Migration, racism and the hostile environment: making the case for the social sciences

Andrews, Molly, Arnot, Madeleine, Anthias, Floya, Ashe, Stephen, Brah, Avtar, Dona, Giorgia, Erel, Umut, Gidley, Ben, Humphris, Rachel, Kofman, Elenore, Mondon, Aurelien, Murji, Karim ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7490-7906, Phoenix, Ann, Sigona, Nando, Squire, Corinne, Targarona, Nuria, Wemyss, Georgie, Winter, Aaron and Yuval-Davis, Nira (2020) Migration, racism and the hostile environment: making the case for the social sciences. Discussion Paper. UNSPECIFIED.

SSAHE

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AGAINST THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

MIGRATION RACISM AND THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

MAKING THE CASE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AGAINST THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Social Scientists Against The Hostile Environment (SSAHE) :
Prof. Molly Andrews; Prof. Madeleine Arnot; Prof. Floya Anthias;
Dr. Stephen Ashe; Prof. Avtar Brah; Prof Giorgia Dona; Dr. Umut Erel;
Dr. Ben Gidley; Dr. Rachel Humphris; Prof. Elenore Kofman; Dr. Aurelien Mondon;
Prof. Karim Murji; Prof. Ann Phoenix; Prof. Nando Sigona; Prof. Corinne Squire;
Dr. Nuria Targarona; Dr. Georgie Wemyss; Dr. Aaron Winter; Prof. Nira Yuval-Davis.

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE AIMS AND APPROACH OF THE REPORT

Brexit, the European immigration and refugee situation and the Grenfell and Windrush scandals are just some of the recent major events in which issues of migration have been at the heart of British social and political agendas. These highlight racism and the fundamental relations people who have settled in the UK have to British collective identity and belonging as well as to the British economy, polity and social relations. 9.4 million UK residents are foreign-born, 14% of the population, just over a third of whom are EU-born. Less than 10% of UK residents are not UK nationals. 20% of the population is of an ethnicity other than White British.

Social scientists have observed and analysed such public issues and the public policies that both framed and resulted from them throughout the years. In doing so they have not only helped to document and analyse them but contributed towards their critique and problematisation as part of a public intellectual endeavour towards a more equal and just society. In doing so, much of social sciences research has been empirically informed, often methodologically innovative, theoretically productive and has contributed to our understanding of how processes of racialization and migration have been experienced in diverse ways by different groupings. In this report we aim to highlight some of these contributions and their importance to British society and institutions.

At the end of this report, we list, as Further Readings, some of the main contributions members of AcSS and other social scientists have made throughout the years in the field of migration and refugees, racism, and belonging. Rather than attempting to sum up these contributions in the report itself, however, we have selected some of the main issues in this field of study, which

present particular challenges to contemporary British society and institutions. We focus in this report on the specific contributions of social sciences to these issues.

British social science has been playing for many years an important, often leading, innovative conceptual role in international social science debates. Although the issues we study are presented within their historical and locational contexts, we focus in this report on present day issues which have been crucial to our areas of study, such as the development of a hostile environment and everyday bordering as a major governmental technology in the control and disciplining of diversity and discourses on migrants and racialized minorities. We also examine how the issues we have been studying have been affected by the rise of extreme right and neo-nativist politics in the UK and the role of Brexit in these, as well as the ways different groups and social movements have been resisting these processes of exclusion and racialisation.

In this report, we do not present British social sciences as unified and non-conflictual; nor do we see social sciences in the UK as isolated from professional or political developments in other countries and regions. In addition, the report is multi-disciplinary; it covers research from the fields of psychosocial studies, sociology, social policy, economics and politics. It stretches from the local, to the regional and the national. And it is consistently intersectional, addressing gender, class, generation, race, ethnicity and religion.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Part 1: Introduction: The aims and approach of the report.

Part 2: Contextualizing the field of enquiry: different forms of racialisation in the UK and the international and European context of the study of UK migration and racism.

Part 3: Social Science contributions to the study of equality and migration policies and their effects on families, employment, housing, schools and universities.

Part 4: Social Science contributions to the study of racist and anti-racist social movements and organisations.

Part 5: Conclusion: Social sciences and the hostile environment.

