more ethnically-mixed networks is beneficial for generalised social trust among ethnic minorities. This provides an interesting contrast to the analysis in Chapter 5, which found that social integration can heighten exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes. While being part of more co-ethnic "bonding" networks can "insulate" and "shield" ethnic minority people from discriminatory experiences, the quantitative analysis presented in this chapter suggests that there is a relationship between social segregation and lower generalised social trust. This could be down to the lack of opportunities for positive intergroup contact, which in turn breeds suspicion of unfamiliar "outgroupers" in British society.

6.5.1: Support for social integration

One participant, a 52-year-old first-generation female migrant from Bangladesh, very much captured the central finding of the quantitative analysis presented so far in the thesis when explaining her support for integration in terms of developing community cohesion:

"The only real way the UK can develop a stronger society, is if there is better communication between different ethnic and religious groups. While initially there may be difficult moments of misunderstanding when different people talk to each other, over time trust and understanding builds. The key is communication and patience".

This view was also shared by a 71-year-old first-generation migrant of Indian origin. Leaving his family in Uganda in the 1960s to work in the UK, the interviewee found employment in the mechanical engineering sector (where his workplace was "95% white British"). While relations with white British co-workers were initially "frosty and distant" at first, ties with fellow work colleagues improved over time and eventually developed into friendship:

"When I started working in engineering, I wouldn't say the atmosphere was friendly and hospitable. There was distance – presumably because I was the only brown worker there. However, we had to work as a team and communicate with one another. As the white workers got to know me, and I got to know them, barriers were broken down…and positive feeling grew on both sides. Eventually we started going for a pint after work and I became good

friends with them. Even though I felt uncomfortable at first, and they were initially unsure about me, over time, things improved. Talking and interacting more…it helps."

These contributions encapsulate the key findings across Chapters 5 and 6 – that while social integration and intergroup contact can lead to negative experiences (including those considered to be discriminatory in nature), the opportunities created for positive intergroup contact can be beneficial for social trust. The majority of interviewees, irrespective of the ethnic composition of their own social networks, felt that greater interethnic contact is important for building trust between different ethnic and religious groups in the longer-term.

6.5.2: Particularised trust

While a number of interviewees expressed the view that they did not find it naturally easier to trust those of the same ethnic/religious group, others did suggest that their trust in outgroupers was slightly lower than their trust in people of the same ethnic and religious background. One interviewee, a British-born Black Caribbean male, stated that his trust in people of the same ethnic origin was a 7/10, while his trust in people of a different ethnicity was a 5/10. Commenting further on this instance of stronger particularised trust, the interviewee stated that he "would expect another black Caribbean person to understand me better than a white person…you get drawn towards your own, someone like yourself". The interviewee also spoke of a "particular distrust of Pakistani people". This was based on tensions between pupils of Black Caribbean and Pakistani origin during his time in school, along with experiences in the workplace where "Pakistanis would just stick together and back each other up in disputes". Living in the Luton for most of his life, the interviewee stated that the "greatest tension in the town is between Black Caribbeans and Pakistanis – it's been the case for a while".

Two male interviewees of South Asian Muslim origin both expressed stronger particularised trust in comparison to trust in broader society. One of the interviewees of Bangladeshi origin stated that he was more naturally trusting of people within his own ethnic group, describing this as an "innate tribal mentality". He also expressed that he was more naturally trusting of Muslims as a whole – described as "fellow members of the Ummah". However, he did differentiate between "segments" of Muslim people, stating that his trust was mainly in "moderate liberal Muslims", and was "extremely wary of radical extremist preachers". Similar

sentiments were expressed by the other interviewee of Pakistani origin, who felt that he personally found it "easier to trust people of the same ethnicity and religious background…because of those shared characteristics". Another interviewee, a 28-year-old British-born female of Pakistani origin, stated that she felt "very safe" living in Luton due to the fact that her neighbourhood – and the town as a whole - has a "strong number of Pakistani Muslims".

One interviewee, a British-born male of Vincentian origin, offered a rather different perspective on particularised trust. Based on his own personal experiences, the interviewee suggested that his trust in people of his own ethnic background was weaker than his general level of trust. Developing his own property portfolio, the interviewee felt that when renting out his properties, potential renters of Black Caribbean origin expected favours from him due to shared ethnic background:

"People with the same background with me expect unreasonable favours when it comes to my property business. This has usually included asking for the monthly rent I have set to be significantly reduced. People should expect fairness, not favours. Overall, it's probably reduced by level of trust in my own ethnic group."

Another interviewee, a British-born female of Jamaican and Saint Lucian heritage, made an interesting distinction regarding her particularised trust – that while she was more trusting overall of people of black Caribbean origin than outgroupers, she was less trusting of the "younger elements" within her ethnic group:

"The Windrush generation living here have good values…they are family-oriented and have a strong sense of community. The younger people on the other hand have lost their sense of Caribbean identity. They are individualistic, have little to no understanding of Caribbean history, and their sense of pride in their heritage is pretty much non-existent. Instead, they choose to attach themselves to the more "marketable" aspects of Caribbean culture, such as the music and food. Therefore, I am ultimately trusting of older people within my ethnic community."

6.5.3: Intergenerational differences in social trust

The quantitative analysis presented in this chapter strongly suggests that there is a significant relationship between socialisation and social trust, with first-generation migrants born outside of the UK being more socially trusting than their British-born BAME counterparts. This trend was reflected in the semi-structured interviews, with interviewees born and raised in the UK generally expressing a more cautious view on placing trust in others and broader society. Conversely, first-generation migrants felt safer in the UK than British-born descendants, and appeared to be more willing to place their trust in society as a whole.

This does follow much of the existing research on social trust. With much of the existing literature theorising a relationship between stronger social trust and higher socio-economic resources, older people may be more socially trusting as they have had a longer period of time to develop a level of financial security which makes trusting others a "less risky" option (see Section 2.6). The most recent British Social Attitudes Survey conducted by the National Centre for Social Research, BSA 35, found that older respondents were more socially trusting (NatCen Research, 2018). But the role of socialisation and prior life experiences in other countries is something which appears to create intergenerational differences in social trust among Britain's ethnic minority people.

One interviewee, a 56-year-old male of Bangladeshi origin who has extensive experience of living in Bangladesh, stated that he felt "it was relatively easy for him to trust people", even though he was slightly less trusting of younger people in society due to their "focus on gossiping as opposed to grafting". Spending much of his life in Bangladesh and visiting his country of origin on an extended trip in Spring 2017, the interviewee stated that he found it far more difficult to trust people in Bangladesh:

"The social and economic situation in Bangladeshi is totally different to the one here in the UK. People talk about economic inequality here in the UK, but it is nothing compared to Bangladesh. The poverty is on a different level in Bangladesh, and I think that is part of the reason why it is so socially unstable. I am far more likely to think that people there are only interested in someone for their money than here in Britain."

The interviewee then went on to make an insightful point on the role of law and order in facilitating and maintaining social trust:

"It is also difficult to trust people in Bangladesh – and presumably in other countries – because of the quality of policing. Bangladeshi police officials are probably the most corrupt people in this planet – corrupt from top to bottom. I feel very insecure in Bangladesh – the police have close ties with and can be easily "bought off" by criminals. Also, the judicial system in Bangladesh is far from stellar. Here in the UK, the legal system and law enforcement do a reasonably good job in keeping people and society in place – and I think that helps me to trust others."

This view was also shared by an 80-year-old first-generation male migrant of Indian origin, who stated that the added level of safety in the UK allowed him to be more socially trusting:

"Life was very different in Kenya. Bribery and corruption in the police were rampant, and still is from what I have read. People often behaved in a disorderly way – law and order there is nothing like how it is here in Britain. In Kenya, it allowed people to be less fearful of the consequences of their bad behaviour – and that makes others feel less secure and less trusting overall.

6.6: Discussion

Many studies on intergroup relations have examined how positive intergroup contact can moderate inherent prejudices towards outgroup members of society and subsequently help to build social trust. Building on this important strand of literature which supports the theoretical implications of contact theory, this chapter examined how positive contact through ethnically-mixed networks can counterbalance the negative effects of discrimination on the social trust of British ethnic minority people. By doing so, the chapter also differentiates itself from much of the existing literature which usually explores social trust from the vantage point of the ethnic majority (Molina et al. 2015).

While Chapter 5 found that socially integrated ethnic minority people were more likely to report (racial) discrimination, this chapter finds that people who have more opportunities for interethnic contact are more likely to be socially trusting. Conversely, social segregation, while having the potential to "shield" ethnic minority people from discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, is also unhealthy for social trust due to the limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact. The findings presented in this chapter very much suggest that the social integration – despite being associated with heightened reporting of discrimination - also

provides opportunities for positive intergroup contact which may be able to counteract the effects of negative intergroup contact on the social trust of British ethnic minorities.

This builds on Laurence et al. (2018), which found that among a sample of white British people living in England, increased exposure to the "outgroup" was associated with higher rates of both "positively- and negatively-valenced" contact. Greater social mixing – for both the white British majority and non-white British minorities – appears to lead to both increased negative and positive intergroup contact. Laurence et al. (2018) also found a generally positive effect of "workplace diversity" among their white British sample. The analysis presented in this chapter shows that BAME people who are employed in ethnically-mixed "bridging" places of work are more likely to be socially trusting than both ethnic minority workers who are more occupationally segregated, and those who are unemployed/not in work.

When specifically examining how particular domains of contact are related to generalised social trust, there is some evidence which suggests that positive intergroup contact through ethnically-mixed friendship networks may act as an effective counterweight to the potentially negative effects of discrimination on social trust. There is also evidence which suggests that experiencing discrimination may have a particularly damaging effect on the social trust of residentially segregated ethnic minority people who have limited opportunity for positive contact with white British people in their neighbourhoods. This provides a degree of support for both academic and non-academic sources which have previously identified residential segregation as a particular problem for building social trust and community cohesion in more urban parts of Britain.

British research into the shaping and conditioning of social trust in the UK has tended to prioritise the effects of neighbourhood economic deprivation over ethnic diversity. However, this chapter finds that there is an interesting inter-relationship between co-ethnicity of workplace, ethnic density of neighbourhood and generalised social trust. With a body of literature identifying employer discrimination as a "push factor" in the development of ethnic economic enclaves and ethnic minority enterprises, the analysis finds that working in more co-ethnically homogenous workplaces is particularly bad for social trust when living in predominantly white areas. One possible explanation is that ethnic minority people may be "pushed" into working in co-ethnic businesses, due to difficulties in obtaining local

employment beyond such ethnic enclave “mini-economies”. Following the trend of research studies which has arguably relegated the importance of neighbourhood ethnic effects, this chapter provides a sharp corrective by highlighting its potentially important role in shaping ethnic minority social trust in this context.

In Chapter 7, my attention turns to satisfaction with Britain’s democratic system. Empirical findings from Chapter 5 and 6 have certainly given rise to interesting questions which provide direction for the research which will be undertaken in Chapter 7. This chapter has shown that social integration is positively associated with generalised social trust - but does ‘discrimination through integration’ feed into political disaffection and institutional distrust instead? While social segregation limits the opportunities for positive intergroup contact which are beneficial for generalised social trust, are more ingroup, co-ethnic networks associated with higher democratic satisfaction by virtue of “sheltering” people from discriminatory behaviours and attitudes which heighten perceptions of being unfairly treated? Do ethnic minority people blame the democratic system of governance as opposed to broader society when they experience discrimination? In regards to socialisation effects, are British-born people less politically, as well as socially trusting, than those born outside of the UK? These are just a few of the questions which will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Satisfaction with British Democracy

7.1: Introduction

Satisfaction with democracy remains one of the most contested concepts in the field of political science. Scholarly contributions towards this sub-area of political science research are at odds over what encompasses democratic satisfaction and how it is shaped and formed. This thesis, considering satisfaction with democracy as the second aspect of civic inclusion, examines what shapes and conditions satisfaction with Britain's democratic system of governance among the UK's ethnic minority groups. By focusing on how social relations and contact are related to the democratic satisfaction of UK ethnic minorities, this chapter differentiates itself from the existing literature on democratic satisfaction, which is dominated by two specific strands: one which focuses on the impact of electoral outcomes, and the other which is characterised by cross-national studies which center on socio-economic factors (at both micro and macro-level).

The process of how democratic satisfaction is shaped and conditioned for the ethnic majority may be quite different for ethnic minority groups. As already discussed, emphasising the positive effects of intergroup contact and supporting the main implications of contact theory is the dominating trend in intergroup relations research. Thus, there is a glaring lacuna in this important body of literature, with the negative effects of intergroup contact being a relatively underdeveloped area of research. As well as acknowledging the difficulties which can often be encountered when contact is made with "outgroupers", it is also important to develop our understanding of the consequences of such negative intergroup contact on the socio-political incorporation of ethnic minority people living in diverse Western democracies such as the UK.

Distinguishing itself from much of the existing research, this chapter examines the impact of social relations and patterns of intergroup contact on satisfaction with democracy in the UK ethnic minority context. By doing so, it provides an insight into how direct exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes can impact on one's satisfaction with the democratic system of governance. The chapter investigates the possibility that while social integration may be positive for social trust, the heightened exposure to discrimination and awareness of prejudicial attitudes has a negative impact on democratic satisfaction. This is based on attribution of responsibility for such experiences being towards the democratic system of governance, which is expected to ensure fairness and a meritocratic allocation of

opportunities and rewards. This explores the possibility that exposure to discrimination behaviours and attitudes is more likely to undermine satisfaction with the democratic system, as opposed to eroding trust in broader society.

Providing a corrective to dominant socio-political narratives which extol the virtues of social integration for political inclusion, this thesis finds that ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated in British society are in fact less likely to be satisfied with Britain's democratic system. Building on findings from Chapter 5 of the thesis, analysis in this chapter finds that heightened exposure to discriminatory experiences can, to a degree, explain for this paradoxical relationship between social integration and democratic dissatisfaction. The chapter helps to develop an interesting picture in "ethnic minority Britain". Ethnic minority individuals who are more socially integrated in their host country, across their friendship group, workplace, neighbourhood, place of worship and civic organisations, are more likely to report discrimination and less likely to be satisfied with the British democratic system. Conversely, it is those who are socially detached from mainstream society and less trusting of others, but "insulated" from racially-motivated behaviours and attitudes, who are more likely to express satisfaction with how democracy works in the UK. This chapter also finds that British-born ethnic minority people are less likely to be satisfied with democracy in comparison to first-generation migrants who are more likely to have direct experience of living under more unstable, authoritarian regimes.

This chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, I review the existing literature on democratic satisfaction. Secondly, I discuss the data and measurement of the key variables which will be used to test the main hypotheses. Thirdly, I present the quantitative analysis reliant on the 2010 EMBES and report the results. Fourthly, I discuss how the findings from the semi-structured interviews tie in with the results of the quantitative analysis. Finally, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings.

7.2: Theory and Contribution

While satisfaction with democracy remains a highly disputed concept in the field of political science (Booth and Seligson, 2009; Canache et al. 2001; Fuchs, 1993; Linde and Ekman, 2003), it is generally thought of as approval of regime performance located between notions of support for democratic principles and socio-political attitudes towards formal institutions

(Aarts and Thomasson, 2008; Anderson and Guillory, 1997; Blais and Gélineau, 2007). Intervening in the debate over the conceptualisation of "satisfaction with democracy", Anderson (1998: 583), asserted that it "measures system support at a low level of abstraction". While satisfaction with democracy correlates with a range of democratic principles such as fairness and equality (Easton 1965, 1975; Klingemann, 1999; Kornberg and Clarke, 1994), it is widely regarded to be empirically and conceptually distinctive in its own right (Anderson and Guillory, 1997; Clarke and Kornberg, 1992; Fuchs, 1993).

This chapter draws inspiration from this strand of literature which associates democratic satisfaction with conventional liberal democratic principles such as fairness, equality and meritocracy. With its focus on British ethnic minorities, social integration and patterns of intergroup contact may play an important role in shaping democratic satisfaction. As previously discussed, Pettigrew (2008) has highlighted that the body of research exploring the negative effects of intergroup contact is underdeveloped in a field which prioritises the positive side-effects of intergroup contact. This chapter looks at how patterns of social relations and intergroup contact may lead to perceptions of unfair and unequal treatment which feed into dissatisfaction with the democratic system of governance – one which is potentially expected to ensure a fair, merit-based allocation of rewards and opportunities across all ethnic groups. Related to issues of fairness and equality, this chapter builds on findings in Chapter 6 by exploring whether people born in the UK are more likely to be satisfied with democracy. More likely to have personal life experiences under more authoritarian, undemocratic legal-political regimes, first-generation migrants born abroad may report more positive orientations towards the democratic system in Britain, in comparison to their UK-born BAME counterparts who are more likely to possess an exclusively British frame of reference.

7.2.1: What influences satisfaction with democracy?

Before discussing this chapter's theoretical contribution, it is important to survey and identify trends within the existing literature on democratic satisfaction. The vast body of scholarship on satisfaction with democracy identifies a range of factors which shape and condition this important measure of political trust. This includes examining the impact of electoral outcomes under consensual and majoritarian systems (Guillory and Anderson, 1997; Blais and Gélineau, 2007; Henderson, 2008; Curini et al, 2011 Singh et al. 2012, Bernauer and Vatter,

2011; Singh, 2012), perception of the democratic and representative nature of public institutions (Karp et al. 2003; Aarts and Thomasson, 2008; Newton and Zmerli, 2007), political scandals and corruption (Rose et al. 1998; Seligson et al. 2002; Wagner et al, 2009; Kumlin and Esaisson, 2012; Dahlberg and Holmberg, 2014), variation in party policy offerings (Ezrow and Xezonakis, 2011) and the actual (Alonso, 2013) and perceived success (Armingeon and Gutthman, 2014) of economic policies produced by policy-making institutions. The first strand is arguably the most dominant strand of recent research on satisfaction with democracy, with studies exploring how satisfaction with democracy differs between voting "winners" and "losers" under Westminster-style majoritarian and more consensual political systems in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands. A number of these studies are cross-national analyses which tend to rely on large-scale surveys such as Eurobarometer and Latinbarometro.

This chapter departs from and distinguishes itself from much of the existing literature in multiple ways. Much of the existing research on satisfaction with democracy focuses on the inter-relationship between vote choice, electoral results and type of political system, and how this shapes democratic satisfaction. Voters are essentially categorised as electoral "winners" and "losers", with the effects of "winning" and "losing" on satisfaction with democracy being influenced by the majoritarian/consensual nature of the political system. This chapter shifts the attention away from voter choice and electoral outcomes, but rather looking at how integration in the social mainstream and associated experiences can influence perceptions of equality and fairness which feed into levels of democratic satisfaction among Britain's ethnic minority people.

7.2.2: Social integration and political incorporation

The foundation for this chapter is the relationship between social integration and satisfaction with British democracy. One perspective which has tended to be raised by British politicians and social commentators as opposed to academic scholars is that ethno-religious groups - specifically Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims - who are more "socially separated" from mainstream society - may be less likely to feel part of Britain's democratic political community. This has played a key part in the repudiation of Britain's state-sponsored multicultural model of integration (Heath et al. 2013), with the chief worry being that multiculturalism has encouraged particularised groups to lead separate lives - detached from

the British mainstream and its system of democratic governance. This view was expressed by previous Prime Minister David Cameron during his infamous speech at the 2011 Munich security conference, where he advanced the argument that separation from the social mainstream was unhelpful in terms of feeling part of a British democratic collective. Alternatively, social integration has been identified as a positive force for political incorporation, facilitating the acquisition of vital political knowledge and enabling access to influential mainstream pressure groups (ibid.). This chapter will argue that far from going hand-in-hand, social integration and political inclusion in the form of democratic satisfaction are negatively associated, with more socially integrated people being less likely to be satisfied with British democracy.

There are two possible explanations which can be offered for this seemingly paradoxical relationship – heightened exposure to and awareness of racial discrimination, and socialisation under different national contexts. While the former process related to discrimination is causal, the latter is more spurious. As the findings of Chapter 5 suggest, social integration heightens exposure to and awareness of discrimination. Increasing perceptions of inequality and unfairness, this in turn can feed into dissatisfaction with the way democracy works in the UK. However, there is the possibility that people who are socially integrated are more likely to be born and raised in the UK and have no real experience of life under repressive, authoritarian regimes – meaning they have greater expectations of British democracy in comparison to the less socially integrated first-generation migrants who may be socialised under relatively undemocratic and unstable political systems in other countries.

7.2.3: Exposure to discrimination and awareness of structural bias

The paradox of social integration (Sigelman and Welch, 1993) provided the theoretical grounding for the main relationship investigated in Chapter 5 – that social integration can lead to heightened reporting of discrimination. As previously discussed, the social integration paradox holds that greater intergroup contact (particularly with the white ethnic majority) leads to ethnic minorities being more exposed to discriminatory experiences and becoming more conscious of racially-motivated attitudes and practices. This thesis was supported by the main finding in Chapter 5, with greater social integration being significantly associated with a higher likelihood of reporting discrimination (specifically of an ethno-racial nature).

An important question here is whether socially integrated ethnic minority people hold British society or the democratic system accountable for the racially discriminatory behaviours and attitudes they more exposed to and aware of. Findings across Chapters 5 and 6 suggest that while social integration can expose ethnic minority people to discriminatory experiences, it can also create more opportunities for positive interethnic contact - contributing to higher levels of generalised social trust among the more socially integrated. So, is it the case that as opposed to holding broader society responsible, socially integrated people blame the existing democratic system of governance for the discriminatory behaviours and attitudes they are more likely to encounter?