In addition to providing overviews of the contributions of social science to the different fields of study, each subsection in parts 3 and 4 of the report introduces illustrative case studies of particular pieces of research.

Image courtesy of Sonia Quintero

British social scientific research on migrants and minorities and their experiences has historically fallen into three broad categories:

- Research on 'race', racism and ethnicity, which typically uses ethnic or 'racial' categories of belonging, such as 'black';

- Migrant-focused studies of specific groups, such as anthropological studies of specific ethnic groups and countries of origin in particular locations in Britain, looking at transnational connections and diasporas as well as processes of local settlement and integration.

- Research focusing on different migration categories (refugees, asylum seekers, labour migrants, etc) and the specific social policies and legislations which facilitates their migration and settlement.

Scholars focused on race often avoid framing their discussion in terms of migration or integration, drawing on the anti-racist movement's political commitment, reflected in slogans such as 'Here to stay, here to fight', of rejecting 'immigrant' status in favour of the articulation of the possibility of black British citizenship and belonging. More recently, however, there has been a growing recognition that racialised categories and migration categories are intertwined, and signs of a convergence between these previously disparate streams of research, in spite of attempts by some 'liberal' public discourses to argue that strict limits on migration lessens racisms within borders.

As studies have shown, there have been three main narratives of collective belonging in the UK - imperial, European and nativist - and different forms of racialisation at different times, have drawn on each of these narratives. In the post-war period of race relations scholarship and the Marxist turn against it, anti-black racism was the paradigmatic form of racialisation. Anti-black racism has been found to be rooted in both Christian and scientific traditions, the former emphasizing blackness as a sign of lack of moral worth and the latter supposed biological difference and hierarchy; it took its modern form in an age of colonialism and slavery. It was found that the eugenic imagination, ascribing genetic inferiority to those defined as phenotypically black, continued to live on despite its widespread discrediting among mainstream scientists from the 1930s onwards. Marxist (including black Marxist) social science theory has emphasised the importance of exploitation (rather than exclusion) in the black racialised experience. Quantitative sociology today shows the persistence of the sharp socio-economic inequalities British black people face, while studies focusing more on cultural issues emphasise the postcolonial persistence of imperial narratives of collective belonging and exclusions in defining Britishness and its Others.

The other paradigmatic form of racialisation, emphasised in the immediate post-Holocaust period but receiving little attention from either race relations or anti-racist scholarship until recently, is antisemitism. Like anti-black racism, analysis of antisemitic discourses show that it is rooted in both religious and scientific traditions in Europe and has been constitutive of the European narrative of collective belonging. However, at particular historic moments, it has drawn

on nativist narratives of belonging, as in the 'anti-alien' social movements of the early 20th century and in the question of assimilation. Antisemitism is particularly identified with a conspiratorial worldview, and Marxist accounts of it posit that anti-semitism sees the figure of the Jew as the falsely personalised embodiment of the abstract dimensions of capitalist power. In the 21st century, some have argued for the emergence of a 'new antisemitism', associated with Muslims and the Left rather than the Right, but the conceptual and empirical bases for this hypothesis have been critiqued by social scientists as conflating antisemitism with critiques of Israel and the Palestinian occupation.

In parallel, anti-Muslim rac-ism has received increasing attention, with some scholars seeing it as a reprise of the 'old' antisemitism, although historical research suggests that anti-Muslim racism has been central to the Christian European narrative of belong-ing since the Crusades. In the context of the global 'War on Terror' since the 9/11 Twin Towers attack of 2001, Muslims have become the embodiment of the global 'Other', shaped by new forms of nationalism and being rendered as a 'suspect community'. Renewed attention to anti-Muslim racism has signalled a broader identity transition among British Muslims, previously attacked as 'Pakis' – targets of cultural racism as South Asians or Arabs, defined against a primar-ily imperial narrative of belonging – but now increasingly identifying as Muslims. Studies on anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish racialisations have shown a complex rela-tionship, with the former often emphasis-ing an external Other (the figures of the barbarian or fanatic – now the terrorist),

the latter emphasising a hidden Other within. Social scientists have identified a 'liberal' form of anti-Muslim racism, which posits Muslims as inherently patriarchal and illiberal and thus unassimilable to 'modern' multiculturalism. It was found that the idea of a 'Judeo-Christian' Europe has been used by some parts of the Right to allow Jews conditional space in the European narrative of belonging, an exam-ple of the complexity of contemporary racialisations. Analyses of stereotypes about Muslim threats to women have illustrated the complexity of intersection between racialisation and gender.