While a number of studies have stated that satisfaction with democracy is conceptually and empirically distinctive in its own right (Anderson and Guillory, 1997; Clarke and Kornberg, 1992; Fuchs, 1993), other studies have concluded that satisfaction with democracy correlates with a range of democratic principles such as fairness and equality (Klingemann, 1999; Kornberg and Clarke, 1994). Easton (1965, 1975) identifies support for such liberal democratic principles as being an integral part of political trust. This chapter seeks to build upon these studies by looking at how "discrimination through social integration" may give rise to perceptions of being unfairly treated, which feeds into dissatisfaction with the democratic system of governance. This explores how the negative psychological effects of discriminatory experiences and subsequent perceptions of unequal treatment have a damaging effect on democratic satisfaction. Therefore, this chapter shifts attention away from actual support for such principles. Instead, it explores how the democratic satisfaction of ethnic minority people may be influenced by their perception of how successfully the existing system of governance is in terms of ensuring fairness, equality of opportunity and the merit-based allocation of rewards.

There is a growing body of research which finds that racial discrimination suffered by ethnic minorities is linked to depressed political trust. 'Segmented assimilation theory' (Zhou, 1999), developed in the American context, suggests that immigrants who have experienced racial or ethnic discrimination are less likely to be 'socio-politically integrated' than those who have no experiences of ethno-racial discrimination. Socio-political integration includes confidence in the political system and democratically-elected institutions. In the US context, a host of scholars have found that experiences of racial discrimination have a negative effect on the

political trust of ethnic minority individuals (Garcia Bedolla, 2005; Michelson, 2001, 2003; Pantoja et al., 2003; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Experiencing discrimination can play major roles in political distrust. Reported instances of discrimination can contribute to a lack of trust in political and legal institutions which are usually responsible for introducing, creating, and enforcing anti-discrimination rules designed to ensure fair practice in areas such as employment and policing (Escafré-Dublet and Simon, 2012; De Vroome et al., 2013). This suggests that ethnic minorities who experience racial discrimination and unequal treatment may hold responsible the institutions which are perceived to be ineffectual in terms of ensuring and administering a fair, merit-based allocation of rewards.

7.2.4: Impact of socialisation

A second explanation for the hypothesised paradoxical relationship between social integration and political exclusion could be rooted in socio-political socialisation and social-psychological frame of reference. In the case of discrimination, the inter-association being tested is causal: social integration exposes people to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, and this feeds into dissatisfaction with the democratic system. When looking at how socialisation is implicated in the potential relationship between social integration and democratic dissatisfaction, the inter-association is more spurious. This explores whether this paradoxical relationship is the result of first-generation migrants - people who have largely experienced life under less favourable socio-political climates – being less socially integrated than "British born and bred" ethnic minority people who may be more sensitive to disappointment due to their higher expectations of British democracy.

First-generation ethnic minority migrants living in Britain were born (and often raised) in countries with sharply differing political cultures to the UK's. These countries include Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda. There are a number of reasons why Britain's first-generation migrants uproot themselves from their country of origin and "start over" in the UK. Discontent over the home country's political arrangements which could be based on client-patron relations. The desire to live under a robust legal system which is better characterised by the principles of fairness and equality. The dream of settling down and raising a future family in a more socially stable environment. Any one of these reasons – or more likely a combination of such factors – can create positive orientations towards more conventionally Western models of democracy.

There is a noticeable body of literature which offers an alternative view. This strand of research finds that immigrants from less democratic systems are more likely to hold lower levels of political trust due to previous experience of state-sponsored oppression (Harles, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Handlin, 1951). Conversely, previous "democratic experience" is assumed to facilitate immigrant adaptation and democratic involvement in the host country (Black, 1987; Blake et al. 1987; Finifter and Finifter, 1989; Bueker, 2005; Wilson, 1973).

This chapter however draws inspiration from existing literature which discusses how socialisation under less stable and undemocratic political cultures in the country of origin, can lead to more positive orientations towards more democratic "host" systems. The view which suggests that socialisation under repressive, autocratic regimes may produce positive socio-political outcomes in the host country, as individuals raised in repressive environments may have a greater appreciation of democratic rights and the ability to influence politics (Paskeviciute and Anderson, 2006).

In the Australian context, Pietsch (2018) find that immigrants from countries with authoritarian regimes are more likely to be satisfied with Australian democracy than immigrants from countries with democratic governments. This is supported by research which finds that Cuban Americans socialised under Communism tend to have stronger political outcomes in the US than other Latino groups (Portes and Mozo, 1985; Arvizu and Garcia, 1996; DiSipio, 1996). This is also the case for Eastern Europeans compared to other European groups living in North America (Greeley, 1974).

Being born and raised in less democratic political cultures where there may be greater social unrest, first-generation migrants originating from such countries may have a naturally positive orientation towards more stable and "freer" countries such as the UK. The desire to enjoy greater political freedom, social stability and socio-economic opportunities lead to people making the decision to migrate and resettle in Britain. Indeed, this may not be a matter of choice – these could also include refugees fleeing political persecution and severe communal conflict.

Newly-arrived migrants tend to "bond" and rely on existing migrants from the same country of origin during the resettlement process (Foley and Hoge, 2007; Charney et al, 2003). Due to

shared ethnic, cultural and linguistic heritage, recently-settled migrants are more likely to develop friendships with fellow co-ethnic people in the "host society". These co-ethnic social networks can facilitate entry into jobs within the "ethnic enclave economy". This would involve obtaining "initial employment" in predominantly co-ethnic businesses and occupational sectors dominated by workers of the same ethnic background. Alternatively, second-generation (or more) ethnic minorities are more likely to be socially integrated through work and friends (see Table 4.2). This is due to factors such as being socialised through the British education system, acquiring British qualifications from an early age and being more likely to have a sophisticated command of the English language.

Post-settlement, first-generation migrants resettling in the UK are moving into a more democratic and accountable political culture; a society which is more stable and prosperous, a nation which provides greater economic and educational opportunities, a country which has been traditionally committed to the provision of publicly-funded healthcare. Their experience of living under less stable societies and more authoritarian socio-political systems may create a heightened positive perception of British democracy. Ethnic minority individuals born and raised in the UK on the other hand have an exclusively British frame of reference. Having little to no experience of living and being socialised under more authoritarian, repressive settings, the British "born-and-raised" may be likely to have greater expectations of British democracy as a whole – therefore being more sensitive to disappointment.

7.3: Data and Methods

The analysis looks at whether discrimination and socio-political socialisation can explain and account for a potential relationship between social integration and dissatisfaction with British democracy. The multivariate analysis, in the case in Chapter 5 and 6, is reliant on 2010 EMBES data.

Main dependent variable: Satisfaction with British Democracy

The key dependent variable for this paper is satisfaction with British democracy. Survey respondents were asked:

"On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy works in this country?"

Respondents were provided with four categorical responses: “very satisfied”, “fairly satisfied”, “a little dissatisfied” and “very dissatisfied”. For the ordinal logistic regression analysis conducted in this analysis, the dependent variable is coded as “very dissatisfied” = 1; “a little dissatisfied” = 2; “fairly satisfied” = 3 and “very satisfied” = 4. For the binary logistical regression analysis undertaken in this paper, the first two responses are merged into a “dissatisfied” category while the last two are combined to form a “satisfied” category (with the binary dependent variable being coded as dissatisfied = 0; satisfied = 1).

Party Identification

As previously discussed, much of the existing relevant literature finds that the relationship between party identification and electoral outcomes can play an important part is shaping satisfaction with democracy. This is particularly important in this context, as the fieldwork for the 2010 EMBES took place shortly after the 2010 UK General Election - where the Labour Party’s 13-year period in government was brought to an end; subsequently being replaced by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition led by former Tory Party leader David Cameron. Therefore, party identification will be controlled for in the following models predicting for democratic satisfaction.

The 2010 EMBES question asked respondents: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, (Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru) or what?

The party identification variable is coded as Labour = 1, Conservative = 2, Liberal Democrat = 3, Other = 4 and None/Don’t Know = 5. Labour Party identifiers are set as the reference category for the upcoming quantitative analysis.

Social integration

As in the case of Chapters 5 and 6, the measure of social integration designed by Heath et al. (2013) is used. For the binary logistic regression model included in this chapter, two separate social integration variables regarding co-ethnicity of friendship group and workplace are used alongside the Census data variable associated with neighbourhood non-white density. For these alternative variables for social integration, the friendship group variable is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, with the workplace variable being coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and not in employment/work = 2. See Section 3.4.1 for more detail.

Negative Intergroup Contact

Similar to Chapter 6, quantitative analysis in this chapter uses the complex variable which incorporates cases of reported discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, and/or religion (coded as "did not report discrimination" = 0 and "did report discrimination" = 1). Used as a binary dependent variable in Chapter 5, this variable is now used as an independent variable which measures the impact of negative intergroup contact on satisfaction with British democracy.

Structural Integration (Education and Social Class)

In order to examine the impact of structural integration I examine education, occupational class and generation. Education is measured in terms of qualifications (where none = 0, low = 1, GCSE = 2, A-level = 3 and degree = 4) and includes qualifications obtained from outside as well as within the UK. [5] Occupational class is broken down into five categories: (Salariat = 1, Intermediate = 2, Manual Working = 3, Never Worked = 4 and Other = 5).[6] As in the case of Chapter 5, the educational attainment variable is used as a continuous independent variable, while the social class variable is used as a categorical independent variable.

Socio-demographic Characteristics

I also control for ethnic group, age, gender and main language spoken at home. The ethnic group variable includes the five BAME groups (Black Caribbean = 1, Black African = 2, Indian = 3, Pakistani = 4 and Bangladeshi = 5). Black Caribbeans are set as the reference ethnic group. For the analysis, the natural logarithm for age will be used. Gender is coded as male = 0 and

[5] None includes people with no educational qualifications, low includes qualifications at ISCED level 1, GCSE includes lower secondary qualifications such as GCSE or overseas equivalent (ISCED level 2), A-level includes upper secondary qualifications such as A levels or foreign equivalent, or other qualifications below degree level (ISCED levels 3 and 4), and Degree includes degree-level qualifications (ISCED level 5).

[6] The salariat category includes respondents who are classified as being in professional or higher technical work, manager or senior administrator. The intermediate category includes clerical workers, those working in sales or services, small business owners and people in foremen/supervisory roles. The manual working category includes skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Never worked includes those who have never held any form of employment. A number of missing cases replaced with partner's occupational class.

female = 1. Main language spoken at home is coded as English not main language = 0 and English main language = 1.

Birthplace

To measure socialisation effects on democratic satisfaction, the birthplace variable is used (born abroad = 0; born in UK = 1). There were a range of methods which could have been used to measure the effect of democratic culture of birthplace on satisfaction with British democracy. These included the Polity IV Project and Freedom House measures. The main issue with the Freedom House measure is the fact that the annual index commenced in 1972 – after a considerable proportion of first-generation migrants had already arrived in the UK. While Polity IV democracy classifications go as far back as 1800, the central problem is that data is provided for countries on the basis that they meet a certain population amount. This unfortunately means that there is no data for low-population Caribbean countries such as Barbados, St Kitts & Nevis, Grenada, St Lucia and Dominica.

The variable used to measure socialisation effects on democratic satisfaction has its limitations. It is entirely plausible that a respondent who was born abroad but arrived in the UK as an infant has an "exclusively British frame of reference". However, it is comfortably assumed that 2010 EMBES respondents born outside of the UK are far more likely to have experience of living under a different political context, in comparison to their British-born counterparts.

Neighbourhood-level context

As in Chapter 5 and 6, I control for neighbourhood level deprivation. To measure the level of deprivation in the neighbourhood I use the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). For the binary logistic regression model, the 2010 EMBES neighbourhood non-white density variable based on 2011 Census data is used (alongside the co-ethnicity of friendship network and co-ethnicity of workplace variables used to measure social integration). The neighbourhood ethnic density variable measures the percentage of non-white people living in Lower-Layer Output Areas (LSOAs).

7.4: Quantitative Analysis

The analysis proceeds in five stages. Firstly, I carry out multivariate analysis on satisfaction with British democracy (in the form of ordinal logistic regression). This base model essentially measures the effect of social integration on satisfaction with British democracy, with this base model controlling for ethnicity, gender, age, education, social class, main language spoken at home and neighbourhood-level deprivation.

In the second part of the analysis, I carry out further analysis involving reported discrimination and birthplace. This will inspect changes in the co-efficients for social integration as the specific variables of interest are separately introduced to the base model across two models: base model + discrimination and base model + birthplace. For the final model, I bring together the previous strands of analysis, with all the variables of interest being added to the model. This will help to examine whether the discriminatory experiences and socialisation can account for the hypothesised paradoxical relationship being social integration and dissatisfaction with democracy (or rather, social segregation and democratic satisfaction).

For the third party of the analysis, a binary logistic regression model including the workplace co-ethnicity, co-ethnicity of friendship network and neighbourhood non-white density variables is presented. The dependent variable is coded as “dissatisfied” = 0, “satisfied” = 1. Individual predicted probabilities for categories based on party identification, ethnicity, co-ethnicity of employment network, co-ethnicity of friendship group, reported discrimination and place of birth will also be presented in this section of the analysis. This will enable greater understanding of what has the strongest impact on democratic satisfaction in the ethnic minority context.

For the fourth part of the analysis, I explore socialisation effects within the five ethnic minority groups. For the fifth and final part of the analysis, the overlap between social and political trust, as articulated in the conventional literature, is tested by including generalised social trust as an independent variable in a binary logistic regression model where democratic satisfaction is the dependent variable.

Analysis Part 1: Base Model for Democratic Satisfaction (Ordinal Logistic Regression)

Part 1 of the analysis examines the relationship between social integration and democratic satisfaction in an ordinal logistic regression model which does not include the discrimination or birthplace variable. The model controls for party identification, ethnicity, gender, age, education level, social class, main language at home and neighbourhood deprivation.

Table 7.1: Satisfaction with Democracy: Base Model (Ordinal Logistic Regression)

	Model 7A (Base Model)	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Party ID: Labour Party (ref)		
Conservative Party	.199	.147
Liberal Democrats	-.038	.143
Other Party	-.732*	.320
None/Don't Know	-.352**	.105
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	1.151**	.127
Indian	.794**	.129
Pakistani	.943**	.130
Bangladeshi	.984**	.167
Female	-.274**	.083
(Ln) Age	.542**	.118
Education Level	-.042	.034
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.055	.114
Manual Working	.030	.117
Never Worked	.365*	.159
Other	.097	.318
English Main Language at Home	-.367**	.099
Social Integration	**-.112****	**.026**
IMD	.002	.002

Cut (1)	-.483	.507
Cut (2)	1.142	.507
Cut (3)	3.940	.513

Notes for Model 7A: N = 2,372. Chi-square: 288.26. Degrees of Freedom: 18. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2622.49. Pseudo R Squared: .052. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Model 7A provides an overview of the findings for an ordinal logistic regression model where satisfaction with British democracy is treated as the dependent variable (Very Dissatisfied = 1; A Little Dissatisfied = 2; Fairly Satisfied = 3; Very Satisfied = 4).

There are no significant differences to report between ethnic minority people who identify with the Labour Party and those who identify with the Conservatives. BAME people who identified with other minor parties *(b = -.732)* and reported no party identification (or did not know which party they identified with) *(b = -.352)*, were less likely to be satisfied with British democracy than Labour Party identifiers.

In regards to social integration, ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated are less likely to report satisfaction with British democracy *(b = -.112)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. The positive co-efficients for the Black African, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups mean that Black Caribbeans are the least likely to report satisfaction with British democracy in Model 1. Bangladeshis *(b = .984)* and Black Africans *(b = 1.151)* are the most likely to report democratic satisfaction in this base model, with both of these findings being significant at the 1% confidence level.

There are significant gender differences to report from Model 7A. Ethnic minority women are less likely to report satisfaction with British democracy than men *(b = -.274)*. This is significant at the 1% confidence level. There is a statistically significant positive relationship between age and democratic satisfaction *(b = .542)*, suggesting that older ethnic minority people are more likely to report satisfaction with Britain's democratic system. This finding is also significant at the 1% confidence level. Those who speak English as the main language at home are less likely to report democratic satisfaction (*b = -.367*). This language effect is significant at the 1% confidence level. Interestingly, in the base model, ethnic minority people who have never worked are more likely to be satisfied with British democracy than those working in salaried

professional roles *(b = .365)*. This finding is significant at the 5% confidence level. There are no education or neighbourhood deprivation effects to report from the Model 7A base model.

Part 2: Base Model with Reported Discrimination and Socialisation

Part 2 of the analysis looks at how discrimination and democratic culture of birthplace may explain for the relationship between higher social integration and lower likelihood of reporting democratic satisfaction. Model 7B sees the discrimination variable (which measures whether someone reports discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity and religion) added to the base model. Model 7C is the base model which includes place of birth (coded as born abroad = 0 and born in UK = 1), while Model 7D sees both the discrimination and birthplace variables added together to the base model.

Table 7.2: Satisfaction with Democracy: base model with discrimination and birthplace added individually and simultaneously (Ordinal logistic regression)

	Model 7B (base + discrimination)		**Model 7C (base + birthplace)**		**Model 7D (base + discrimination + birthplace)**	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Ratio
Party ID: Labour Party						.
Conservative Party	.191	.147	.219	.147	.210	.147
Liberal Democrats	-.078	.144	.011	.143	-.029	.144
Other Party	-.682*	.321	-.585	.319	-.534	.320
None/Don't Know	-.404**	.105	-.376**	.105	-.424**	.106
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)						
Black African	1.125**	.127	.809**	.133	.787**	.134
Indian	.708**	.130	.672**	.130	.592**	.131
Pakistani	.858**	.131	.831**	.131	.747**	.132
Bangladeshi	.926**	.168	.806**	.169	.752**	.169
Female	-.286**	.083	-.260**	.083	-.274**	.083
(Ln) Age	.456**	.119	.140	.128	.060	.129
Education Level	-.034	.034	-.033	.034	-.026	.034
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)						

Intermediate	-.050	.114	-.006	.114	-.003	.115
Manual Working	.012	.117	.007	.118	-.014	.118
Never Worked	.313	.160	.327*	.160	.276	.160
Other	.113	.321	.090	.319	.096	.322
English Main Language at Home	-.314**	.099	-.142	.102	-.092	.103
Social Integration	**-.095****	**.026**	**-.112****	**.026**	**-.095****	**.026**
Reports discrimination	**-.567****	**.0878**			**-.554****	**.089**
Born in UK			**-.857****	**.102**	**-.848****	**.102**
IMD	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002	.002
Cut (1)	-1.017	.516	-2.262	.552	-2.772	.561
Cut (2)	.629	.515	-.605	.550	-1.094	.558
Cut (3)	3.458	.520	2.257	.552	1.798	.558

Notes for Model 7B: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 329.48. Degrees of Freedom: 19. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2594.483. Pseudo R Squared: .060. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model 7C: N = 2,372. Chi-square: 360.54. Degrees of Freedom: 19. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2586.352. Pseudo R Squared: .065. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model 7D: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 399.49. Degrees of Freedom: 20. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2559.481. Nagelkerke R Square: .072. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 7.2 presents an overview of results for the three separate ordinal logistic regression models. Model 7B shows that people who report discrimination are less likely to report satisfaction with British democracy (*b = -.567*). This is significant at the 1% confidence level. The co-efficient for social integration in Model 7A (*b = -.112*) only slightly changes in Model 7B (*b = -.093*) following the introduction of discrimination to the base model. In Model 7C, being born in the UK is significantly negatively associated with satisfaction with Britain's democratic system (*b = -.857*). This finding is also significant at the 1% confidence level. The co-efficient for social integration in Model 7C (*b = -.112*) is identical to the one reported in the base model (Model 7A).

When birthplace is added to the base model, age loses statistical significance in Model 7C. This suggests that older ethnic minority people may be more likely to report democratic

satisfaction due to political socialisation outside of the UK. In Model 7C, the co-efficient for Black Africans changes to *(b = .809)* from *(b = 1.151)* in Model 7A. This suggests that socialisation in African countries can partly account for differences in democratic satisfaction between Black Africans and Black Caribbeans (with members of the latter ethnic group being more likely to be born and raised in the UK).

Bringing together the previous strands of analysis, Model 7D sees the discrimination and birthplace variables both being added to the Model 7A base model. In this final model, Black Caribbeans continue to be the ethnic group which is the least likely to report satisfaction with British democracy. Black Africans are the ethnic group which is the most likely to report democratic satisfaction *(b = .787)*. Like in all the previous models, ethnic minority women are less likely to report satisfaction with British democracy *(b = -.274)* at the 1% confidence level.

In Model 7D, those who are more socially integrated continue to be less likely to report satisfaction with British democracy (*b = -.095*). This is significant at the 1% confidence level. Examining the factors individually, it appears that heightened exposure to and awareness of discrimination (on racial, ethnic and religious grounds) can better account for the relationship between social integration and democratic dissatisfaction than differences in political socialisation. However, neither discrimination or place of birth appear to adequately account for the paradoxical relationship between social integration and dissatisfaction with British democracy. Further examination however suggests that socialisation effects can, to a degree, account for the considerably lower level of democratic satisfaction for Black Caribbeans (particularly in relation to people of Black African origin). The co-efficient for Black Africans changes from *(b = 1.151)* in the Model 7A base model to *(b = .787)* in Model 7D where the birthplace variable was introduced. This suggests that relatively weak levels of democratic satisfaction among Black Caribbeans may be due to having a higher proportion of people who are exclusively socialised in the British context.

Part 3: Disaggregation of Social Integration and Predicted Probabilities

The previous section included ordinal logistic regression analysis where the dependent variable was coded “very dissatisfied” = 1; “a little dissatisfied” = 2; “fairly dissatisfied” = 3 and “very satisfied = 4”. In this section of the analysis, binary logistic regression is the preferred quantitative method, as the processing and interpretation of the interaction terms

(conducted through STATA) is more understandable and enables a more practical presentation of the results.

For the binary logistic regression analysis, the dependent variable is recoded into a binary dependent variable, where the "very dissatisfied" and "a little dissatisfied" responses are merged into a "dissatisfied" category, with the "fairly satisfied" and "very satisfied" responses being merged into a "satisfied" category (dissatisfied with democracy = 0; satisfied with democracy = 1). While this may understandably give rise to concerns over measurement and "data dredging" as being "very dissatisfied" is admittedly different to being "a little dissatisfied", it is clear that two responses relate to dissatisfaction, with the other two responses clearly being positive responses to the question of whether or not someone is satisfied with how democracy works in the UK. Therefore, the new recoding of the dependent variable for the binary logistic regression section of the analysis is considered suitable.

In this part of the analysis, social integration is disaggregated into three separate measures – co-ethnicity of friendship group, co-ethnicity of workplace and neighbourhood non-white density. The reference category for the friendship and workplace variables is "ethnically-mixed", which means the results will be shown for those in networks which are more densely co-ethnic and "ingroup" in terms of composition. This will allow for results relating to the relationship between social segregation and democratic satisfaction to be clearly presented in this section. Co-ethnicity of friendship group is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1, and co-ethnicity of workplace is coded as ethnically-mixed = 0; bonding = 1 and no place of work/unemployed = 2. As previously discussed, the classifications for "ethnically-mixed" and "bonding" are based on what constitutes "bridging" and "bonding contact" in Heath and Demireva (2016).

Table 7.3: Satisfaction with British Democracy (Social Integration Disaggregated: Binary Logistic Regression)

Model 7E (Satisfaction with Democracy)	Binary Logistic Regression	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Party ID: Labour Party		
Conservative Party	.593**	.202
Liberal Democrats	.223	.169
Other Party	.288	.375
None/Don't Know	-.452**	.126
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	.678**	.155
Indian	.785**	.155
Pakistani	.916**	.157
Bangladeshi	1.091**	.219
Female	-.304**	.102
(Ln) Age	.054	.163
Education Level	-.038	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	.022	.138
Manual Working	-.074	.142
Never Worked	.309	.214
Other	.225	.386
English main language at home	-.120	.129
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding social network	.509**	.111
Co-ethnicity of employment network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding employment network	.362**	.138
Unemployed/no place of work	.169	.130
Reports Discrimination	-.699**	.102
Born in UK	-.867**	.118
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.768**	.247
IMD (Neighbourhood Deprivation)	-.002	.003
Constant	.901	.705

Notes for Model 7E: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 405.60. Pseudo R Squared: .138. Degrees of Freedom: 23. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1267.595. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 7.3 presents an overview of binary logistic regression analysis predicting for democratic satisfaction (dissatisfied = 0; satisfied = 1).

In Model 7E, there are significant effects to report between ethnic minority Labour and Conservative Party identifiers. Conservative Party identifiers are more likely to report democratic satisfaction than Labour identifiers (b = .593). This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. BAME people who do not identify with a political party (or do not know which one they identify with) are less likely to be satisfied with democracy than Labour Party identifiers (b = -.452). This is significant at the 1% confidence level.

There is a statistically significant relationship between **social and occupational segregation and higher likelihood of reporting democratic satisfaction.** Ethnic minority people in more co-ethnically homogenous, bonding friendship networks are more likely to report democratic satisfaction than those who are part of ethnically-mixed friendship networks *(b = .509)*, and those who employed in more co-ethnic places of work are also more likely to report democratic satisfaction than people employed in more ethnically-mixed workplaces *(b = .362)*. Both of these findings are significant at the 1% confidence level.

In regards to the ethnic groups, the positive co-efficients for Black Africans, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis mean that Black Caribbeans are the least likely to report democratic satisfaction in the model. Experiencing discrimination on racial and/or religious grounds holds statistical significance in the binary logistic regression model. Ethnic minority people who report discrimination are less likely to be satisfied with British democracy *(b = -.699)*. This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. Ethnic minority people born in the UK are less likely to report democratic satisfaction than first-generation migrants *(b = -.867).* This finding is significant at the 1% confidence level. Interestingly, people who live in predominantly non-white areas are less likely to be satisfied with British democracy *(b = -.768)*. With this finding being significant at the 1% confidence level, this suggests that ethnic minority people living in more white areas are more likely to report democratic satisfaction.

Much of the analysis in this chapter focuses on relationship between social integration and dissatisfaction with democracy, and how discrimination and socio-political socialisation may explain for this seemingly paradoxical association. I now unpack these key inter-relationships of interest by examining which individual factor has the strongest impact on shaping democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context. Predicted probabilities related to six independent variables included in Model 7E are considered: party identification, ethnicity, co-ethnicity of workplace, co-ethnicity of friendship group, discrimination and birthplace (which measures socialisation effects).

Table 7.4: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Model 7E)

	Predicted Probabilities	**Standard Error**	**95% Confidence Intervals**	
Conservative Party ID	**.830**	.027	.776	.883
Labour Party ID	.729	.013	.704	.754
Bangladeshi	.801	.030	.743	.860
Black Caribbean	**.575**	.025	.526	.625
Bonding Place of Work	.762	.021	.721	.803
Ethnically-Mixed Workplace	.690	.016	.659	.722
Bonding Friendship Network	.744	.011	.721	.766
Ethnically-Mixed Friendship Network	.636	.028	.593	.679
Does Not Report Discrimination	.764	.012	.742	.787
Reports Discrimination	.617	.019	.581	.654
Born Abroad	.778	.012	.755	.802
Born in UK	.596	.020	.556	.637

Table 7.4 shows the predicted probabilities associated with party identification, workplace co-ethnicity, co-ethnicity of friendship network, reported discrimination and place of birth (which has been used to measure socialisation effects). Out of the results presented, identifying with the Conservative Party is the strongest predictor of reporting democratic satisfaction (.830); .101 above the predicted probability figure for identifying with Labour. People who are more socially integrated through work and employed in ethnically-mixed

workplaces (.690), are less likely to report democratic satisfaction than those who work in more co-ethnically homogenous "bonding" places of work (.762) (see Figure 7.1). The difference between those in ethnically-mixed workplaces and bonding places of work is .072. People who are part of ethnically-mixed friendship networks (.636) are less likely to report democratic satisfaction than those who belong to more co-ethnically homogenous friendship networks (.744). This is a difference of .108 (see Figure 7.2).

People who report discrimination (.617) are less likely to be democratically satisfied than those who do not report discrimination (.764). This is a difference of .147 (see Figure 7.3). For the variables selected, strongest predictor for reporting democratic satisfaction is being born outside of the UK (.778), with people born in the UK being the second-least likely to report democratic satisfaction in the entire table (.596) (see Figure 7.4). This is the largest difference within the results presented (.182). This suggests that for the variables selected, socio-political socialisation has the strongest impact on democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context. Being of Bangladeshi origin is the second-strongest predictor presented in Table 7.4 (.801). Out of the results presented, **being of Black Caribbean origin is the weakest predictor for reporting democratic satisfaction (.575).**

Figure 7.1: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Workplace)

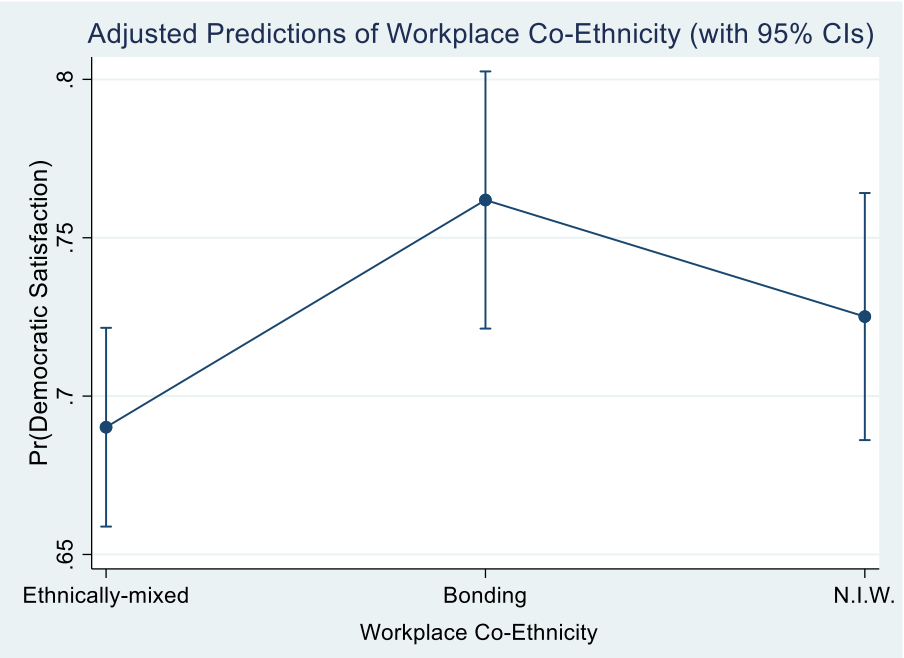


Figure 7.2: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Friends)

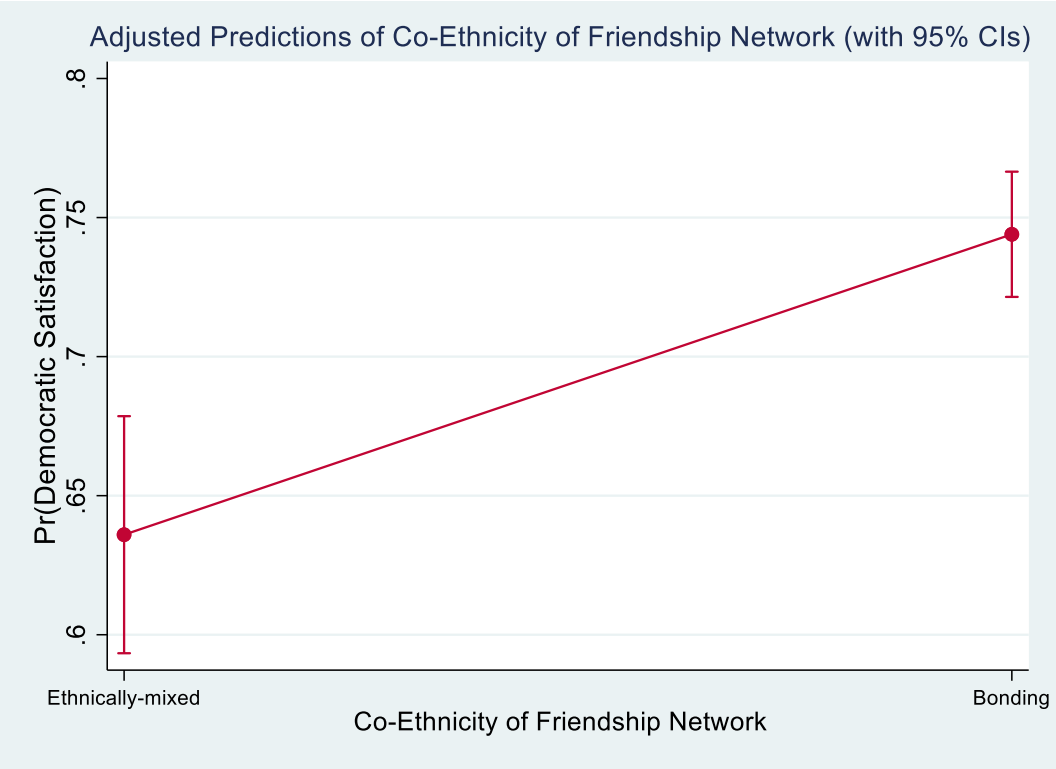


Figure 7.3: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Discrimination)

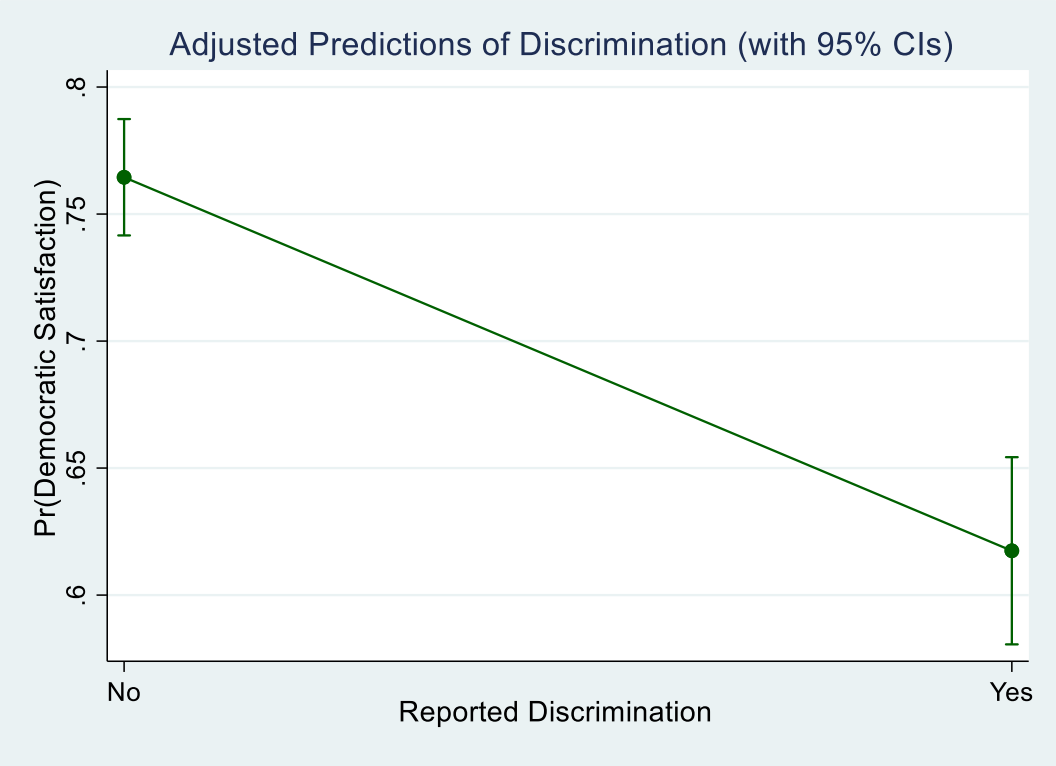


Figure 7.4: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Birthplace)

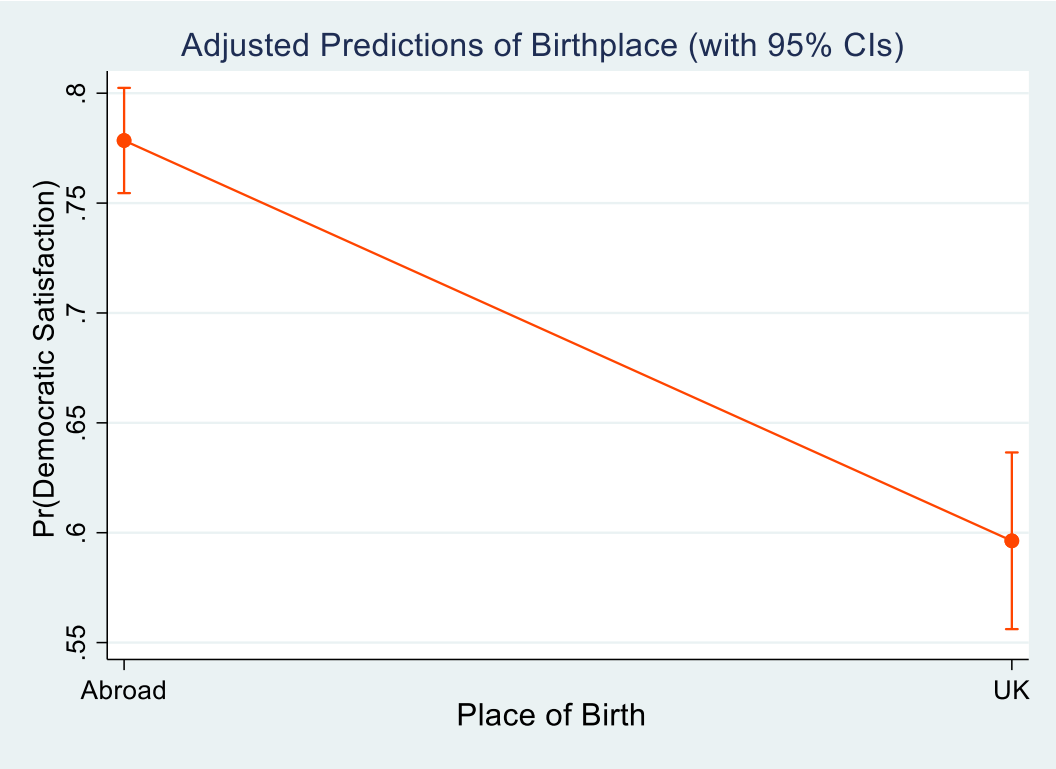
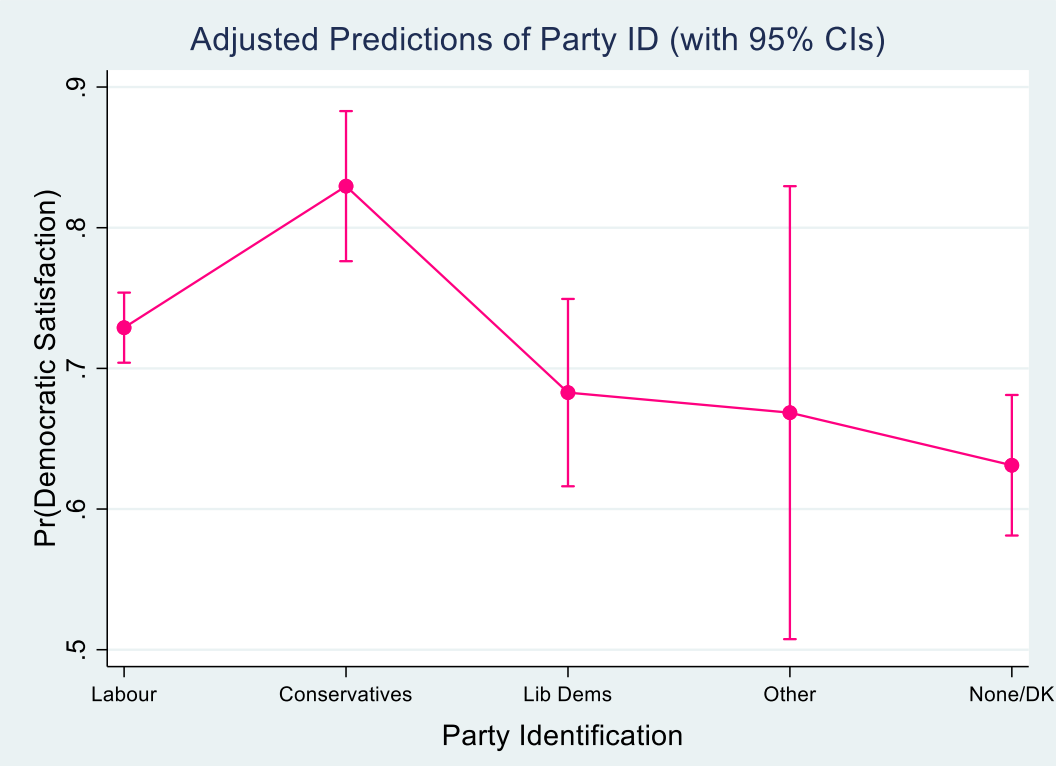


Figure 7.5: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Party ID)



Part 4: Socialisation Effects for British Ethnic Minority Groups

With socio-political socialisation playing an integral part in conditioning democratic satisfaction, the final part of the analysis looks at socialisation effects within the five ethnic minority groups. This part of the analysis examines socialisation effects on the probability of reporting democratic satisfaction for each ethnic minority group. As well as expecting UK-born people to be less likely to report democratic satisfaction within each group, this part of the analysis expects **socialisation effects to be smaller among Black Caribbeans.** With existing studies finding that migrants from more democratic countries are less likely to be satisfied with Australian democracy (Pietsch, 2018), these differences in socialisation effects are expected as the democratic system of governance in Caribbean countries such as Jamaica and Barbados have been historically stable and robust in comparison to other countries (such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Kenya). With Black Africans including people from countries which have suffered considerable civil unrest in recent times (such as Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola), relatively large birthplace effects are expected within this particular group. In addition to this, a healthy portion of first-generation people of Indian origin arrived in the UK after fleeing political persecution and state discrimination in East Africa.