If anti-black racism has been found to pri-marily resonate with imperial narratives of belonging, and anti-Muslim and anti-Jew-ish racism with European narratives of belonging, nativist narratives of belonging have been found to focus on the figure of the migrant. However, as social scien-tists have pointed out, anti-alienism ini-tially emerged in the early 20th century against Jews, and the cultural racism of the mid-20th century was targeted at New Commonwealth and Pakistan citi-zens. Even in this period, 'white' European migrants, such as Irish and Cypriots were subject to racism. As studies found in the

21st century period of super-diversity, refugees and migrants became increasingly racialised categories, regardless of presumed colour or culture. It was also found that the nativist narrative of belonging has granted contingent insider status to African Caribbean and South Asian British citizens against the new migrant Other, alongside the persistence of older forms of racism. Thus, as studies show, in the wake of the Brexit referendum, hate crimes against all minorities – including both white Europeans and Black and minority ethnic group British citizens with no connection to the EU – have risen sharply.

Research on anti-Roma racism (which in the UK sometimes intertwined with anti-Irish and anti-Traveller racisms and with class prejudices against particular white working class groups) has been identified as a form of racialisation just as constitutive of the European narrative of belonging as antisemitism or anti-Muslim prejudice. However, research has shown that it has become more prominent and more socially acceptable in the current period as European Roma 'free movers' have become an exemplary form of the figure of the migrant central to nationalist and nativist narratives of belonging and claims of 'taking back control'.

Social sciences studies have also found that specific racialised minorities and migrants' groups have had radically different trajectories, reflecting different sending contexts, different geographies of settlement and the shifting politics of the receiving context. Many groups arrived with the expectation of returning but then settled over time, or constructed transnational families and employment. The key challenge of social science is to think these diverse racialisations together, in the context of the racialising impact of everyday bordering.

2.2 SITUATING THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT IN A CHANGING GLOBAL FRAMEWORK

There has been a growing recognition among social scientists that national methodologies, i.e. methodologies in which society's boundaries overlap that of the state citizenship or even residents, are very problematic, as more and more social, political, economic and cultural, let alone ecological issues, need to be analysed and understood regionally and globally. This has been the case especially in regard to the issues discussed in this report. The process of migration means crossing national borders and thus, when analysing motivation, processes and consequences of migration, there is a need to investigate and contextualize the research beyond territorial borders and societal boundaries. Similarly, issues of racism and racialisation are inherently concerned with the categorical differentiation between 'us' and 'them', and different political projects of belonging differentially determine where the boundary line is placed, using national, ethnic, racial, cultural and religious markers to delineate it. Many of those markers cross state borders and racialize, inferiorize, exploit and exclude beyond national territories. The history of colonialism and imperialism and the continuing uneven relationships between 'the West' and 'the Rest' in contemporary neo-liberal globalisation practices make the study of transnational and global processes of migration, racism and settlement of fundamental importance and many social scientists have risen to the challenge.

Temporal as well as spatial issues have been found to be of high importance for social sciences research. Studies of British state policies towards migrants have analysed the significant continuities

that existed between these policies and practices that were developed as tools of governance in the British Empire. Similarly, there have been studies which examined the growing influence of supranational and international organizations on state policies, of sharing intelligence and security arrangements, including growing offshore bordering arrangements with other states, but also how, at least to an extent, they have to comply with international human and refugee rights international conventions. Another trans- and international dimension which was found to be important when investigating migration, racism and settlement processes, is the

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effect of international labour recruitment, such as in the care or seasonal work areas, as well as the effects of remittances sent by migrants to their countries of origin on both British and other countries' economies and societies. This includes also studies of British 'ex-pat' migrants and transnational families moving between Britain and other countries.

Many social scientists understand the imperative to situate their work transnationally as the people they study are transnational beings by virtue of having moved. Arrival and settlement in the UK is just one phase of the migratory journey. Indeed,

after leaving their countries of origin, studies have shown that more and more people on the move spend time in prolonged displacements, in refugee camps, on the long and perilous routes to Europe, return visits and sometimes repatriation or ongoing migration. The movement of people is part of globalisation and the global order of things. People move back and forth, embark on serial and circular forms of migration that lead them to but are not confined to the UK. As they cope with the restrictions on their social support, family reunification and access to services, they continue to be members of families and communities overseas.

They maintain ongoing transnational contacts with members of their families living in their countries of origin and those on the route who are forced to spend increasing periods in transit sites across the globe. Social scientists have studied how migrants, including unaccompanied minors, understand their migration as part of transnational family and community strategies to ensure their safety and improve the economic prospects of both migrants and those who stay behind in the global south. Thus, it was found that migrants and refugees, while coping with the hostile environment in the UK, continue to feel obliged and engage with the

situation in their countries and with their communities of origin located transnationally, by both economic activity and for many also political activism.

Hostile environments themselves need to be understood to be forming and transforming beyond the boundaries of nation states through externalisation of borders, off-shore processing strategies, and international cooperation agreements that use migrants as bargaining chips. For those on the receiving side of these policies and practices, hostile environments are transnational sites of engagements. Members of ethnic or religious minorities, political opponents of authoritarian governments or those in poverty stricken countries of origin, flee hostile environments that unfold in places of origin. Studies have shown that, for those crossing the dangerous routes across the Sahara desert, forced into detention and at risk of becoming the modern-day slaves in Libya, those risking their live across the Mediterranean, and those blocked at the internal borders of Europe, the hostile environment is part and parcel of their contemporary migration experience. However, migrants and refugees hope to reach safety and an end of hostilities upon arrival in the UK.

Given that migratory trajectories and lives are transnational and that they are embedded in environments that are becoming increasingly hostile internationally, it follows that efforts to redress this trend also needs to be researched intersectionally across multiple levels that include the local and national but also the global. It is for this reason that the UN 2018 Global Compact on Refugees and

the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration have become a new focus for social scientists who are interested in issues of migration and racism, as these documents currently frame the global policy approach to migration. Although neither Compact is legally binding, they contain important political commitments on refugees and migrants and the UK has signed them both, committing the state to adopt an international approach that addresses the full migrant's trajectory from reception and admission to protection needs. This reinforces the social scientist's need to move beyond methodological nationalism and to analyse resettlement processes with international humanitarian interventions and development through burden- and responsibility-sharing.

Social science research has revealed that while the UK hostile environment constructs migrants and refugees as a threat to the security and social cohesiveness of the nation within a securitization and criminalization framework, the UK also partakes in an international system that views migrants and refugees as victims in need of protection within a humanitarian approach and as right-bearing individuals within a human rights framework. Social science research thus is engaged in unravelling the paradoxes of the national hostile environment in their coexistence with other transnational paradigms around migration.

2.3 BREXIT AND THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Amidst the uncertainty and rise in hate crime following the 2016 EU Referendum, the broader hostile environment policy that emerged during Theresa May's time as Home Secretary, the Windrush scandal, the current Government's rightwards shift toward racial neoliberalism and the redrawing of the racial contract, the case for independent, critical social scientific research has never been stronger.

Following the EU referendum, the British political leadership has been torn between three competing and to some extent incompatible visions for the future of the country: one, 'Global Britain', outward looking and imbued with colonial nostalgia, the second, 'Little England', inward looking and isolationist, longing for a mythical more homogeneous past, and a third vision of a rediscovered 'European Britain', growing in support especially in Scotland and urban areas, outward looking and rejecting Imperial nostalgia.

The EU referendum and its outcome have redefined the boundaries of belonging in British society, not just for over 5 million non-UK EU 'free movers' living and working in the UK and British nationals living in another EU state, but all British citizens who will be deprived of their EU citizenship. It is a radical transformation of the membership of the 'imagined community' which not surprisingly is reverberating also at the national level, reigniting debates on devolution and independence in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The unresolved issue of the post-Brexit legal status of EU citizens in the UK has led to growing anxiety among them and alienated potential newcomers from moving to the country. Office of National Statistics data on net migration show a decline in arrivals from the EU and an increasing number of Europeans leaving Britain in the last two years. These trends are bad news for the UK economy in general and for some sectors in particular, for example, the recruitment crisis in the NHS as EU health professionals who are heading towards more secure and welcoming European destinations. In parallel to the decline of EU migration, data show also an increase of non-EU onward immigration, particularly from Commonwealth regions. This shift confirms a broader geopolitical repositioning of the UK, with which we are likely to witness the emergence of new hierarchies of deservingness and forms of racialisation in post-Brexit Britain.