Table 7.5: Satisfaction with Democracy (Binary Logistic Regression: Including Interaction Term Ethnic Group by Birthplace)

Model 7F (Satisfaction with Democracy)	**Binary Logistic Regression**	
	Log Odds Ratio	**Standard Error**
Party ID: Labour Party (ref)		
Conservative Party	.587**	.202
Liberal Democrats	-.218	.170
Other party	-.318	.377
None/Don't Know	-.454**	.127
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	1.074**	.203
Indian	1.190**	.221
Pakistani	1.310**	.231
Bangladeshi	1.772**	.323

Female	-.301**	.102
(Ln) Age	.101	.164
Education Level	-.043	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.009	.138
Manual Working	-.069	.143
Never Worked	.294	.216
Other	.311	.392
English main language at home	-.039	.132
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding friendship network	.506**	.112
Workplace co-ethnicity: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding place of work	.355*	.138
Unemployed/not in work	.178	.130
Reports Discrimination	-.697**	.102
Born in UK	-.382*	.192
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.732**	.248
IMD	-.002	.003
Ethnic Group by Birthplace		
Black African by Born in UK	-.778*	.322
Indian by Born in UK	-.638*	.284
Pakistani by Born in UK	-.568*	.284
Bangladeshi by Born in UK	-1.211**	.426
Constant	.341	.728

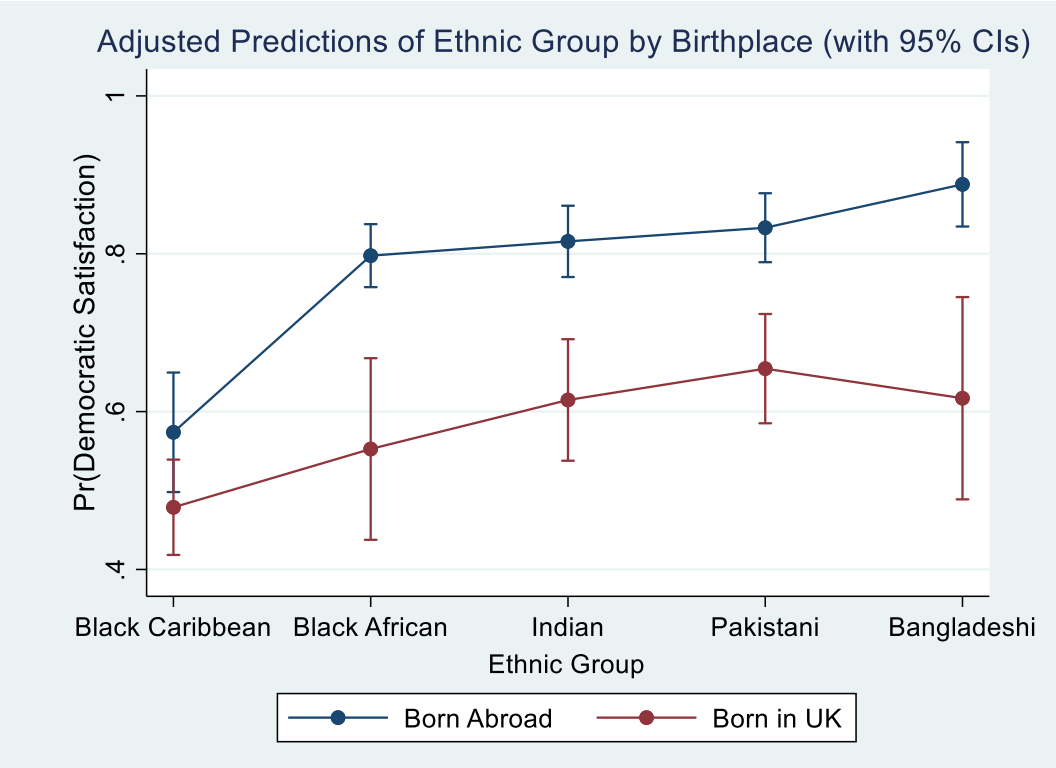
Notes for Model 7F: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 417.99. Pseudo R Squared: .142. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1261.397. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 7.6: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Ethnic Group by Birthplace)

	Predicted Probabilities	Standard Error	95% Confidence Intervals	
Black Caribbean/Born Abroad	.574	.039	.498	.650
Black Caribbean/Born in UK	.479	.031	.418	.539
Black African/Born Abroad	.798	.020	.758	.838
Black African/Born in UK	.553	.059	.438	.668
Indian/Born Abroad	.816	.023	.771	.861
Indian/Born in UK	.615	.039	.538	.692
Pakistani/Born Abroad	.833	.022	.789	.877
Pakistani/Born in UK	.654	.035	.585	.724
Bangladeshi/Born Abroad	.888	.027	.835	.941
Bangladeshi/Born in UK	.617	.065	.489	.745

Table 7.6 presents the predicted probabilities for the interaction term (which are plotted below in Figure 7.5). As expected, within all five ethnic minority groups, those born abroad are more likely to report democratic satisfaction than those born in the UK. These socialisation effects are the smallest within the Black Caribbean group, where the difference in the probability for reporting democratic satisfaction between UK-born people and those born abroad being only .95. This relatively small difference, in comparison to the other ethnic minority groups, can be seen in Figure 7.5. Socialisation effects are the strongest within the Black African and Bangladeshi ethnic groups. The difference in the probability for reporting democratic satisfaction between UK-born people and those born abroad among Black Africans is .245, while for Bangladeshis it is even higher at .271. The results show that **UK-born people of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian origin** are more likely to report democratic satisfaction than **people of Black Caribbean origin born outside of the UK.**

Figure 7.6: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Ethnic Group by Birthplace)



Part 5: Generalised Social Trust and Satisfaction with Democracy

As previously discussed, conventional wisdom established in the existing literature holds that social and political trust are fundamentally intertwined. While the analysis presented in the thesis shows that social integration is positively associated with generalised social trust and negatively associated with democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context, it is worth testing the direct relationship between generalised social trust and satisfaction with democracy. After controlling for a range of variables – including multiple measures of social integration – are socially trusting BAME people more likely to report satisfaction with the British democratic system? This will further test conventional wisdom articulated in the classic literature on the relationship between social and political trust – that bonds of social trust underpin trust in public institutions and confidence in the broader democratic system.

Table 7.7: Satisfaction with British Democracy (Binary Logistic Regression with Generalised Social Trust included as an independent variable)

Model 7G (Satisfaction with Democracy)	Binary Logistic Regression	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Party ID: Labour Party		
Conservative Party	.623**	.204
Liberal Democrats	-.258	.169
Other Party	-.262	.374
None/Don't Know	-.439**	.128
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	.696**	.157
Indian	.787**	.156
Pakistani	.926**	.158
Bangladeshi	1.071**	.220
Female	-.293**	.103
(Ln) Age	.003	.164
Education Level	-.043	.043
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.026	.139
Manual Working	-.078	.144
Never Worked	.268	.216
Other	.212	.390
English main language at home	-.108	.131
Co-ethnicity of friendship network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding social network	.518**	.113
Co-ethnicity of employment network: Ethnically-mixed (ref)		
Bonding employment network	.366**	.139
Unemployed/no place of work	.169	.130
Reports Discrimination	-.692**	.103
Born in UK	-.842**	.119
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.782**	.250
IMD (Neighbourhood Deprivation)	-.003	.003
"People Can Be Trusted"	**.482****	**.130**
Constant	.990	.712

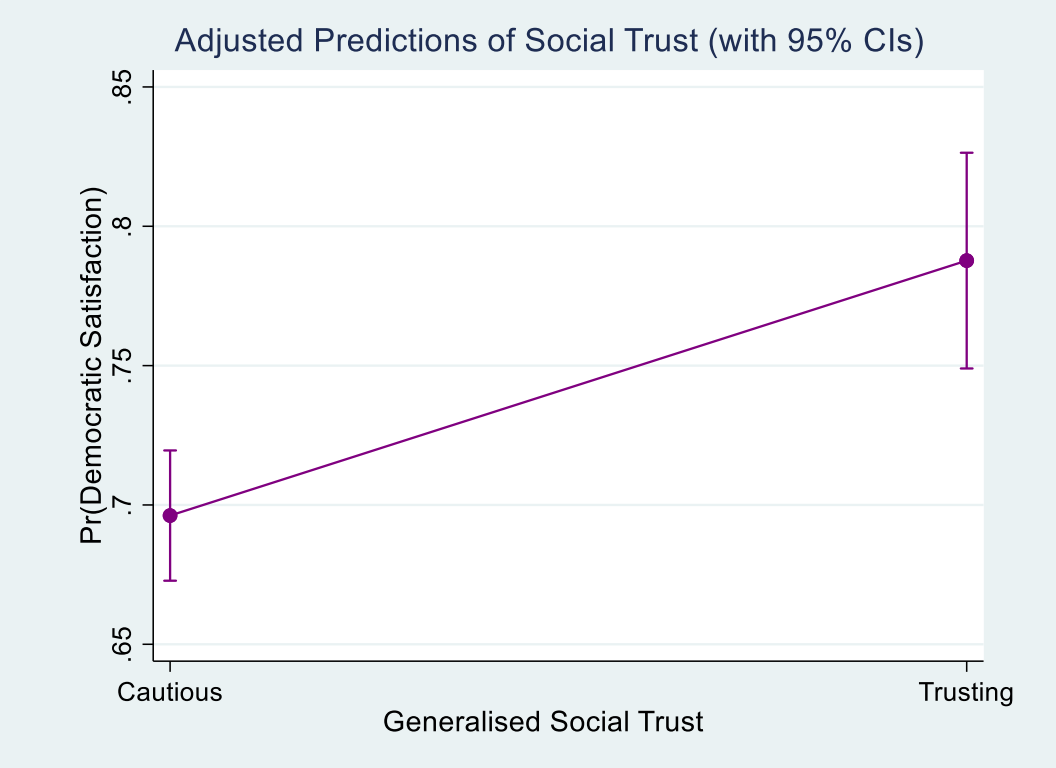
Notes for Model 7G: N = 2,325. Chi-square: 406.47. Pseudo R Squared: .140. Degrees of Freedom: 24. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1244.271. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Table 7.7 presents an overview of binary logistic regression analysis predicting for democratic satisfaction (dissatisfied = 0; satisfied = 1). Model 7G includes generalised social trust as a binary independent variable (Cautious = 0; Trusting = 1)

The 2010 EMBES survey question asked respondents: "Generally speaking, would you say most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people". The "can't be too careful" and "depends" responses have been merged to create the new "cautious" category, with the "people can be trusted" category renamed as "trusting".

Controlling for party identification, ethnicity, gender, age, education, social class, co-ethnicity of workplace, co-ethnicity of friendship network, reported discrimination, birthplace, neighbourhood non-white density and neighbourhood deprivation, UK ethnic minority people who are socially trusting are more likely to report satisfaction with British democracy (b = .482). This finding is statistically significant at the 1% confidence level.

Figure 7.6: Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Democratic Satisfaction (Generalised Social Trust)



7.5: Qualitative Findings

The quantitative analysis for this chapter found that people who are more socially integrated, experience discrimination (on racial and/or religious grounds) and born in the UK are less satisfied with Britain's democratic system. This gives rise to interesting research questions which guided the semi-structured interviews. What are the everyday experiences of ethnic minority people in Luton who are part of more ethnically-mixed networks? Who (or what) is held accountable for the discrimination and ethnic penalties which continue to persist in the British labour market? Do discriminatory experiences and awareness of ethnic penalties reduce confidence in the democratic political system? Do first-generation migrants have more positive orientations towards British democracy by virtue of having lived through political instability and state authoritarianism in their country of origin? These are just a few of the questions raised with the Luton-based interviewees.

7.5.1: Discrimination and inequality of opportunity

A general thread which ran throughout the vast majority of the interviews was the view that Britain is a country where rewards are not allocated based on merit, and that racial unfairness continues to persist due to structures of white privilege. This in turn was associated with reduced satisfaction with the way democracy works in the UK. The vast majority of interviewees felt that ethnic minority people had to work harder than similarly-qualified white British people in order to get good jobs, and that the UK Parliament could be more active in reducing racial discrimination in Britain – particularly when it comes to general workplace practices and employment procedures.

A 29-year-old British-born male participant of Jamaican origin stated that he was "not satisfied at all" with how democracy worked in the UK, as equality of opportunity was "a lie" and that there was not "full racial equality" in Britain. This sentiment was matched by another interviewee – a British-born degree-educated Muslim woman of Pakistani origin. Grading her own level of democratic satisfaction as "four out of ten", she stated that she felt certain racial and religious groups were treated unfairly in the UK: "white privilege gets people far…and non-white people are at a disadvantage because of it." The interviewee stated that this played a crucial part in her being dissatisfied with the way democracy worked in Britain.

Two male first-generation migrants of Indian origin – both of whom had long careers in the British manufacturing and engineering sector – felt that it was difficult for non-white people to reach higher-level roles. Despite feeling that they had the skills, knowledge and expertise, both felt that they had been overlooked for higher-paid, managerial roles because of their ethnic background. Furthermore, both felt that younger people of Indian origin were experiencing the very same problems with the current UK labour market, with one commenting: "Being highly-educated and well-skilled is not enough. I feel that it has not changed too much from my day. White people who are less educated and less qualified get to the top, while talented people who are a different colour have to work extremely hard to get these big roles – even if they are better suited. Indians have done and continue to do well here in Britain – but if things were fairer, we could be doing even better." This closely ties in with existing research which examines the difficulties encountered by well-educated, highly-skilled ethnic minority people when seeking to access high-reward professional/managerial roles (Saggar, 2014; Saggar et al. 2016).

Another participant, a 28-year-old male interviewee of Sylheti origin, presented a particularly dim view of British democracy. Referring to his own personal experiences, the participant stated that in his role within the NHS, ethnic minority people were treated with less professionalism by higher management than white British counterparts. Holding a degree in BA Economics with Law, he stated that Britain was not a meritocratic country, but rather one that "sold me a false dream of fairness and equality".

The participant also made the point that his satisfaction with democracy has declined in recent times of austerity, feeling that deep cuts to government expenditure had disproportionately affected ethnic minority people and further intensified forms of "structural racism". The inter-association between austerity, racial inequality and dissatisfaction with democracy was also articulated by a 56-year-old male interviewee of Bangladeshi origin, who felt that while welfare retrenchment was implicated in rising poverty levels across a range of groups, it was "working-class, ethnic minority people" who were "being hit the hardest".

7.5.2: Brexit and immigration

Another issue which featured prominently in discussions over Britain's democratic system was Brexit, which was tied which matters surrounding discrimination. A common thread across the interviewees, irrespective of characteristics such as ethnicity, age or birthplace, was that the result of the June 2016 UK referendum on EU membership had not only highlighted the ineffectiveness and general incompetence of the Britain's elected political class, but also exposed the racially discriminatory nature of the UK as a whole. The majority of interviewees felt that the Leave vote had emboldened members of the white British population in terms of openly expressing views of a clearly racist and xenophobic nature.

A British-born female interviewee of Caribbean origin expressed the view that the result of the referendum and the ongoing negotiations following the triggering of Article 50 had "brought out the really ugly side of Britain" – that the result of the referendum and "divisive statements made by leading politicians" had made some people more confident in revealing "controversial, crude attitudes" towards ethnic minorities in general. Interestingly, the interviewee linked a confrontation with a white British woman on public transport to the result of the referendum and the currently divisive political climate. According to the interviewee, the confrontation arose due to her being "unreasonably pushed out of the way" on the London Underground, concluding that the Leave vote and "growing acceptance of anti-immigrant views" had "given racist individuals the impression that they are greater in number, meaning that they are more likely to behave as they wish."

Divisive political rhetoric itself was cited by a British-born male interviewee of Bangladeshi origin when discussing his dissatisfaction with democratic politics in the UK. The interviewee felt that his satisfaction with British democracy had been undermined by the behaviour of leading politicians who are "all too ready to vilify migrants and blame the country's ills on them", and that "such negative generalisations about immigrants weaken my confidence in the democratic system." The participant concluded that due to structural racism, the anti-immigrant attitudes of politicians as well as major media outlets such as the Daily Mail, government austerity, the Leave result of the EU referendum and the "aggressive rise" of English nationalism, it was impossible – as a "outward-looking, young, brown Muslim man" - to be happy with how democracy was working in the current context.

However, negative perceptions of Brexit were by no means universal among the 25 Luton-based ethnic minority interviewees. This is perhaps unsurprising, considering Luton delivered a Leave percentage of 56.5% in the UK referendum on EU membership. One interviewee, an 82-year-old retiree of Indian origin, declared that he "voted to leave to EU and had no regrets." The interviewee's viewed Brexit as an opportunity for the UK to create a "level playing field" by having more national control over its immigration system:

"If a talented Indian engineer, well-educated, highly-skilled, speaks good English, wants to move to the UK to work, he or she still has to fill in lots of forms and apply for a work visa before approved relocation. On the other hand, unskilled labourers from Poland, with their poor English, can just stroll into Britain. [EU] Freedom of movement is unfair, it is racist. British immigration system clearly favours white Europeans, and discriminates against brown and black people in Asia and Africa – Commonwealth countries. It is because of the EU."

This particular justification for voting to leave the EU is prevalent among non-white Brexit voters (Ehsan, 2016). Indeed, Neema Begum (Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity at University of Manchester) has suggested that a more conservative immigration policy in post-Brexit Britain could command considerable support among British South Asian – particularly Indian – voters (Begum, 2018). What is clear from the existing research is that themes such as discrimination and equality of opportunity feature prominently in accounts explaining for the higher-than-expected Leave vote among British ethnic minorities – including the economically prosperous UK Indian ethnic group (Ehsan, 2019).

7.5.3: Socialisation and the intergenerational divide in democratic satisfaction

While first-generation migrant interviewees had their criticisms of British democracy, the general trend which emerged from the interviews was that first-generation migrants held far more positive orientations towards British democracy than their British-born counterparts – replicating the findings presented in this chapter's quantitative analysis.

Two participants of Bangladeshi origin (both in their 50s, one male and one female) expressed strongly overlapping views on their "framing" of British democracy. The female interviewee, who lived in Bangladesh until she permanently moved to the UK at the age of 23, did criticise aspects of Britain's democracy, speaking of her disillusionment over the UK parliamentary expenses scandal, the spate of sexual harassment allegations involving Members of

Parliament, and a broader point on how tax systems in the UK were "easily manipulated by the rich" while "ordinary people are left with no choice but to stick to the rules." However, she stated that overall, she was "reasonably satisfied" with how democracy worked in the UK, due to her political experiences when living in Bangladesh. The interviewee spoke of elections in Bangladesh which were "anything but free and fair", politically-motivated violence, poor election monitoring and the "vanishing of dissident journalists".

Building on this, the male interviewee of Bangladeshi origin spoke of how democracy in Britain "could not be compared" with the chronic political corruption which continues to persist in Bangladesh. He referred to instances where "thieving" politicians in Bangladesh "squandered foreign loans for social infrastructure on individual luxuries", feeling that it puts controversies such as the UK parliamentary scandal "into perspective". The interviewee also spoke of how people from ethnic minority backgrounds had reached high levels of public office in the UK – such as current Conservative Home Secretary Sajid Javid and Labour Mayor of London Sadiq Khan (both of Pakistani Muslim origin). The interviewee asked rhetorically: "Could such a thing ever happen in Bangladesh – a non-Bengali, non-Muslim person reaching such a high level in politics? Say, a Khasi Hindu or a Barua Buddhist?". When attention turned to why he moved to the UK as a 28-year-old man, he stated that the reasons "were not economic – they were more social and political. For enjoying a more stable life and providing better educational opportunities for my children. With all the strikes, political violence, social unrest, administrative inefficiencies – it took people 6-7 years to finish a standard 3-year university degree in Bangladesh."

These sentiments were also shared by an elderly interviewee of Indian origin who lived in India until he was 14 and then moved to Kenya (where he stayed until he fled for the UK at the age of 28). While he stated that British democracy could do with improvement on matters such as racial fairness and justice, and was concerned over the "over-representation of privileged people" in UK politics, he expressed the point that fleeing the politics of "Africanisation" – a "vicious black supremacist ideology" – made him naturally appreciate the basic democratic rights enjoyed in the UK. His experiences in Kenya, where "the state was intent on ruining the businesses and lives of Asian people", made him appreciate the basic political and economic rights enjoyed in Britain – such as voting in free and fair elections,

freely criticising government policy and freedom to start and grow a business. While having its shortcomings, “Britain has a democracy which, on the whole, it can be proud of.”

When interviewees were asked to describe how corrupt, incompetent and self-interested politicians as a whole were in the UK, sharper criticisms were made by participants who were born and raised in the UK (in comparison to first-generation migrants). One interviewee, a British-born woman of Caribbean descent, stated that she had no confidence in British democracy, nor was willing to put “any decent level of trust” in Parliament. Specifically referring to the current Conservative-led administration, the interviewee felt that it is “the worst British government since the days of colonialism”. Speaking on the Windrush scandal involving the UK Home Office, she said:

“I find it disgusting, but I’m not surprised – what I’m surprised about is that people had trust in Britain…England in particular cares little for people of other ethnicities. The Windrush scandal is merely a reflection of this country’s imperialist past. Non-white people – particularly Black Caribbeans - are seen by the establishment as commodities and resources – not fellow human beings.”

One interviewee summarised what much of this section of the chapter argues – that UK-born-and-raised ethnic minority people, with their exclusively British frame of reference, are more likely to have greater expectations of British democracy. The participant, a 35-year-old British-born-and-raised male of Caribbean heritage, spoke of how negative stereotypes of black people were particularly damaging for their economic prospects, and said: “When I look at other parts of the world, England isn’t that bad…but at the same time, it’s the life that I’m living. I’m here…so I’m going to look at the lives of others here, not in other countries. Democracy may be worse in other places, but I’ve lived here all my life, and it doesn’t work well for me.”

An interesting finding from the semi-structured interviews was that the first-generation migrant with the least positive evaluation of British democracy was of Black Caribbean origin. The interviewee, a female first-generation migrant of Jamaican origin, explained that the political situation in Jamaica was fairly stable since the country gained independence in August 1962, adding that “the political traditions and legal system in Jamaica are similar to

those here in Britain." Unsurprisingly, being a member of the Windrush generation, the interviewee was highly critical of the UK Government and Home Office:

"After years of working in the NHS, transport, armed forces, navy…this is how we are treated. People from the Caribbean were encouraged to move here and help rebuild the motherland after the [Second World] War – decades on, this is what happens. People being deported, deprived of access to healthcare, dying because of the stress caused by all this [reference to death of Dexter Bristol]. Caribbean people already had issues with how politics works here for their own communities – this scandal just made things a whole lot worse. It's a huge setback."

This suggests that first-generation migrants from historically politically stable countries such as Jamaica and Barbados may have greater expectations of British democracy, in comparison to individuals who have experienced political unrest and persecution in countries such as Kenya and Uganda. This in itself can account for the relatively strong levels of political disaffection among British people of black Caribbean origin.

7.6: Discussion

This chapter has presented a number of interesting findings regarding the differing social life experiences and democratic satisfaction of Britain's ethnic minorities. Challenging dominant social and political narratives, ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated into British society are less likely to be satisfied with how democracy works in the UK. The analysis helps to develop an interesting picture of the relationship between in the British ethnic minority context. Quite paradoxically, ethnic minority people who are more socially integrated are more dissatisfied with British democracy, with heightened exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes potentially undermining democratic satisfaction.

However, it is important to acknowledge that heightened exposure to discrimination can only partly explain for the seemingly paradoxical relationship between social integration and democratic dissatisfaction in the British ethnic minority context. BME people who are part of more ethnically-mixed "bridging" friendship networks are less likely to be satisfied with British democracy than those who are primarily socialise within their own ethnic group. It is unlikely that this relationship can be explained by negative interethnic contact. One perfectly plausible

explanation is that this is a natural socio-political outcome of becoming more integrated into the politically cynicism of the white British mainstream, which tends to be less trusting of democratic political institutions. This essentially implies that BME people "take on" the "critical attitudes" of the white British social mainstream as they "mix" outside of their own group.

Another plausible explanation is that as ethnic minority people become more socially integrated and develop friendships with outgroup members of society, they are more likely to use outgroupers (including friends as well as work colleagues) as a "point of reference" when evaluating how they benefit from the allocation of rewards and opportunities in the UK. Friendships often encompass the divulging of personal details, such as educational qualifications, occupational grade, promotions and salary/income. With a comprehensive body of research demonstrating the enduring nature of ethnic penalties in a UK labour market where BAME people are more likely to be underemployed and in roles not commensurate with their qualifications (Heath et al. 2013), socially integrated ethnic minority people are not only more likely to have positive contact with outgroupers – they are also more likely to use them as reference points when evaluating their own socio-economic position and career progression. This in turn heightens the possibility of developing feelings of relative deprivation - questioning the level of fairness and equality ensured by the democratic system of governance.

The findings suggest that Britain's democratic institutions and system of governance are held accountable by ethnic minority people who experience discrimination and encounter prejudice. The chapter itself helps to develop a theoretical framework for examining ethnic minority satisfaction with democracy in diverse Western democracies. Socially-integrated ethnic minority individuals who are subject to and aware of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes may hold responsible the democratic institutions who are able to introduce more robust forms of anti-discrimination rules – leading to dissatisfaction with the democratic system. The findings suggest that satisfaction with democracy in the British ethnic minority context is dependent on whether one feels the democratic system of governance is ensuring a fair, merit-based allocation of rewards and opportunities. Therefore, equality of opportunity and racial fairness are integral to ethnic minority democratic satisfaction in the British context.

Black Caribbeans, who demonstrate relatively strong levels of social integration across a range of measures (see Table 4.2), are the most likely to report racial discrimination and the least likely to report satisfaction with Britain's democratic system. Their co-racial Black African counterparts on the other hand are the most satisfied with British democracy, based on the ordinal logistic regression analysis conducted in this chapter. Bangladeshis and Pakistanis – who are also the two ethnic groups which are least likely to report racial discrimination – also report relatively high levels of democratic satisfaction. The findings for British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are all the more interesting when considering the UK's involvement in military interventions in Muslim-majority countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, along with broader ongoing debates on the supposed incompatibilities between Western liberal democratic values and conventional Islamic teachings. It is also important to note that even after controlling for a range of socio-demographic characteristics, birthplace and multiple measures of social integration, strong ethnic effects remain.

By also considering socialisation in different national contexts, this chapter contributes to the existing literature which remains conflicted over the impact of previous experiences on socio-political integration in the "host country". One view is that political trust may be lower among those who have experience of living under repressive environments, as they remain fearful of state-sponsored oppression and suspicious of established authority. Alternatively, such people could show a greater sense of appreciation for newly-acquired freedoms and the ability to participate in multiparty political systems, as such rights were not enjoyed under the political culture of origin.

The quantitative and qualitative findings do suggest that first-generation ethnic minority migrants are more likely to report democratic satisfaction than their British-born descendants, and that prior socialization in less politically stable countries plays a highly important role in producing the sharp intergenerational differences reported in this chapter. Younger people, more likely to be born and raised in the UK, appear to have higher expectations of the UK's democratic system due to their exclusively British frame of reference – and are therefore more sensitive to disappointment over how democracy works in their country of birth.

This goes some way towards explaining why Black Caribbeans are the least satisfied with British democracy. As well as being highly socially integrated and more likely to report

discrimination, Black Caribbeans are more likely to be born in the UK, with many first-generation migrants being socialised under relatively democratic and stable political systems in countries such as Jamaica and Barbados. This means wider expectations of British democracy among first-generation Black Caribbean migrants may be very different to those who have direct experience of living in countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, East African countries such as Uganda and Kenya during the brutal post-independence period of "Africanisation", and conflict-ridden places such as Somalia.

The findings across Chapters 6 and 7 provide a corrective to conventional wisdom on trust. A vast body of scholarship speaks of the fundamentally intertwined phenomena of social and political trust. That confidence in the democratic system cannot be sustained without strong levels of social trust. This well may be true – indeed, the final model presented in this chapter finds that socially trusting BAME people are more likely to report satisfaction with British democracy. But findings across the last two chapters demonstrate that the broader picture is more complex. While Chapter 6 found that social integration is positively associated with generalised social trust, this chapter finds a negative association between social integration and satisfaction with democracy – a widely-used, all-encompassing measure of political trust.

As will be discussed in more depth during the next two chapters of the thesis, this poses a dilemma for policymakers who desire a multi-ethnic, religiously diverse British society which is more socially cohesive and democratically satisfied. Social integration (particularly through friends) can be beneficial for social trust, but can also heighten perceptions of being unfairly treated – which ultimately feeds into political disaffection and dissatisfaction with the broader democratic system of governance. This clearly demonstrates the importance of treating the two as distinct socio-political attitudes in their own right. Indeed, two vital but very individual components of ethnic minority civic inclusion.

Chapter 8: Academic Contribution

8.1: Introduction

This thesis sought to develop our understanding of how patterns of social relations and intergroup contact relate to the social and political trust of Britain's ethnic minorities. Much of the political and social commentariat have made confident assertions surrounding the social life and experiences of UK's ethnic minorities, and how this in turn impacts on their trust in broader society and confidence in Britain's democratic political system. These assertions have all too often been driven by ideological convictions as opposed to rigorous methodical analysis. This mixed-methods study, driven by quantitative analysis reliant on the immensely useful 2010 EMBES and supported by complementary semi-structured interviews, provides a comprehensive response to the key questions posed earlier in this thesis. Questions which strike at the heart of debates regarding the socio-political experiences and attitudes within Britain's ever-growing and incredibly diverse ethnic minority population.

8.2: Social integration and negative intergroup contact

The racial and religious diversification of postwar Britain has fundamentally reshaped the substantive nature of British political discourse. Social unrest and tensions along ethnic (and religious) lines in modern-day Britain have thrust matters related to community cohesion and social integration into the spotlight. Numerous government-commissioned reports under both Labour and Conservative prime ministers have expressed concerns over the lack of integration of certain ethno-religious groups into society. Report authors, mainstream politicians and academics alike have warned that poor social integration outcomes among sections of the UK's ethnic minority population threaten the very cohesiveness of Britain's multi-ethnic, religiously diverse liberal democracy.

Much of the existing literature in the field of intergroup relations falls in line with the theoretical implications of contact theory. This area of social science is dominated by research which prioritise the benefits of intergroup contact – particularly when it comes to moderating innate human prejudices towards "outgroupers". However, this has undoubtedly resulted in the negative aspects of intergroup contact being under-researched in the existing interethnic relations literature. This has been demonstrated by the findings of a meta-analytical study by

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), with the underdevelopment of research on the negative aspects of intergroup contact leaving a clear gap in the existing literature (Pettigrew, 2008).

With much of the existing academic literature, mainstream politics and government-commissioned report authors extolling the virtues of social integration without considering its negative aspects, this thesis plays an important part in addressing this imbalance created by dominant academic tendencies and broader socio-political narratives in the non-academic context. This thesis finds that greater social integration, which inevitably creates more opportunities for intergroup contact, is also associated with heightened exposure to and awareness of discrimination among British ethnic minority people. Highlighting the drawbacks of social integration, this may have a negative impact on one's satisfaction with Britain's democratic system of governance - with personal experience of discrimination and heightened awareness of structural biases potentially contributing to heightened perceptions of the UK being an unfair country where the allocation of rewards is not based on merit and individual ability.

The complementary semi-structured interviews conducted for this thesis shed light on the nature and domain of discriminatory experiences – which appear to be subtler and more "thinly-veiled" in form. Being part of ethnically-mixed networks that primarily consist of "outgroupers" does carry risks of experiencing discrimination, as well as heightening awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes which persist in Britain's racially and religiously diverse society. These experiences are not confined to the competitive world of work, but also include exposure to discriminatory attitudes within one's own friendship group. This form of "excessive comfortability" builds on existing literature in the American context, which documents how African-Americans and Asian-Americans have encountered behaviours and attitudes among friends which were considered discriminatory in nature. The findings in this thesis suggest that friendship groups – traditionally viewed as a friendly, understanding source of support and encouragement – can also at times be sources of tension and misunderstanding, depending on their ethnic and religious composition.

The contributions made by the interviewees helped to provide a more detailed understanding of how social integration – mixing with other people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds – can heighten exposure to discrimination and awareness of prejudicial attitudes. Ethnic minority people who experience discrimination may not directly face

negative intergroup contact within their own ethnically-mixed workplace, friendship group, neighbourhood or civic association – but may be exposed to discrimination by being associated with outgroupers within such ethnically-mixed networks. For those who work for "mainstream firms" in the wider British labour market, this could include negative intergroup contact with customers or clients (as opposed to fellow work colleagues). People who are part of ethnically-mixed friendship groups may not face discriminatory behaviour from their friends, but can potentially encounter negative intergroup contact with their friend's relatives or partner at a social event. This highlights the complex nature of the relationship between social integration and negative intergroup contact among Britain's ethnic minorities.

Recent studies have emphasised the role of economic deprivation in reporting discrimination (along with holding feelings of relative deprivation). This includes a policy brief produced by Laia Becares, James Nazroo and Nissa Finney (CoDE/University of Manchester: 2013), which states that "living in a deprived neighbourhood is associated with experiencing discrimination." Quantitative analysis in this thesis finds that for British ethnic minority people, neighbourhood deprivation has no significant effect on reported discrimination – but finds a significant association between co-ethnicity of workplace and reported discrimination. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of considering different "domains" or "laboratories" of social contact when examining what is potentially associated with experiencing discrimination. If the data is available, different social, economic, residential and organisational networks ought to be included when research into discrimination is being conducted.

8.3: Generalised social trust

By investigating the relationship between social integration and negative intergroup contact, this thesis has played its part in addressing the relatively lopsided nature of existing research within the field of interethnic relations, which tends to prioritise the positive side-effects of interethnic contact. However, it has strived to maintain balance by adopting a well-rounded mixed-methods approach which also explored the effects of positive interethnic contact in the British ethnic minority context. This is demonstrated in Chapter 6 of the thesis, which focuses on what shapes and conditions generalised social trust among the UK's ethnic minority people. This is important in itself, as social trust tends to be explored from the "vantage point" of the native white majority in diverse Western societies (Molina et al. 2015).

A number of studies in this century have collectively identified the negative impact of ethnic diversity on the development and maintenance of social trust in the United States (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2000, 2002; Costa and Kahn, 2003; Hero, 2003; Howard et al. 2005; Putnam, 2007). These findings inevitably stimulated similar research in the British context. Over the last 10 years a number of studies have investigated the relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust in the UK (Letki 2008; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2010; Laurence, 2011; Sturgis et al., 2011). Collectively, these studies found an association between neighbourhood-level socio-economic disadvantage and lower-quality inter-ethnic relations with Laurence (2011) concluding that that neighbourhood deprivation appeared to be 'more symptomatic' of weak civic-mindedness than ethnic diversity.

This thesis found inspiration from the wealth of literature which has explored how interethnic contact can help to moderate innate prejudices towards outgroup member of society – fostering bonds of trust and mutual understanding (Savelkoul et al., 2011; Wagner et al., 2006; Schlueter and Wagner, 2008; Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010). Developing this particular area of social science research, this thesis investigated how ethnically-mixed networks, by providing greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact, can moderate the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust.

The thesis, while finding that social integration heightens exposure to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, also found that social integration has a significant positive effect on the generalised social trust of Britain's ethnic minority people. Laurence et al. (2018) found that "workplace diversity" had a generally positive effect for white British people. This thesis finds that British BAME people who are employed in ethnically-mixed workplaces – in other words socially integrated through work – are more likely to be socially trusting. This provides a corrective to prior research – predominantly in the American context – which emphasises the straining effect of ethnic diversity on social trust.

Britain's ethnic minority people who are part of social and economic "enclaves" may be insulated from racially-motivated behaviour and less aware of prejudicial attitudes, but are less socially trusting than those who are part of ethnically-mixed networks and interact more with people outside of their own ethnic group. Forms of social and economic segregation provide limited opportunities for positive intergroup contact, which in turn can breed suspicion of unfamiliar outgroupers in British society.

An important contribution made by this thesis is discovering the significant role of neighbourhood ethnic density in terms of shaping the relationship between workplace co-ethnicity and generalised social trust. A comprehensive body of British research has emphasised the role of neighbourhood deprivation in having a taxing effect on social trust, as opposed to ethnic diversity. With labour market racial discrimination continuing to be a problem in the British context, this thesis explored the possibility of people working in co-ethnically homogenous businesses having lower social trust when living in predominantly white areas. This was motivated by existing literature which suggests that the establishment of ethnic minority enterprises and disproportionately high level of BAME self-employment may in part be caused by "push factors" such as discrimination in the wider labour market. Analysis in Chapter 6 found that people in more co-ethnically homogenous workplaces have lower social trust when located in predominantly white areas.

The plausible explanation that this could partly be down to such people being rejected by local ethnic-majority employers and subsequently being "pushed" into ethnic enclave businesses is deserving of further research. Another point to be raised is that when living in white areas, working in an ethnic enclave represents a form of segregation from the local community. Whereas, in more non-white areas, working in a co-ethnically homogenous place of work is perhaps reflective of the wider local community, meaning there is not such a detachment (which helps to produce more positive social trust outcomes).

Similar to the case with reported discrimination, the strength of thesis lies in its "disaggregating" tendencies. The existing literature on social trust – perhaps a reflection of the type of data available for quantitative analysis – is overwhelmingly "neighbourhood-centric"[7]. This thesis shows that ethnic composition of friendship group and workplace is vitally important when examining the social trust of British ethnic minorities. While neighbourhood deprivation has featured prominently in British studies which explore what

[7] In the majority of models presented in the thesis, the neighbourhood-level deprivation and ethnic density independent variables were non-significant. Alternative models including specific-group population density variables (i.e. % Black Caribbean in LSOA) and ethnic group*ethnic group neighbourhood density interactions (i.e. ethnic group*Indian population density, ethnic group*Pakistani population density, and so on) for racial discrimination, religious discrimination, generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction, were also run. These interactions delivered no statistically significant findings/patterns of note.

has a taxing effect on social trust, it holds little to no importance in Chapter 6 and the thesis as a whole.

8.4: Satisfaction with Democracy

The central point of investigation of this thesis was looking at how patterns of social relations and intergroup contact may interact differently with social and political trust in the British ethnic minority context. This in itself directly challenges the conventional wisdom within a comprehensive body of literature which regards social and political trust as fundamentally intertwined phenomena (Rosenberg, 1956; 1957; Lane, 1959; Misztal, 1996; Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Dalton, 2004; Zmerli and Newton, 2008).

This thesis argues that while social integration can have a positive impact on generalised social trust due to greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact, the heightened exposure to and awareness of discrimination means social integration is negatively associated with satisfaction with democracy. This could be partly down to attribution of responsibility for discriminatory experiences being towards the existing system of democratic governance, as opposed to broader British society. It is the existing system of governance, which includes democratic law-making institutions such as Parliament, which is expected to ensure a fair, merit-based allocation of opportunities and rewards.

This thesis represents a break from much of the recent literature on what shapes and conditions satisfaction with democracy. This dominant strand of literature focuses on the relationship between electoral outcomes and vote choice, and how this association impacts on democratic satisfaction in advanced industrial societies. Other prominent strands of literature on democratic satisfaction looks at how individual-level socio-economic resources and macro-level economic evaluations relate to satisfaction with democracy. The latter includes studies of how macro-level economic performance impacts on satisfaction with democratically-elected institutions. These studies tend to be cross-national in terms of their level of analysis, as opposed to exploring levels of democratic satisfaction within specific ethnic groups.

Chapter 7 adopts a rather different approach to examining democratic satisfaction. Turning the attention away from electoral outcomes and evaluations of the democratic system in delivering economic prosperity, this thesis examines how patterns of social relations and

intergroup contact impact on democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context. As already discussed, the positive effects of intergroup contact are well-documented in the field in interethnic relations. However, this has led to the underdevelopment of research devoted to exploring the effects of negative intergroup contact – primarily in the form of discrimination (Pettigrew, 2008). By examining how social integration can heighten exposure to and awareness of discrimination, and how this in turn may undermine democratic satisfaction in the British ethnic minority context, the thesis makes a worthy contribution to the existing relevant literature on the effects of intergroup relations and interethnic contact.

The central finding of this thesis is that while social integration is beneficial for building generalised social trust among social trust, it heightens exposure to and awareness of discrimination, which in turn feeds into democratic dissatisfaction. When considering attribution of responsibility for discriminatory experiences, this thesis claims that exposure to negative intergroup contact and awareness of prejudicial attitudes **do not** seriously undermine trust in people living in broader society, but rather**, erodes satisfaction with the democratic system of governance**. The relationship between social integration and dissatisfaction with the democratic system challenges conventional wisdom in the existing relevant literature. Bridging ties and ethnically-mixed relations have previously been identified as potentially important facilitators of "political incorporation", providing access to knowledge on mainstream politics and entry into mainstream pressure groups (Heath et al. 2013). In this thesis, having a job in an ethnically-mixed workplace and being part of an ethnically-mixed friendship network are both significantly associated with a lower likelihood of reporting democratic satisfaction.

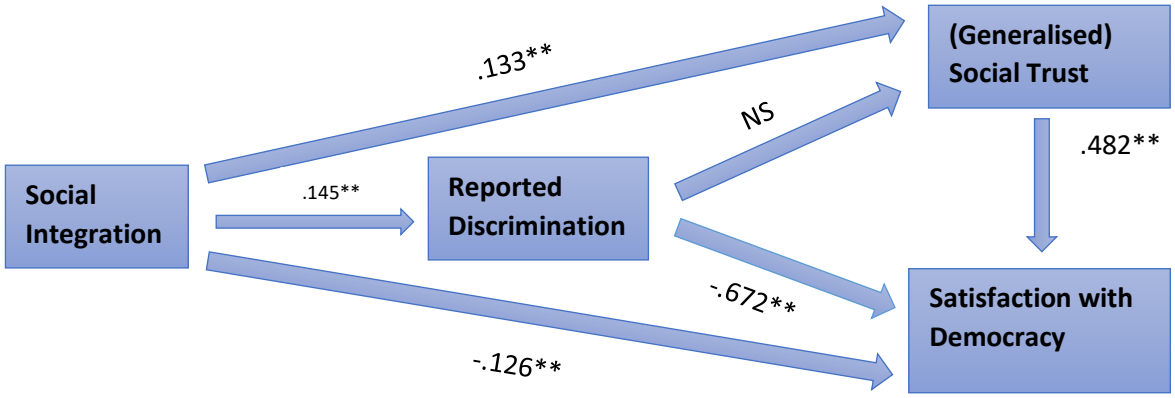
Quite interestingly, ethnic minority people who are socially and occupationally segregated are less likely to be socially trusting, but more likely to be satisfied with how democracy works in the UK. People who work in predominantly co-ethnic workplaces and are part of more ingroup friendship networks – individuals seemingly "detached" from the social and economic mainstream - are more likely to report democratic satisfaction.

8.5: Direction for future research

As well as making an important research contribution in its own right, this thesis also paves the way for future research in the broader field of ethnic studies. The central finding of the

thesis – that while social integration can provide opportunities for positive intergroup contact which are beneficial for generalised social trust, it also heightens exposure to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes which can feed into forms of political disaffection – is something which can be explored and tested for other ethnically-diverse Western societies. Are African-Americans who are more integrated in mainstream American society and highly socially mixed with people of majority-white ancestry, more socially trusting but less satisfied with democratic institutions than African-Americans who are part of predominantly co-ethnic social and employment networks? Are French people of North African and West African descent less socially trusting but more satisfied with French republican secular democracy when they mix less with outgroupers – specifically people of white European ancestry? If not, why are these relationships proven in the British context, but do not apply in other countries? Figure 8.1 below does not only present a path diagram of the main findings presented in this thesis – it also provides a framework for "ethnic minority civic inclusion" to be researched in other ethnically diverse national contexts.

Figure 8.1: Path Diagram of Main Thesis Findings (with co-efficients)



The thesis also found strong intergenerational divides in generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction between first-generation migrants born abroad and their British-born-and-raised BAME counterparts. Indeed, an important contribution of this thesis is potentially identifying the role of socialisation in other countries in influencing levels of social trust among ethnic minority people living in the "host country" – in this case, the UK. Much

of the focus in the existing literature on social trust as focused on the effect of neighbourhood-level ethnic diversity and economic deprivation, individual-level socio-economic resources, and the general frequency and quality of intergroup contact. This mixed-methods thesis, focusing on Britain's ethnic minorities, explored the role of socialisation abroad in shaping generalised social trust in the British context, finding that first-generation migrants generally feel safer and are more socially trusting than their British-born counterparts. Reasons cited in the semi-structured interviews include comparatively weak law and order and chronic levels of corruption among police officials in their country of birth, with Britain's robust legal system and police helping to keep people "in check", which in turn enables one to be more socially trusting. In comparison, British-born people feel less safe, have more negative perceptions of the police and are less socially trusting than first-generation migrants.