Almost three years after the EU referendum, the lack of any firm legal commitment over residence and rights is forcing more and more EU nationals to reconsider their plans. Verbal vows and political statements by senior politicians have failed to date to produce concrete and firm legal commitments.

For more than 40 years, the UK has embraced the principle of freedom of movement for EU citizens. This mobility has made the EU population increasingly intermingled, with mixed-nationality families. Hundreds of thousands of UK-born children in Britain have at least one parent from another EU member state. London alone hosts over one million non-native EU citizens, from each and every EU member states. This makes the city, both demographically and culturally, one of the EU capitals.

Brexit is not only a geopolitical transformation, but also a process far more personal and existential – it forces them to reconsider who they are.

Research shows that the transition from 'EU citizens' exercising their freedom of movement in another EU member states,

to 'EU migrants' in a country that will shortly be leaving the EU has made EU nationals vulnerable to the influence of the hostile environment, from which many of them, particularly EU14 nationals, have been protected by until recently. For some, however, as for example EU Roma, the hostile environment is nothing new.

EU nationals are increasingly asked to prove their right to stay in Britain in the context of a continuous shifting of goal posts for lawful migration. What the hostile environment does is to make everyone feel precarious, including individuals and families who have resided in Britain for decades. It constructs all migrants, including EU citizens, as potentially 'illegal'. But this is not only about 'foreigners'. The Windrush scandal shows the contempt of the UK government for those who came from the former colonies as British subjects, a contempt no doubt deeply rooted in colonialism and racism. The ease with which the UK government has turned the EU citizens living in the UK into leverage in the Brexit negotiations with other European member states is also a testimony of the extent to which the hostile environment is pervasive and operates as a logic of governance. The Windrush scandal and its deep rooted links with British colonialism is another illustration of this racialised modus operandi that reshapes the rights of citizens and immigrant alike and the relationship between the state and its subjects, redefining the meaning of citizenship and belonging in the process.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF EQUALITY AND MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

While engaging critically and closely with social policy developments, British social science research on families, migration and racism has provided a conceptual, theoretical and empirical basis for understanding the experiences of migrant families and racialized families which does not reduce them to targets of policy. At the same time, social science interventions have sought to challenge the construction of stereotypes and associated policies.

Social science research has contributed to the understanding of how diverse families experience processes of racialization and migration. At the same time, research has also found that one of the pernicious effects of contemporary debates problematizing migration is the representation of all members of minority ethnic families as recently arrived migrants. This is particularly problematic for post-colonial Black and ethnic minority people as it contributes to the denial of colonial and post-colonial links, encouraging a historical amnesia of the brutalities and exploitation of colonialism and how these shaped global inequalities, including the wealth of contemporary Europe and the UK, underlying much of contemporary migration movements.

Studies have shown that current family migration rules are rooted in the way the British colonial state regulated relations between colonisers and colonized, which fed into deeply racist and sexist bordering techniques, such as the so-called 'virginity tests' for South Asian applicants for marriage migration and the 1980s regulations that migrant spouses had to prove that the 'primary purpose' of their migration was marriage (rather than the marriage being a pretext for entering the UK, as was surmised). Social science research has examined the effects of the immigration apparatus on family and gender relations, revealing the extent to which immigration rules and regulations delimit marriage choices, childbearing decision making, and interactions among family members (e.g. leading to Skype parenting).

Social scientists have analysed discourses relating to racialized families who settled in the UK, as citizens or not, in the fields of education, family policy and social work during the post war period, which portrayed them as a 'social prob-

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lem', targeting 'Asian' families as having 'too much culture' on the one hand and Caribbean families as having 'too little culture' on the other. Pathologization and a deficit discourse concerning the family forms of Black and Asian families have been found to be persistently mobilized to blame racialized family forms, rather than wider social and political structures, for social problems experienced by young people. Research analysing discourses on migrant families, especially following large-scale European immigration, found that migrants have been portrayed as welfare scroungers, a portrayal which has legitimized measures restricting their

access to welfare (housing, health, social security).