This thesis drew inspiration from existing literature which discusses how socialisation under less stable and undemocratic political cultures in the country of origin, can lead to more positive orientations towards more democratic "host" systems (Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2006; Pietsch, 2018; Portes and Mozo, 1985; Arvizu and Garcia, 1996; DiSipio, 1996; Greeley, 1974). This thesis finds that as well as being more socially trusting, first-generation migrants are more politically trusting and more satisfied with British democracy than British-born ethnic minority people.

Factors which are responsible for this intergenerational divide include sharply negative perceptions of political systems/regimes in country of origin and enjoyment of newly-acquired political and economic freedoms upon resettlement in the UK – with those born and raised in the UK having little to no experience of living abroad and reporting harsher evaluations of elected British politicians and the democratic process in general. The findings across Chapter 6 and 7 can inspire research into intergenerational divides in social and political trust among ethnic minorities in other countries. An interesting case study could be looking at levels of social and political trust among first-generation and second-generation ethnic minority people of Balkan descent living in Switzerland, with a wave of Balkan-born people fleeing for Switzerland as a result of the mass social unrest, political persecution and ethnic cleansing associated with the Yugoslav and Kosovo Wars.

An interesting theory which has developed in the field of ethnic studies is the "integration paradox". This represent an alternative strand of literature which suggests that higher education and being more "structurally integrated" can heighten awareness of and exposure to discrimination (Buijs et al. 2006; Entzinger and Dourleijn, 2008), meaning that well-resourced, better-educated ethnic minorities 'turn away' from the host society as opposed to having a strong positive orientation towards it (Verkuyten, 2016). Including educational attainment as an independent variable throughout the quantitative analysis, the thesis has also made strides in testing the relevance of the integration paradox in the British ethnic minority context.

Supporting the central theoretical implication of the integration paradox, Chapter 5 found a significant positive relationship between education level and reported ethno-racial discrimination. However, there is little evidence of higher-educated ethnic minority people psychologically "turning away" from the UK. To the contrary, in Chapter 6, there is evidence of higher educational attainment being associated with a greater likelihood of being socially trusting, while there are no significant effects to report between education level and satisfaction with British democracy in Chapter 7. Therefore, the applicability of the integration paradox is somewhat limited in the British context. Future research could examine the applicability of the integration paradox in other majority-white countries with sizeable non-white ethnic minority groups.

This thesis has made an invaluable contribution in terms of broadening our understanding of how patterns of social relations and intergroup contact relate to generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction among British ethnic minorities. It has developed an under-researched area of intergroup studies by investigating exposure to negative intergroup contact and its subsequent effects and exploring how social integration interacts differently with social and political trust.

The findings of the thesis open interesting avenues for future academic research which has the potential to further bolster scholastic understanding of ethnic minority socio-political behaviour and attitudes in diverse industrial societies. They also highlight the serious challenges faced by policymakers and practitioners who aspire to create both a socially cohesive and democratically satisfied society. The following and final chapter discusses the policy implications of the thesis findings.

Chapter 9: Policy Implications

9.1: Introduction

The main findings presented in this thesis provide important implications for integration policy in the British context. Policymakers and practitioners who are concerned with ethnic minority integration and associated areas of public policy should take heed of the main findings presented in this thesis. These findings, while providing a degree of support for some long-standing integration policies, also help to identify where policy reforms are urgently required in order to facilitate the civic inclusion of Britain's incredibly diverse ethnic minority population. These policy proposals are made with this central question in mind: how do we create a more socially cohesive society where our non-white minorities have greater confidence in the democratic system of governance's ability to ensure a fairer, merit-based allocation of rewards?

The UK's political history includes the passage of race relations legislation, the creation of state-funded racial equality bodies, and the government-commissioning of reports which have identified ethno-racial penalties in the labour market and institutional racism within our police forces. In comparison to countries such as France, where the "colour-blind" universalistic republican state is ideologically opposed to collecting data on the grounds of race, ethnicity and religion, UK has been relatively active in investigating socio-economic and political inequalities on these grounds. Despite this, discrimination and inequality of opportunity remain strong concerns for much of the UK's socio-economically stratified, ethnically and religiously diverse non-white population.

Britain's ever-growing ethnic minority section of the national population is incredibly diverse in a number of ways. There are clear and significant differences between co-racial ethnic minority groups when it comes to reporting self-reported discrimination (and on which grounds it takes place), trust in political actors and satisfaction with the democratic system of governance. These means that despite sharing similar physical characteristics and fitting into broad but ultimately simplistic racial categories, the overall needs and grievances of co-racial ethnic minority groups may sharply differ.

As well as being diverse in terms of ethnic background and religious affiliation, self-reported discriminatory experiences and socio-political attitudes differ on the basis of gender, age,

birthplace and in some cases, educational attainment. These socio-demographic characteristics matter in many of the models presented in this thesis. This means that a more granular and sophisticated policy approach – whether it is developing new mechanisms for the labour market integration of ethnic minority people or creating anti-discrimination initiatives designed to strengthen confidence in the democratic system of governance – is needed. The methodologically robust findings presented in this thesis demonstrate, in the strongest terms, that the UK's "ethnic minority population" is anything but a homogenous bloc. Therefore, "one-size-fits-all" policy approaches which are designed with a simplistic "BAME" framework are unlikely to be successful in addressing the diversity of needs and concerns across UK's non-white ethnic minority groups.

This final chapter provides an overview of integration policy in the British context, identifying strengths and areas in need of reform and improvement. Many of the policy themes under review in this chapter have been the subject of both quantitative analysis and qualitative research conducted for this thesis. Fairness, equality of opportunity, social trust, community cohesion, trust in politicians, confidence in the democratic system and process: these are all important themes to consider when examining and discussing the civic inclusion of Britain's non-white ethnic minorities.

While the previous chapter fleshed out the academic contributions made by the thesis, this concluding chapter seeks to move ongoing relevant policy debates forward in an evidence-led, non-ideological manner. It is structured as follows. First, I examine the ongoing policy debate on labour market discrimination in the UK. Second, I explain how the findings from this thesis help to move forward debates on community cohesion in Britain's multi-ethnic, religiously diverse society. Third, I analyse how the findings of the thesis add value to existing debates on democratic satisfaction and trust in political institutions among British ethnic minority groups. This includes discussion of the ongoing Windrush scandal and state-community relations in policing and counter-terrorism. The thesis concludes with a summary which ties together these strands of discussion.

9.2: Labour market discrimination

There is a vast body of scholarship and government-commissioned reports on ethno-racial economic inequalities and discriminatory practices in the British labour market. These range from quantitative studies ethnic group differences in employment and pay (Bell and Casebourne, 2008; Li et al. 2008; Rafferty, 2012; Zwysen and Longhi 2016), to qualitative resume field studies which explore discriminatory practices in the interview invitation process (Jowell and Prescott-Clarke, 1970; Brown and Gay, 1985). This includes a recent study by experts belonging to the Centre for Social Investigation at Nuffield College, Oxford, which found that British blacks and South Asians continued to face "shocking" labour market discrimination at levels unchanged since the late 1960s (Heath and Di Stasio, 2019).

Commenting on the findings, report co-author Professor Anthony Heath stated:

"The absence of any real decline in discrimination against black British and people of Pakistani background is a disturbing finding, which calls into question the effectiveness of previous policies. Ethnic inequality remains a burning injustice and there needs to be a radical rethink about how to tackle it."

The general consensus established is that ethnic penalties continue to persist in the British labour market – challenging the view that there is a meritocratic allocation of rewards and opportunities in the UK's market economy. Much of the research in this thesis has looked at "domains" and "laboratories" of social integration and how they are associated with *self-reported* discrimination. Again, there is an important distinction to be drawn between some of the aforementioned studies, which focus on statistical labour market outcomes (employment rates, level of under-employment, pay gaps, ethnic-group differences in interview invitation), and this thesis, which looks at self-reported measures of discrimination. There is also the added value of the semi-structured interviews, which collected in-depth, personal accounts from BAME respondents and their experiences in the workplace.

The quantitative research conducted in Chapter 5 of the thesis found that British non-white people who are more socially integrated through work are more likely to report discrimination (specifically ethno-racial discrimination). This consists of BAME workers who are employed in workplaces **where none or only a few of their co-workers belong to the same ethnic group**. Much of the recent research has been CV-based field studies which

identify clear racial and ethnic inequalities in the interview invitation process (despite circulated resumés being identical in terms of skills, qualifications and work experience). and this is very much in line with much research from the Netherlands which tends to emphasise pre-entry over post-entry discrimination (Andriessen et al. 2007; 2012). However, this thesis, through robust quantitative analysis complemented by semi-structured interviews, finds that post-entry discrimination in ethnically-mixed workplaces is a particularly important issue when examining the broader discriminatory experiences of non-white people living in the UK.

The workplace is an especially critical "laboratory" of social integration for British ethnic minorities. Much of the social and political commentariat has championed the benefits of social integration: breaking down barriers, combating negative stereotypes and developing bonds of trust, mutual understanding and respect through increased familiarity (this will be discussed in more depth later in Section 9.2). It is rational to suppose that ethnically-mixed friendship groups in the UK are unlikely to be an arena for discriminatory experiences. Indeed, this is shown by the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 5. Friends are usually sources of enjoyment and support, with diverse networks having the potential to strengthen broader community cohesion. It should be noted that there is also a strong degree of self-selection. People have considerable freedom when it comes to withdrawing from unhealthy relationships and shaping their own friendship network.

However, it is entirely plausible that increased intergroup contact heightens the probability of experiencing racial discrimination in the workplace. People have far less control over their employment network; co-workers are not personally selected. Meanwhile, withdrawing oneself from a stressful workplace is far more difficult due to the everyday reality of financial obligations. In a world of performance-related assessments and internal promotion opportunities, intense competition characterises much of Britain's market economy. This competitiveness is naturally further complicated by the multi-ethnic, religiously diverse nature of the UK's labour market. Therefore, workplaces in the UK which are ethnically mixed, but include smaller groups of co-ethnic people, tend to be where discrimination is felt most strongly.

This reality will be a particularly worry for policymakers and practitioners who have correctly identified the potential for socio-economic progression among BAME people who manage to "break out" of low-wage, low-opportunity "enclaves" and enter the mainstream labour

market. While previous studies have suggested that occupationally segregated BAME people are "pushed into" ethnic economic enclaves due to employer discrimination in the wider labour market, they do appear to be better insulated against the discrimination experienced by non-white counterparts in more ethnically-mixed workplaces. While much research in both the UK and other countries such as the Netherlands emphasise pre-entry labour market discrimination, **ethnic minority people who are not economically active (unemployed or not in work) are those who are least likely to report discrimination.**

The findings highlight the complexities attached to social integration. Britain's multi-ethnic, religiously diverse labour market poses a challenge for the existing system of governance. The obvious question that the thesis research invites is: what can employers do to make ethnically mixed workplaces safe and inclusive environments for BAME people? After the passage of race relations legislation and the creation of pro-equality initiatives over decades, how does the British state respond to the unfortunate reality that being socially integrated through work is strongly associated with reported discrimination among its ethnic minority people?

There are wider implications to these findings. It is well-established that discriminatory behaviours and prejudicial attitudes are affecting procedures for interview selection – otherwise known as the "callback phase". This gives rise to the inevitable question: are these behaviours and attitudes going to vanish once one navigates the interview process and is recruited?

Omar Khan, director of leading race equality think-tank Runnymede Trust, presented the dilemma in a recent Guardian article (2019):

"If it is that hard to secure a job interview just because of your name, it makes you wonder: if you ever do manage to get a job, are those same employers going to magically drop prejudices and treat you fairly in your appraisal, pay-rise request, or disciplinary procedure?".

British Prime Ministers, both past and present, have sought to make inroads in addressing discrimination in the UK labour market. Former PM David Cameron sought to introduce a level playing field by launching a blind CV equality initiative. A number of large employers signed up to the name-blind recruitment drive, including the BBC, HSBC, KPMG and much of the civil service. Indeed, Cameron's efforts to "decontaminate the Tory brand" through anti-discrimination initiatives have been credited for the Conservative Party's impressive

performance among ethnic minority – specifically Indian-origin – voters in the 2015 UK General Election (Ehsan, 2018). Current PM Theresa May has recently unveiled plans to address "ethnicity pay gaps" following a race disparity audit which investigated ethnic and racial inequalities in the labour market, police practices, the court system and the provision of public goods and services. But the alarming findings of recent research, including the findings presented in this thesis, suggest that stronger action needs to be taken by the British state to get to grips with workplace discrimination and ethnic penalties in the UK labour market.

Name-blind recruitment drives are welcome but are by no means a panacea. While it is an important stage of the path towards recruitment, it is vital to maintain perspective by not overly concentrating on invitations to interview (the "callback" phase). Indeed, Quillian et al. (2018) ask: "How adequate is our understanding of racial discrimination in the hiring process based on an assessment of differences in callback rates, when the ultimate subject of interest is discrimination in job offers?". Their statistical meta-analytical study, which includes 12 studies totalling more than 8,300 job applications, finds significant additional discrimination in post-callback hiring procedures. Ethnic-majority applicants in the sample received 52% more "callbacks" than similar-level ethnic minority applicants, but receive **128% more job offers than comparable applicants from ethnic minority groups**.

While these findings are most disturbing for those genuinely interested in creating a more level playing field in ethnically diverse labour market, they represent a potential "over-emphasis" on **pre-entry forms of employment discrimination**. Quantitative analysis finds that BAME people employed in workplaces where a small proportion of co-workers belong to their own ethnic group, are more likely to report discrimination than both those who are occupationally segregated in predominantly co-ethnic places of work, and ethnic minority people who are not economically active at all. Therefore, post-entry labour market discrimination is of critical importance in the British context. Name-blind CV initiatives may be perfectly well-intentioned but are unlikely to make a meaningful impact in terms of reducing wider discriminatory behaviours and practices in the workplace.

The findings of the thesis suggest that a firmer approach needs to be adopted by policymakers and practitioners if workplace discrimination is to be tackled more effectively in Britain's multi-ethnic, religiously diverse society. In the words of Dr Omar Khan, in order to truly

address the persistence and degree of racial (and religious) discrimination in the British labour market, “we need to go beyond a carrot and compliance approach – and use sticks or disincentives too” (Khan, 2019). Suggesting that there is scope for more “sanctioning measures” within existing race relations and equality law, Khan proposes a strengthening of the powers of the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

In this context, it is important to understand the potential implications of recent government policy, such as cuts to legal aid and restricted access to employment tribunals. Reversal of these policies would empower BAME employees who are firmly of the view that they have experienced discrimination in the workplace on the grounds of their race, ethnicity and/or religion. Currently, bringing such cases forward is likely to involve great personal financial costs. Due to the rollback of legal aid and tightened access to employment tribunals, the risk of firms and companies having such cases brought against them have been reduced. This understandably gives rise to the possibility that as a result of these policies, employers are now under less pressure to uproot discriminatory behaviours and attitudes in the workplace. Therefore, a re-balancing of power in labour market relations is most critical in this context.

While this could be interpreted as “anti-business”, the introduction of stronger financial penalties for employers in the event of losing racial and religious discrimination cases in court/employment tribunals ought to be entertained. In addition to this, a public, highly-publicised database listing all UK-based businesses, firms and employers who have lost racial and religious discrimination cases should be created, established and kept up to date by the UK Government. This could include the “naming and shaming” of specific individuals who were directly implicated in discriminatory practices, along with “higher-up” management responsible for the internal handling such grievances (which eventually became racial/religious discrimination cases in the courts/tribunals where the ruling was in favour of the complainant). This could be considered a “Labour Market Discrimination Register” of sorts. While these are admittedly strong-handed measures, it is clear that labour market discrimination in the UK will not be tackled effectively without more robust forms of state intervention.

Policymakers in recent times have placed an excessive amount of faith in “self-correcting” market mechanisms. The notion that labour market discrimination would, over time, give away to the unbridled prioritisation of talent and skill in the name of maximised economic

success, has proven itself to be a flawed one. Labour market discrimination is not only deeply undesirable from a moral perspective; it is also financially costly for the UK as a whole. A government-commissioned review by Conservative Party peer Baroness Ruby McGregor-Smith estimated the national cost of racial discrimination in the labour market to be in the region of £24 billion a year (McGregor-Smith, 2017). This astronomical national cost of labour market discrimination, both pre-entry and post-entry, represents a fundamental market failure which highlights the need for stronger government intervention in this area of public policy.

While the policy proposals discussed broadly apply to non-white British workers in the UK labour market, it is important to recognise trends and variations in the nature of discriminatory experiences across different ethnic minority groups. Labour market discrimination can be perceived and reported on a number of grounds: race, ethnicity, skin colour, religion, accent, culture and so forth. Specific forms of labour market discrimination may be more prevalent within certain ethnic minority groups – and it is important to acknowledge and understand these nuances in order to implement an effective and comprehensive anti-discrimination policy. One which commands broad-based support across the UK's multi-ethnic and religiously diverse BAME population.

The 25 semi-structured interviews conducted for the thesis helped to gain a more critical understanding of how primary concerns related to the UK labour market may differ between non-white ethnic minority groups. British-born Black Caribbean respondents shared a common concern over "negative stereotypes" of young black people (specifically men) among employers across the UK labour market. At the heart of this stereotype is the **"sweeping generalisation" of young black men being "lazy", "flaky", "unprofessional" and possessing a natural willingness to "break rules and look for shortcuts".** The interviewees all expressed the view that media representations of young black people feed into such negative perceptions, which in turn "close doors" and stunt the socio-economic progression of younger people of Black Caribbean origin.

Co-racial participants of Black African origin also expressed this sort of concerns, but this was not by any means their primary concern when articulating their grievances associated with the UK labour market. One female interviewee, born and raised in Nigeria, spoke of the problem of qualifications obtained in Africa being "poorly valued" by UK employers. Despite

African educational institutions usually providing course material and conducting examinations in English, the interviewee stated that “British employers look at these achievements – hard-earned achievements - as if they are “Mickey Mouse” qualifications. It is dispiriting. Nobody can fully complete these courses without good English writing and speaking skills.”

This perceived attitude of UK employers could, understandably, be the result of the prevalence of institutional corruption and bribery across much of the African continent. However, this particular issue associated with labour market integration is likely to disproportionately affect UK Black Africans as they are a more “recently-arrived” ethnic minority group (meaning they are more likely to have obtained qualifications from their country/continent of origin). Therefore, foreign qualification recognition is a particular policy concern for members of the UK’s Black African population. If the UK has ambitions to successfully integrate all members of its BAME population, this must include developing a more sophisticated “harmonisation of qualifications” system in collaboration with educational ministries and authorities in important “sender” countries.

There are also important differences that need to be recognised in the labour market experiences of the three main subcontinental ethnic groups in the UK – British Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. UK Indians, by and large, are an economic success story (particularly in comparison to the other two South Asian ethnic groups). British Indians are more likely to be salaried professionals, with women being more likely to be economically active in general. Group differences in female employment may be related to the cultural interpretation of gender roles within specific communities (Ehsan, 2018). However, despite being collectively well-educated and upwardly mobile, much of the British Indian community remain disillusioned with the allocation of rewards and opportunities at the “higher-end” the UK labour market.

It is what Professor Shamit Saggar has called the “glass ceiling” for an ever-growing class of highly-professionalised, affluent British Indians. Indeed, this sentiment was shared by two retirees of Indian origin who had long-term careers - in the engineering and manufacturing sectors respectively. In their individual semi-structured interviews, both expressed a deep sense of pride in the economic success of British Indians, but also felt that socio-economic progress could be even stronger if there was less racial discrimination in the allocation of

higher-level, higher-reward directorial and managerial positions. Emerging research suggests that concerns over access to higher-level, high-reward roles in the UK labour market are likely to be a particularly strong among British Indians – a relatively well-resourced and upwardly mobile ethnic minority group where grievances over workplace racial discrimination very much remain.

Despite being co-racial South Asian counterparts, sharp differences can be drawn between British Indians and the UK's Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups in regards to labour market experiences and socio-economic integration. UK Indians are more likely to be in higher-level professional, managerial and administrative positions than their British co-racial counterparts of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis remain relatively well-concentrated in occupationally segregated, low-skilled parts of the transportation and hospitality sectors. While there are encouraging signs of socio-economic progression among British-born migrants, both groups, as a whole, lag some way behind British Indians in terms of labour market integration.

In regards to self-reported discrimination, there are important differences to recognise between the UK's three main South Asian groups. Quantitative analysis presented in this thesis finds that British Indians are more likely to report ethno-racial discrimination than British people of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin. This is supported by the semi-structured interviews, where participants of Indian origin usually discussed discriminatory experiences on the grounds of their race/ethnicity (as opposed to religion). Alternatively, the majority-Muslim British Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups are far more likely to report religious discrimination than their co-racial UK Indian counterparts.

While British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis share concerns over racial discrimination in the workplace, emerging research suggests that religious discrimination – specifically towards Muslim individuals – is also very much an issue in the UK labour market. A recent study by the BBC found that a job seeker with an English-sounding name ("Adam Henton") was offered three times the number of interviews than an applicant with a Muslim name ("Mohamed Allam") – despite the CVs sent containing identical qualifications, skills and work experience (Adesina and Marocico, 2017). Upon analysing the London-based findings, Professor Tariq Modood (University of Bristol) concluded that the results were "worse than I thought" (ibid.). The new Centre for Social Investigation report found that high levels of labour market

discrimination towards applicants from Muslim-majority countries of origin echoed "strong anti-Muslim attitudes recorded in recent surveys" (Siddique, 2019). The findings of the report suggested that CV discrimination appeared to be particularly strong towards "MENA" applicants (people of a Middle Eastern or North African background).

This "Muslim penalty" in the British labour market naturally has a disproportionately negative effect for certain non-white ethnic minority groups in the UK. British Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, with Islamic affiliation rates well above 95%, are far more likely to be affected by anti-Muslim attitudes in the UK labour market, in comparison to their co-racial British Indian counterparts. According to 2011 Census figures, less than 15% of English and Welsh residents of Indian origin identified as Muslim. Labour market discrimination towards UK Muslims are also far more likely to negative impact on the socio-economic progression of British Black Africans in comparison to co-racial people of Caribbean origin. Common countries of origin for UK Black Africans include near-universally Muslim Somalia, along with West African countries such as Nigeria and Ghana – both of which have sizeable Muslim populations.

This in itself shows how certain penalties in the UK labour market may impact differently on co-racial ethnic minority groups. While racial discrimination was reported to be far more of a concern than religious discrimination for British non-white Muslims in the past, growing evidence of a "Muslim penalty" suggests that more robust anti-discrimination rules on the grounds of religion ought to be introduced. As well as this view being articulated with Luton-based ethnic minority Muslims in the semi-structured interviews, findings of CV-based field experiments provide evidence that job applicants with Islamic-sounding names are treated unfairly by British employers in the mainstream labour market. Therefore, alongside name-blind recruitment drives, measures addressing post-entry religious discrimination – perhaps the creation of a corresponding "UK Labour Market Religious Discrimination Register" (constructed on the same basis as a "racial discrimination cases" database) could help to curb anti-Muslim behaviours and attitudes in the British workplace.

9.3: Community Cohesion and Social Trust

While this thesis found a significant association between social integration – particularly through work – and heightened likelihood of reporting discrimination, it also found that socially integrated BAME people are more likely to be socially trusting as a whole. These two

findings have a number of important implications. Through social integration, individuals coming into more contact with others of the different ethnic background – thus heightening their exposure to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes. But by virtue of being socially integrated, such individuals also benefit from **greater opportunities for positive intergroup contact** – in which turn fosters the building of social trust. While socially and occupationally segregated BAME people are less likely to report discrimination as a result of being "insulated" in their predominantly co-ethnic networks, they have limited opportunities for positive contact with others outside of their own ethnic group. With this lack of positive interethnic contact breeding suspicions of the "unknown", socially segregated BAME people are less likely to be socially trusting.

This suggests that positive interethnic contact through ethnically-mixed networks can counterbalance the potentially negative effects of discrimination on social trust. The central findings across Chapter 5 and 6 suggest that while a degree of conflict is likely – indeed inevitable – greater interethnic contact can be positive for the social trust of BAME people. Negative intergroup contact – whether in the form of blatant discrimination, subtler micro-aggressions, casual flippant remarks or unfortunate misunderstandings borne out of ignorance and misinformation – appear to be part and parcel of being a socially integrated BAME individual living in the UK. However, the opportunities for positive meaningful contact which cut across ethnic groups are most beneficial in terms of being able to place trust in others – including those of a different ethnicity. Socialising and working with those belonging to the same ethnic group may "shield" individuals from hostile and unsavoury forms of interethnic contact, but achieves little in terms of developing broad-based social trust as a whole.

The findings of this thesis offer strong support to a number of government-commissioned reports which have looked into what builds – or undermines – social cohesion in the UK's ethnically diverse, multi-religious society. Cross-group contact – also termed as "social mixing" – has long been identified as an important path towards stronger community cohesion. This sentiment is strongly expressed in two major government-commissioned reviews into social cohesion and the effects of interethnic contact – the 2001 Cantle report commissioned under "New Labour" and the 2016 Casey report commissioned under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. Spanning over a period of 15 years, many of the key

findings of the 2001 Cantle report are echoed by the 2016 Casey report. Both reports identify social, economic and residential segregation as major impediments to community cohesion in urban, diverse parts of Britain. The 2001 Cantle presented the view that intergroup tensions could be addressed through greater interethnic contact:

"In order to combat the fear and ignorance of different communities which stems from the lack of contact with each other, we propose that each area should prepare a ***local community cohesion plan*** *as a significant component of its Community Strategy.*

This should ***include the promotion of cross-cultural contact*** *between different communities at all levels,* ***foster understanding and respect****, and break down barriers."*

The general view of the Cantle report on the role of interethnic contact in potentially strengthening social trust was supported by the Casey report:

"There is strong evidence around the benefits that can derive from high levels of meaningful contact between people of different backgrounds...social mixing can increase trust and understanding between groups…a lack of mixing can increase community tensions and risk of conflict."

This thesis supports the central view of both reports – that greater social mixing can heighten opportunities for positive interethnic contact which are beneficial for social trust. Indeed, this thesis presents results which suggest that being part of an ethnically-mixed social and economic networks is particularly beneficial for social trust. There are also results which suggest that the negative impact of discrimination on generalised social trust is more severe when ethnic minority people are socially and residentially segregated - meaning they have little to no opportunity for meaningful positive intergroup contact. The analysis in this thesis found that unemployment is strongly associated with lower generalised social trust in the ethnic minority context. Policymakers and practitioners who share concerns over community cohesion in urban parts of the UK would do well to take heed of the fact that among ethnic minority people, it is individuals who may attribute their unemployed status to labour market discrimination who may hold the weakest levels of social trust.

Britain's ethnic minority people who are part of social and economic "enclaves" may be insulated from racially-motivated behaviour and less aware of prejudicial attitudes, but are

less socially trusting than those who are part of ethnically-mixed networks and interact more with people outside of their own ethnic group. Forms of social segregation restrict opportunities for positive intergroup contact, which in turn can breed suspicion of unfamiliar "outgroupers" in British society. Supported by rigorous quantitative analysis presented in this thesis, policymakers in the UK ought to consider how this finding potentially relates to the long-standing ethno-communitarian approach to UK schools policy – one which spans across governments of different party colours.

Under "New Labour", a "faith schools revolution" saw the proliferation of educational institutions affiliated to a particular religion/religious denomination. Part of a broader agenda of state-sponsored multiculturalism, the UK witnessed the rise of faith schools affiliated to "minority religions" such as Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism – usually established in urban parts of the UK with relatively high BAME populations. This trend very much continued under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition under former PM David Cameron. The Coalition's enthusiastic promotion of "free schools" and "academies" precipitated a sharp rise in faith-based educational institutions which are free to select pupils on the grounds of their religious affiliation.

The findings presented in this thesis and a number of government-commissioned reports suggest that the segregationist nature of faith schools is unlikely to be constructive in terms of developing long-term sustainable social cohesion among younger sections of the UK's multi-ethnic, religiously diverse population. This strikes at the heart of the debate over the functions of schooling in the UK. Should schools have considerable freedom to select its pupils on religious grounds? Are schools simply seen as "suppliers" of academic education? Or do we prefer schools to also act as an inter-cultural forum which helps to foster cross-group understanding, tolerance and respect from a young age? If policymakers are indeed aware of the fact that social segregation inhibits the development of social trust, why has there been cross-party support for ethno-communitarianism in British school policy?

Both the 2001 Cantle and 2016 Casey reports expressed concerns over the segregationist and potentially divisive nature of faith schools in the UK. The 2001 report was commissioned by the then Labour government shortly after riots in Bradford and Blackburn – primarily between white British and South Asian people. The report speaks of segregated communities living "parallel lives", which in turn foster feelings of suspicion and uncertainty of "the other". In a

following report, Professor Cantle stated that a number of faith schools in the UK were "automatic sources of social division" (Cantle, 2005). Despite former PM David Cameron stating that all faith-based free schools and academics must allocate half of their pupil places without reference to faith, the more recent Casey report found that a substantial proportion of such institutions were, in a sense, laboratories of ethnic segregation:

"Sikh, Muslim and Hindu free schools do not seem to be ethnically diverse despite the 50% admissions rule – although many are located in wards with a high proportion of minority ethnic pupils and are therefore relatively close to the overall ethnic make-up of the local ward"

Going on to note:

"…the Free Schools policy on admissions appears not to have been having a positive effect on integration, with new minority faith schools in areas with existing high levels of segregation in schools being allowed to grow."

Understanding the association between religion and ethnicity is especially important when considering the socially segregationist nature of faith schools. Hindu and Sikh "free schools" and academies are very likely to have high intakes of pupils of Indian origin. Conversely, a substantial number of Muslim faith schools are heavily concentrated with pupils of Bangladeshi and Pakistani (South Asian) origin. While there may be provisions for schools to make no reference to faith for a section of their admissions, people who do not follow the stated minority faith are unlikely to send their child to that institution (i.e. a non-Muslim family sending their child to an Islamic faith school). It should also be noted that private faith schools are given considerable autonomy when it comes to student admissions and curriculum content. This is particularly important when one considers that only a small proportion of Muslim schools are in the state sector – the majority are low-cost private institutions. Even further away from public scrutiny, there is a number of entirely unregulated, unregistered schools (Coughlan, 2016).

The British political establishment need to seriously examine the social effects of faith schools – public and private. While there is a strong case for phasing out faith schools from a community cohesion perspective, this is by no means a panacea. Due to the realities of residential segregation and school catchment areas, there are a considerable number of mono-ethnic/mono-religious non-faith schools in localities such as East London, Luton,

Blackburn and Bradford. As well as the white British majority, this especially applies to Britain's Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic minorities, which have far higher levels of residential segregation than other sizeable non-white groups. This residential segregation essentially produces state schools which may be exclusively South Asian Muslim in terms of pupil population. However, it is also important to acknowledge that there is growing evidence in Western societies, such as the UK, which suggests that the white ethnic majority are particularly "ingroup" when it comes to neighbourhood choice and movement (Kaufmann, 2018).

These neighbourhood-level dynamics mean that mono-ethnic (and possibly mono-religious) secular state schools are an inevitability. While social housing allocations can be designed by local authorities to create more "residentially-mixed" neighbourhoods, this approach has received criticism for a number of reasons. It has been found that as an individual measure, engineering a greater "social mix" through housing allocations tend to have a limited impact on intergroup relations (Iceland, 2014). Local authorities have direct control over only a sliver of Britain's total housing stock – a meagre 7%. Even if it was successful in terms of strengthening inter-community relations in certain areas, strategic social housing placements would have a marginally positive effect at society level. Also, attempts to create "residentially-mixed" housing estates may actually be counter-productive if this is not complemented by economic regeneration schemes and public investment in deprived communities. Simply engineering a greater "social mix" in socio-economically disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods may lead to material resource conflicts along racial, ethnic or even religious lines (Citrin et al. 1997; Quillian, 1995).

Residential segregation is likely to remain a feature of urban cities and towns for the foreseeable future – along with mono-ethnic and religiously homogenous non-faith state schools. People who belong to the white ethnic majority or non-white ethnic minorities, for a diversity of reasons, may hold strong "ingroup" preferences when choosing where to move and buy a property. A more effective approach needs to be driven through inter-community engagement. This can include state-funded cross-community initiatives – community groups working together in the name of a "common good". An example would be different ethnic and cultural community groups pooling their talents and efforts to heighten awareness of a particular health issue (ie. encouraging women to take up cervical cancer screenings – more

commonly known as “smear tests”). Such inter-group schemes encourage teamwork in the name of social benefit – and in the process, have the potential to create inter-ethnic friendships and foster bonds of understanding and mutual respect.

In regards to mono-racial and mono-religious state schools which reflect residential segregation, local authorities and such schools under their jurisdiction can collectively adopt a more active pro-cohesion strategy for their multi-ethnic, religiously diverse younger populations. The organising of inter-school trips, recreational activities and sporting competitions can bring pupils of different ethnic and religious backgrounds – who are residentially and educationally segregated – in contact with one another. Sports events and activities, competitive but organised in the spirit of fair play by teachers, have the potential to foster bonds of camaraderie between different schools of varying ethnic and religious compositions. This can facilitate the creation of long-lasting inter-ethnic friendships between children who would not usually come into contact – and represents important preparation for life in a multi-racial, religiously diverse society.

It is crucial to be realistic about outcomes of such inter-group projects and inter-school schemes. As the findings in Chapter 5 of the thesis show, higher levels of social integration are associated with a heightened likelihood of reporting discrimination. A degree of negative contact is inevitable as social mixing increases. Risk of unsavoury cross-ethnic interactions, unfortunate cultural misunderstandings, and perceived disrespect of religious sensitivities, are clear drawbacks of social integration and intergroup social contact. However, the findings presented in this thesis provides support for government-commissioned reviews which identify cross-ethnic contact as critically important in efforts to strengthen social cohesion in Britain’s racially diverse, multi-religious society. As well as potentially breeding suspicion of unfamiliar “outgroupers”, social and economic segregation limit opportunities for positive intergroup contact which can foster bonds of trust, understanding, tolerance and mutual respect.

9.4: Trust in Democratic Governance and Public Institutions

The research conducted for this thesis delivered this central finding: while social integration has a positive effect on the social trust of British ethnic minority people, it also heightens exposure and awareness of discrimination - which in turn may contribute towards

dissatisfaction with the democratic system of governance - one which is expected to ensure the merit-oriented allocation of rewards and opportunities. The findings presented in Chapter 7 show a significant negative association between social integration and satisfaction with British democracy. Britain's BAME people who are part of ethnically-mixed friendship networks and workplaces are less likely to be satisfied with democracy works in the UK. Conversely, ethnic minority people who are socially and occupationally segregated are more likely to be satisfied with the British democratic system. Therefore, we have an interesting paradox: social integration has a positive impact on social trust, but is negatively associated with democratic satisfaction – an all-encompassing measure of political trust.

There are a number of explanations for this seemingly paradoxical association. As presented in Chapter 4 of the thesis, the white British majority are more dissatisfied with the democratic system in comparison to non-white ethnic minority people. Therefore, it is perfectly reasonable to suggest that as BAME people may become more dissatisfied with democracy as they become more socially integrated into the relatively cynical and politically disaffected white British mainstream. It could well be a matter of "picking up" habits associated with being critical of how democracy operates and functions in the UK.

BAME people who are more socially integrated through friends are less likely to be satisfied with democracy – this is highly unlikely to be the result of experiencing discrimination within their own friendship networks, and could be the result of being "absorbed" into the political cynicism and disaffection of the social mainstream. But what this may also suggest is that while socially integrated BAME people are more socially trusting, they may also be more likely to compare important aspects of their life – employment opportunities, career progression, personal income and socio-economic status – with "outgroupers" who are part of their ethnically-mixed social and economic networks. This includes members of the white British ethnic majority. Intergroup social mixing can help to develop bonds of trust and mutual respect – but it may also lead to comparing one's own social status and socio-economic progression with others who do not share their racial, ethnic or religious background. This in turn can give rise to feelings of relative deprivation which feed into dissatisfaction with the democratic system of governance.

It provides a stern challenge for policymakers and practitioners in the field of community cohesion. Social integration has a clear positive effect on the social trust of Britain's ethnic

minority population – but also appears to heighten exposure to and awareness of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, which in turn may feed into forms of political disaffection. In this sense, social integration could be seen as a "double-edged sword". While social integration can facilitate the creation of positive and meaningful inter-ethnic ties, it may also lead to unfavourable comparisons being drawn with the socio-economic progress of "outgroupers". As already discussed in this thesis, there is a vast and ever-growing body of research scholarship which advances the view that ethnic (and religious) penalties exist in the allocation of rewards and opportunities in the UK's market economy. While being integrated into the white British mainstream can strengthen the social trust of BAME people, a potential drawback is that this process of integration can increase perceptions of unequal treatment and inequality of opportunity.

The quantitative analysis found that social integration and self-reported discrimination were both significantly negatively associated with satisfaction with British democracy among the UK's BAME people. The complementary semi-structured interviews, held with Luton-based BAME interviewees of different ethnic, religious, educational and occupational backgrounds across a wide age range, coalesced in agreement around one particular theme – "white privilege". The majority of interviewees expressed the view that Britain's existing democratic system of governance did not ensure a meritocratic allocation of rewards and opportunities – with this unfair allocation tending to work in favour of the white British majority at the expense of non-white people living in the UK. Indeed, the qualitative research for the thesis found a clear relationship between feeling disillusionment over what interviewees viewed to be "white favouritism" and dissatisfaction with the very functioning of British democracy.

A regular feeling expressed in the interviews was that BAME people had to work harder than their similarly-qualified white British peers in order to obtain the same position in the labour market. BAME interviewees – public and private sector employees – spoke of white British superiors who were "under-qualified" for the managerial roles they held. One interviewee, a Masters-educated council worker of Bangladeshi origin, expressed this view:

"I am more qualified than senior managers but have not received one promotion in over 15 years. The hard work and talents of ethnic minority workers often go unrecognised by white British superiors."

This sentiment was also shared by a British-born NHS employee of South Asian origin:

"Brown and black people usually half to work twice as hard as white British people to be considered half as good."

More robust anti-discrimination initiatives introduced through cross-party-supported parliamentary legislation – which collectively lead to clear and meaningful labour market outcomes – could play an important part in increasingly levels of democratic satisfaction among UK non-white ethnic minorities. As previously stated, existing race relations legislation and CV-blind recruitment drives alone have had, at best, a modest impact on tackling labour market discrimination in the UK. A bolder, pro-employee, anti-discrimination strategy – one which is supported by democratically elected politicians across the UK's mainstream parties – could help to strengthen confidence in the democratic system among British BAME people. Especially non-white British workers who are more socially integrated by being part of more ethnically-mixed workplaces. Cross-party endorsement and support for such initiatives could help to address discrimination-induced forms of political disaffection within British ethnic minorities.

During the semi-structured interviews, concerns were raised by participants over perceived unequal treatment in a number of spheres – the immigration system, employment, policing, the courts and the general provision of goods and services. Primarily but by no means exclusively raised by interviewees of Black Caribbean origin, the Home Office's "hostile environment" immigration policy and how it was implicated in the ongoing Windrush scandal featured prominently in the interviews. The controversial deportation of people of Black Caribbean origin and official investigations into citizenship status have given rise to perceptions that a privileged white-dominated political elite view such non-white individuals as "second-class citizens". However, it is important to acknowledge that more recent controversies have occurred under Home Secretary Sajid Javid (who is of Pakistani origin). This includes the Jamaica deportation plane organised in February 2019.

Quantitative analysis presented in this thesis showed that out of the five BAME groups under examination, UK Black Caribbeans are the least likely to be satisfied with British democracy, and are less likely to hold high levels of trust in the UK Parliament and politicians in general. This is a particularly worrying state of affairs when one considers that British Black Caribbeans

are the most "settled" ethnic minority group, with the initial stream of Windrush migrants arriving in the UK shortly after the Second World War to settle and contribute towards reconstruction efforts in the "Mother of the Empire". The Windrush scandal and the Home Office's current deportation and citizenship policy certainly runs the risk of further intensifying existing forms of political disaffection and democratic dissatisfaction among British people of black Caribbean origin. The string of Windrush-related controversies, for some, carry serious racial connotations.

One Luton-based interviewee, a British-born woman of Jamaican and St Lucian heritage, provided a damning personal analysis of the Windrush scandal:

"The Windrush scandal is a modern-day reflection of Britain's imperialist past. The British establishment view Black Caribbeans as commodities and resources which can be dispensed with. It is the commodification of people. If the people affected were seen by politicians as fellow human beings, this would not be happening."

Also feeling that:

"If those affected were people from mainly white Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, they would not be treated by the government in such scandalous fashion…but they probably would be if they were Native Canadian, Aborigine or Maori."

It is interesting to note that this second point was also raised as a possibility by conservative white British social commentator Iain Dale during an edition of BBC Question Time.

While not democratically elected institutions themselves, the functioning of immigration authorities, the police and the courts – state-funded institutions and agencies which enforce and implement laws produced by the democratic political system – may also shape democratic satisfaction among British ethnic minorities. The 2010 EMBES data showed that there are ethnic-group differences in levels of trust (British black Caribbeans are the least likely to have a high level of trust in the police). While interviewees of Black Caribbean origin were particularly critical of the police, a number of Luton-based participants of different BAME backgrounds expressed concerns over what they viewed to be the discriminatory nature of policing. But it was clear the feeling that white British people were treated more fairly by the police in comparison to non-white ethnic minority people was strongest among

participants of Black Caribbean origin. Drivers of this distrust included recent "abuses" of "stop-and-search", the London Metropolitan Police's management of the April 1993 murder of Stephen Lawrence, and the April 1998 death of former British Army paratrooper Christopher Alder (who died in Hull under police custody).

One interviewee, a British-born male originally from St Kitts and Nevis who "100%" felt that black people faced labour market discrimination due to prevailing negative stereotypes, demonstrated a level of political disaffection and institutional distrust which fits with much of the quantitative analysis presented for the UK's Black Caribbean group:

"Britain is not a dictatorship – but it feels like you are being dictated to. Politicians at the top are "fat cats" who are not as clean and honest as they should be. As for the police, I have personally experienced stop-and-search. I have seen people trying to spin it - but it's blatant racial profiling. My personal observation is that the police are more assertive in more ethnic minority areas. They approach black men in a very hostile way. The courts are part of all this too. Courts do not treat people of different races fairly. The police and the courts are part of a broader institutional framework that discriminates against British blacks. The disproportionate number of black people in the penal system is primarily down to discrimination at the hands of the police and the courts – and our elected "representatives" couldn't care less."

Another interesting finding of importance is the significant association between self-reported religious discrimination and dissatisfaction with British democracy (see Table A6, Page 247). As quantitative analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrated, religious discrimination is predominantly reported by British ethnic minority Muslims – largely of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin. Perceived experiences on the grounds of religion, as well as race and ethnicity, have the potential to undermine one's satisfaction with the existing democratic system of governance. While racial discrimination in the UK labour market is clearly a more widespread issue for Britain's non-white population at large, it is entirely plausible that employment discrimination on the grounds of faith can also feed into forms of political disaffection. But the relationship between perceived anti-Muslim behaviours/attitudes and dissatisfaction with British democracy also importantly demonstrates the delicate balance that needs to be struck by democratic institutions and public authorities in policy areas of a strategically sensitive nature. This ranges from domestic counter-terrorism to British foreign policy. An overly

robust, top-down, centralised counter-terrorism policy agenda may serve to politically alienate elements of the UK's sizeable Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups (along with sections of the Black African group, which includes relatively recent settlers from Somalia).

Indeed, this view was expressed by one of the Luton-based interviewees (a British-born Muslim male of Pakistani origin):

"On the whole, I am happy with how democracy works in Britain. But that depends on things…I was upset when Parliament voted for the Iraq War. Millions of people died in a war for oil. And it helped extremists push out their ideology – that Islam and democracy don't mix."

How democratic institutions and public authorities – such as the police – interact with British Muslim communities in their counter-radicalisation efforts to combat homegrown Islamism, may play an important part in how satisfaction with democracy is shaped in large parts of the UK's BAME population. Dr Madeline Abbas (Department of Sociology, University of Manchester), has suggested that the 2011 Prevent Strategy – the preventative dimension of the UK's CONTEST counter-terrorism strategy – may be placing a strain on Muslim families and their relationship with the British state and the wider non-Muslim mainstream. While stating that the role of British Muslim families in countering radicalisation is a pressing policy concern, qualitative research suggests that "increased scrutiny from social workers, community workers, non-governmental, security and law enforcement organisations – leading to psychological repercussions on children and families" (Abbas, 2018). While a robust approach to counter-terrorism is required, it is also important to consider the implications of such scrutiny on levels of democratic satisfaction among British Muslim groups.

With the rise of far-right nativist extremism as well as the existing problems associated with homegrown Islamic radicalisation, inter-group community projects which encourage positive engagement between the white British majority and Muslim minority groups. These projects (which importantly need state funding) can involve community groups and families, irrespective of ethnicity and religion, who are bonded by a common desire to address extremism in British society. These projects can include heightening awareness among families and educators of the classic behavioural changes and patterns – in other words "signs" - which are traditionally associated with both Islamic and far-right nativist extremism. This would essentially be an inclusive, grassroots, family-oriented counter-extremism

approach which cultivates bonds of trust and a sense of "shared destiny" which cuts across different ethnic and religious groups living in British democratic society.

9.5: Concluding Thoughts

Political and media narratives surrounding the social integration of British ethnic minorities tend to be driven by ideology. This final chapter, distancing itself of ideologically-motivated agendas, provides an evidence-led review of British state policy in a range of areas, including labour market discrimination, community cohesion and counter-extremism.

The policy review presented is driven by the findings of the quantitative analysis and complementary semi-structured interviews conducted for the thesis. The findings very much suggest that social integration for Britain's non-white ethnic minorities is a "double-edged sword". While social integration provides opportunities for positive intergroup contact, it can also heighten exposure to - and perceptions of – discrimination. Discriminatory experiences and perceptions of racial (and religious) bias can in turn feed into dissatisfaction with the British democratic system. The findings of the research undertaken for this thesis very much suggest that satisfaction with democracy is tied with perceptions on issues such as racial equality and religious fairness, and to what extent one believes the British economy is underpinned by the meritocratic ideals such as equality of opportunity. In this context, evaluations of the democratic system of governance are greatly influenced by its commitment to ensuring a merit-based allocation of rewards and opportunities in multi-racial, religiously diverse Britain.

As well as providing a strong corrective to the vast body of scholarship which tends to prioritise the positive side effects of intergroup contact, the main findings of this thesis have important policy implications. Findings which should be of great interest to policymakers and practitioners who are concerned with issues such as integration, discrimination, equality of opportunity, community cohesion and democratic renewal. Britain, as an advanced liberal democracy, is posed with a myriad of social, economic and political challenges. As a democratic society, it is very much characterised by intense levels of economic inequality and socio-political polarisation. The UK's imminent departure from the European Union (at time of writing, scheduled for Spring 2019), has exposed deep-seated divisions in regards to social values – cosmopolitan liberalism against nation-oriented conservatism. The revelation of

polarised conceptions of nationhood and vastly different perceptions of where the UK's diplomatic and trade priorities ought to lie within the international system. Even the most optimistic and positive of beings would have to admit that these are exceptionally testing times for the UK as a whole – in a social, economic and political sense.

There are political and public movements in support of a second referendum on EU membership. This includes the newly-formed Change UK (CUK), which has branded itself as a pro-European force which represents a liberal, moderate politics. But with both current leaders of the UK's two major parties committed to Brexit, in some shape or form, the UK remains on course to depart from the EU. The shock caused by the Leave result in the June 2016 referendum on the UK's membership of the EU – and the country's planned exit from the organisation – does present an opportunity for national renewal.

For better or worse, the UK's likely departure from the EU will be fundamental moment of significance in postwar British history. It presents an opportunity for inspirational visions of democratic renewal – ambitious plans for social and economic reform. To create a more socially cohesive society where the democratic system of governance is strongly committed to ensuring the merit-based allocation of rewards and opportunities. A multi-ethnic, religiously diverse democracy which is underpinned by meritocratic ideals such as equality of opportunity. A post-Brexit Britain which recognises both the strengths and complications that come with diversity. One which understands the socially damaging effects of educational, social and occupational segregation, but is also aware of the fact that greater social mixing is that it may give rise to feelings of unequal treatment between members of different ethnic and religious groups. This makes the need for a more robust anti-discrimination framework all the more critical – particularly for the UK labour market. Robust efforts to tackle workplace discrimination and inequality of opportunity – ensuring a fairer allocation of rewards on the grounds of merit – has the potential to work towards addressing forms of political disaffection among British non-white ethnic minorities.

Spanning the interest of both academic and policy communities, this thesis delivers findings which deepen our understanding of social integration and its effects. The single-bloc understanding that has traditionally gripped both social science research and policy-making processes has given way to newer studies – such as this thesis – which recognise the importance and value in differentiating among ethnic minority groups. Indeed, exploring

attitudinal and behavioural differences *within* specific minority groups. This piece of research adds a useful additional, nuanced layer of findings which are all too often missed by grand-sweeping and non-evidenced accounts of ethnic minority experiences and perceptions.

It is hoped that this thesis stimulates important intellectual and policy debates on what "ethnic minority inclusion" constitutes in mature liberal democracies. For too long, social integration and intergroup contact have been viewed as an "unadulterated good" – in both academic and policy circles. For ethnic minorities, "inclusion" for minorities is not simply a matter of being "integrated" into the social and economic mainstream. Indeed, it is not only about being able to trust society as a whole. It is also a sense of feeling that one is being given the chance to maximise their potential; participating in a labour market which is underpinned by equality of opportunity; and being part of a democratic political community that is guided by meritocratic ideals and unrelenting in its efforts to tackle forms of discrimination. For that is the highest form of "civic inclusion" in an advanced industrial democracy.

Appendix

Table A1: Reported Discrimination (Confirmation Bias Model)

Model A1: Reported Discrimination	Log Odds (B)	Standard Error (SE)
Party Identification: Labour Party (ref)		
Conservative Party	.103	.167
Liberal Democrats	-.193	.163
Other party	.488	.359
None/Don't Know	-.297*	.120
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)		
Black African	-.319*	.144
Indian	-.700**	.147
Pakistani	-.700**	.147
Bangladeshi	-.462*	.192
Female	-.143	.093
(Ln) Age	-.735**	.150
Born in UK	.154	.110
Educational Level	.101*	.039
Social Class: Salariat (ref)		
Intermediate	-.019	.127
Manual Working	-.140	.131
Never Worked	-.398	.197
Other	.136	.339
English Main Language at Home	.427**	.116
Workplace Co-Ethnicity: Ethnically-Mixed (ref)		
Bonding place of work	-.272*	.122
Unemployed/Not in Work	-.485**	.122
Bonding Friendship Network	-.078	.105
Neighbourhood Non-White	-.313	.225
IMD	-.002	.002
Constant	2.475	.641

Model 5E Notes: N = 2,451. Chi-Square: 248.12. Degrees of Freedom: 22. -2LL: 1452.146. Pseudo R Squared: .079. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Table A2: Reported Discrimination (binary logistic regression model: main measure of social integration added to examine improvement in model fit)

Reported Discrimination	**Model A2**		**Model A3 (A2 + social integration)**	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	-.251	.141	-.305*	.143
Indian	-.706**	.143	-.670**	.144
Pakistani	735**	.142	-.639**	.144
Bangladeshi	.507**	.186	-.446*	.190
Female	-.175	,091	-.166	.092
(Ln) Age	-.726**	.145	-.714**	.147
Born in UK	.192	.109	.183	.109
Educational Level	.123**	.036	.106**	.039
Social Class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	-.020	.124	.011	.125
Manual Working	-.184	.128	-.143	.129
Never Worked	-.617**	.186	-.523**	.188
Other	.093	.335	.121	.337
English Main Language at Home	.453**	.114	.415**	.115
Social Integration			**.145****	**.028**
IMD	.000	.002	-.002	.002
Constant			1.622	.616
Pseudo R-Squared	**.069**		**.080**	

Model A2 Notes: Source: 2010 EMBES. N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 218.72. Degrees of Freedom: 14. -2LL: 1485.483. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Model A3 Notes: Source: 2010 EMBES. N = 2,483. Chi-Square: 246.01. Degrees of Freedom: 15. -2LL: 1471.835. p-value <0.01 = **; <0.05 = *.

Table A3: Generalised Social Trust (Multinomial Logistic Regression)

Model A4: Generalised Social Trust	Can't Be Too Careful v Depends		Can't Be Too Careful v Most People Can Be Trusted	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	.076	.169	-.228	.182
Indian	.315	.166	.046	.174
Pakistani	-.202	.174	.094	.175
Bangladeshi	.426*	.209	.149	.230
Female	-.119	.105	-.401**	.111
(Ln) Age	-.303	.163	.087	.171
Education Level	.171**	.043	.118**	.045
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	-.100	.144	-.290	.156
Manual Working	-.183	.149	-.131	.153
Never Worked	.140	.195	-.071	.216
Other	-.566	.446	.003	.398
English main language at home	-.102	.126	-.334*	132
Social Integration	-.003	.033	.132**	.033
Reports Discrimination	-.088	.111	-.225	.118
Born in UK	-.469**	.128	-.472**	.136
IMD	.001	.003	.005	.003
Constant	.191	.696	-1.129	.736

Notes for Model A4: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 159.50. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (final): 2367.728. Pseudo R Squared: .032. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Dependent variable for both models coded as "can't be too trusting" = 1; "depends" = 2 and "people can be trusted" = 3, is response to question "Can most people be trusted"?

Table A4: Generalised Social Trust (binary logistic regression model: main measure of social integration added to examine improvement in model fit)

Generalised Social Trust	Model A5		Model A6 (A5 + social integration)	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	-.181	.173	-.239	.174
Indian	-.086	.166	-.056	.167
Pakistani	.080	.167	.163	.168
Bangladeshi	-.038	.217	.012	.2178
Female	-.368**	.105	-.362**	.105
(Ln) Age	.165	.162	.188	.163
Education Level	.076	.042	.064	.042
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	-.278	.147	-.252	.148
Manual Working	-.112	.144	-.070	.145
Never Worked	-.207	.203	-.112	.205
Other	.125	.383	.164	.384
English main language at home	-.254*	.124	-.298*	.125
Social Integration			**.133****	**.031**
Reports Discrimination	-.145	.112	-.194	.113
Born in UK	-.308*	.129	-.321*	.130
IMD	.007**	.002	.005	.002
Constant	-1.578	.694	-1.863	.699
Pseudo R-Squared	**.0242**		**.0313**	

Notes for Model A5: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 61.40. Degrees of Freedom: 15. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1236.053. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model A6: N = 2,435. Chi-square: 79.25. Degrees of Freedom: 16. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1227.126. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Dependent variable for models recoded. “can’t be too trusting” = 1 and “depends” = 2 into “cautious” = 0, “people can be trusted” = 1, in response to question “Can most people be trusted”?

Table A5: Satisfaction with Democracy (binary logistic regression model: main measure of social integration added to examine improvement in model fit)

Satisfaction with Democracy	Model A7		Model A8 (A7 + social integration)	
	Log Odds	Standard Error	Log Odds	Standard Error
Party Identification: Labour Party (ref)				
Conservative Party	.556**	.200	.575**	.200
Liberal Democrats	-.246	.107	-.242	.169
Other party	-.417	.375	-.360	.378
None/Don't Know	-.444**	.125	-.439**	.125
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	.669**	.153	.719**	.155
Indian	.746**	.151	.721**	.152
Pakistani	921**	.154	.841**	.155
Bangladeshi	1.083**	.215	1.037**	.216
Female	-.289**	.100	-.292**	.100
(Ln) Age	.094	.160	.088	.161
Education Level	-.050	.042	-.036	.042
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	.006	.136	-.016	.137
Manual Working	-.073	.140	-.100	.140
Never Worked	.312	.203	.242	.204
Other	.280	.381	.266	.384
English Main Language at Home	-.164	.127	-.129	.127
Social Integration			**-.126****	**.030**
Reports Discrimination	**-.715****	.101	**-.672**	**.101**
Born in UK	**-.863****	**.117**	**-.860****	**.117**
IMD	-.000	.002	.002	.002
Constant	.940	.643	1.138	.688
Pseudo R-Squared	**.1234**		**.1292**	

Notes for Model A7: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 362.95. Degrees of Freedom: 18. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1288.919. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model A8: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 380.02. Degrees of Freedom: 19. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL: 1280.384. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Binary dependent variable coded as dissatisfied = 0 and satisfied = 1.

Table A6: Satisfaction British Democracy (Ordered logistic and probit regression: individual variables for reported racial and religious discrimination)

	Model A9: Ordered Logit		Model A10: Ordered Probit	
	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error	Log Odds Ratio	Standard Error
Labour (ref)				
Conservatives	.208	.147	.111	.084
Liberal Democrats	-.027	.144	-.028	.080
Other	-.515	.321	-.299	.186
None/Don't Know	-.421**	.106	-.246**	.061
Ethnicity: Black Caribbean (ref)				
Black African	.797**	.134	.458**	.076
Indian	.593**	.132	.321**	.075
Pakistani	.776**	.135	.424**	.077
Bangladeshi	.764**	.172	.430**	.099
Female	-.289**	.083	-.163**	.048
(Ln) Age	.071	.129	.046	.074
Education Level	-.023	.034	-.012	.019
Occupational class: Salariat (ref)				
Intermediate	.003	.115	-.024	.069
Manual Working	-.013	.118	.012	.067
Never Worked	.290	.160	.158	.091
Other	.095	.321	.010	.181
English Main Language at Home	-.096	.100	-.049	.058
Social Integration	**-.096****	**.103**	**-.053***	**.015**
Reports racial discrimination	**-.542****	**.095**	**-.307****	**.054**
Reports religious discrimination	**-.402***	**.165**	**-.231***	**.093**
Born in UK	-.825**	.102	-.459**	.058
IMD	.002	.002	.001	.001
Cut (1)	-2.724	.559	-1.543	.320
Cut (2)	-1.040	.556	-.607	.319
Cut (3)	1.858	.557	1.099	.319

Notes for Model A9: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 408.44. Degrees of Freedom: 21. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (Final): 2555.004. Pseudo R Squared: .074. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

Notes for Model A10: N = 2,365. Chi-square: 391.02. Degrees of Freedom: 21. P-value <0.05 (.000). -2LL (Final): 2563.151. Pseudo R Squared: .071. Source: EMBES 2010. *p<0.05. **p<0.01.

The democratic satisfaction dependent variable in both models is coded as very dissatisfied = 1, a little dissatisfied = 2, fairly satisfied = 3 and very satisfied = 4

Individual variables for reported racial and religious discrimination used.

Figure A1: Predicted Probabilities for Generalised Social Trust (Gender): Model A6

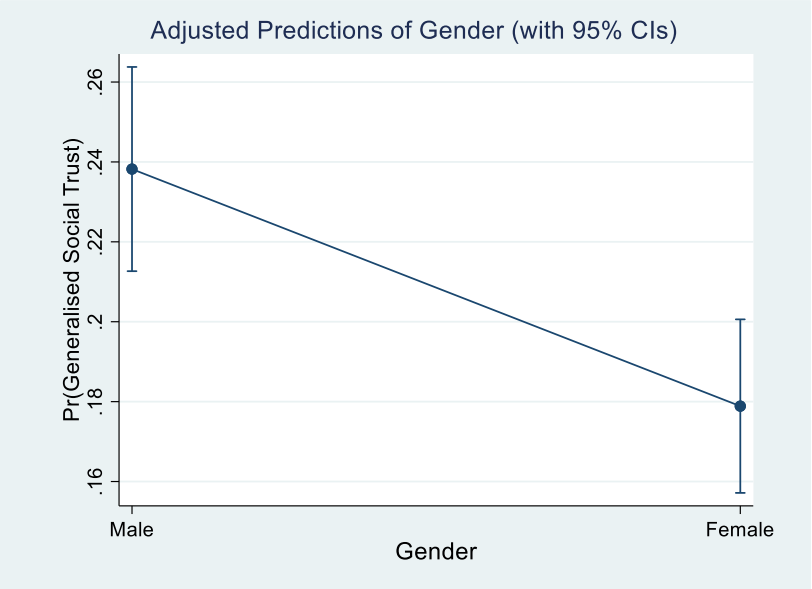
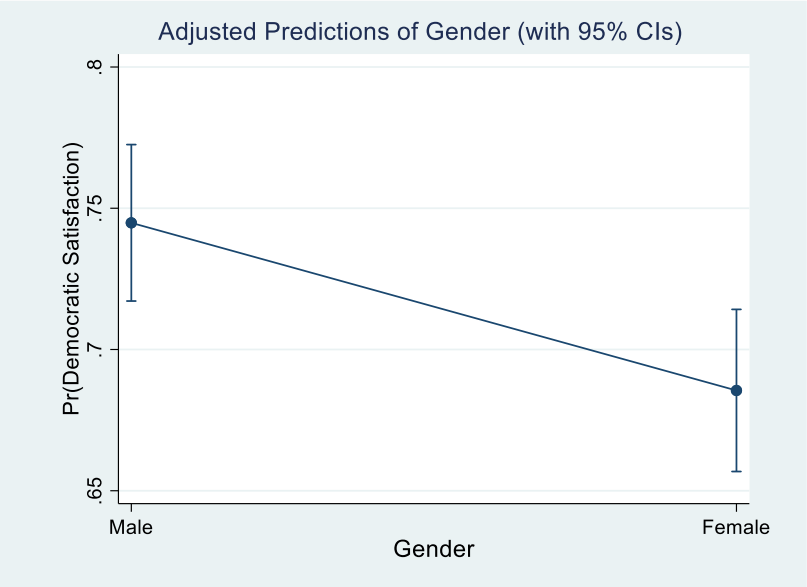


Figure A2: Predicted Probabilities for Democratic Satisfaction (Gender): Model A8



Interview Sheet

Introduction: Purpose of research, tape recorder/confidentiality/ethics, conduct of interview.

Socio-demographics

1. Could you please state your age?

2. Could you please describe your ethnicity?

3. Could you please state your place of birth? *(If answer is not UK, ask interviewee when he/she moved to UK and the main reasons behind the relocation)*

4. Do you identify with a particular religion? If so, which one, and please discuss how important is it to you.

5. Could you kindly state your level of education?

6. Could you please discuss your current job position? *(If retired, ask about the interviewee's employment history)*

Social Relations

7. Roughly hat percentage of your friends/main friendship group are of the same ethnic background?

8. Roughly hat percentage of your work colleagues/work department are of the same ethnic background?

9. Roughly what percentage of your neighbourhood are of the same ethnic background?

10. (If a religious affiliation is declared) Roughly what percentage of your place of worship are of the same ethnic background?

11. Are you a number of an ethnic, cultural or religious association?

Discrimination

12. In the past year, have you experienced racial or religious discrimination? *(if answer is yes, ask interviewee about where these experiences took place, and who was involved)*

13. Have you ever heard discriminatory comments or experienced discrimination within your own friendship group?

14. Have you ever heard discriminatory comments or experienced discrimination in the workplace?

15. Have you ever heard discriminatory comments or experienced discrimination in your own neighbourhood?

Social Trust

16. Would you say you find it easy or difficult to trust people as a whole?

17. Do you find it easier to trust people of your own ethnic background?

18. (if religious affiliation stated), do you find it easier to trust people of your own religious background?

19. On the whole, how safe do you feel, living in Britain?

20. Do you have experience of living outside of Britain? If yes, how safe did you feel, living in this country?

Political Trust

21. On a scale of 0-10, how satisfied are you with how democracy works in Britain?

22. Have you experienced life in a different country? On a scale of 0-10, how satisfied were you with how the political system worked in this country?

23. On a scale of 0-10, how much do you trust the following: UK Parliament, UK Government, Local Council, Police, Courts.

24. State how accurate these terms are in describing British politicians: corrupt, elitist, incompetent, intelligent, public-serving (0 – not accurate, 10 – extremely accurate)

25. How accurate are these terms in describing politicians in your country of origin?

Relative Deprivation

How much do you agree with these following statements:

26. The UK Parliament could do more to reduce racial discrimination experienced by ethnic minority people living in Britain

27. The police treats ethnic minority people unfairly in comparison to white British people

28. Ethnic minority people have to work harder than white British people with the same qualifications to get good jobs

29. Non-white people are held back from reaching their full potential in the UK

30. I trust the Labour Party more than the Conservative Party when it comes to improving opportunities for ethnic minority people

31. The result of the 2016 Referendum on EU membership has made some white British people more relaxed in openly expressing racist views

"The Big Question"

32. What is the single biggest issue facing your own ethnic group? What can be done to address this issue?

Allow the interviewee time to identify the single issue and articulate what can be done from both a public policy and community point of view.

Conclude interview by asking the interviewee if they have anything more they would like to add to what they have told the interviewer during the course of the interview, and if there is anything they would like to ask the interviewer.

Thank the interviewee for giving their personal time and remind them of the invaluable contribution he/she has made to the research project.

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