While there is growing acceptance of diverse family forms in contemporary UK, racialized and migrant families continue to be subjected to public scrutiny, to prove they indeed conform to a British model, often middle class, of 'family values' which research has found to be vague and indeterminate; it ignores the fact that racialized citizens and migrants are often deprived of the economic, cultural and social resources required to bring up their families in dignity. Research has found that the effects of recent austerity multiply the economic impact of racism, resulting in particular in the impoverishment of Black and Minority women, with deleterious effects on their families. Through an intersectional analysis, research has shown that low income black and Asian women will lose much more money than low-income white men in the next few years as a result of tax and benefit changes. The effects of racism have been found to mean that, even before austerity, ethnic minority groups have been disproportionately more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, regardless of their educational levels. Minority families have been shown to have been particularly disadvantaged by cuts to public services, where they are more likely to be directly employed or subcontracted.

Since the 2000s, the UK has increasingly policed the immigration of families, and targeted migrant families through integration policies, linked to the wider policy shift from multiculturalism to the promotion of social cohesion and British values. Research has shown that the onus for such greater social cohesion was put on the racialized ethnic minorities, who were expected to prove their loyalty to Britain through intimate relationships with local communities before any possible transnational unions.

Research has found that the policy of No Recourse to Public Funds has had particularly damaging effects on families and children in crisis situations. This policy means that people subject to immigration control, whether they have a legal right to live in the UK or not, cannot access many benefits, tax credits or housing assistance. It was found that while there are provisions for families with NRPF with young children, the process of assessment is lengthy, complex and often hampered by the fact that social services are not well informed about their duties and often people found themselves in homeless situations with increased sense of social isolation.

While such families might be at the forefront of the hostile environment policies, studies have also critically questioned more general family immigration policies and contributed to challenge legally the ways in which these policies have discriminated against racialised migrants. A policy which was found to have particularly damaging effects has been the minimum income requirement for migrants sponsoring family members (spouses, children and parents). It has been shown that the minimum income requirement of £18600 per annum for a spouse and higher for additional non-British children has drawn into its net more economically precarious non-racialised families. The difficulty of meeting the requirement without the third-party assistance from other family members has been discriminatory in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and geographical location. It has forced those unable to meet the requirements to live apart for a long period or permanently and to rely on skype to maintain a semblance of family life. This was found to be one of the main anticipatory anxieties of EU migrants for what would happen post-Brexit.

UNACCOMPANIED MINOR ASYLUM SEEKERS AND THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Social sciences research can often highlight unintended consequences of particular policies. A study of children who are Unaccompanied Asylum Seekers has shown them to be in a legal limbo until they are 18 and reach institutional adulthood. Many 'disappear' from state surveillance or are forcibly removed to countries with whom they have little attachment or connection after years spent in Britain.

Four key areas of concern which adversely affect the situation of these children have been found in this research:

A. The weakening of the statutory duty of Local Authorities to look after unaccompanied minors and act in their 'best interests'.

B. The restructuring of social services which diluted social workers' expertise. Institutional knowledge has been lost and local networks dissolved.

C. High levels of negative decisions on asylum claims and cuts to legal aid have made access to the appeal process more difficult for young people. For many, the only way to avoid being forcibly removed to places they deem dangerous is to go under the radar. This raises the risk of economic, sexual and other forms of exploitation for these young people.

D. Disputes regarding young people's age and subsequent detention in adult deportation centres have deleterious effects on their mental health. The uncertainty and fear of being deported has also led to a spike in suicides and self-harm actions among young migrants.

Humphris, R. and Sigona, N. 2019 Outsourcing the best interests of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in the era of austerity, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 45 (2), 312-330

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF EQUALITY AND MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Several social scientists have argued that the evolution of capitalism cannot be divorced from broader global histories of racist expropriation. Indeed, it is in the current economic and political conjuncture that the case for an independent, critical social science that is attentive to these histories could not be stronger, particularly in terms of their role in shaping the persistence of structural and institutional racism, as well as the multiple and cumulative effects of everyday workplace racism.

Some social scientists have foregrounded migrant labour and the role played by

Image courtesy of Paul Gent

colonialism in shaping economic processes and labour relations in post-war Britain. More specifically, social scientists have shifted focus on to 'the ideology of racism' and institutional racism, as well as the extensive patterns of racial discrimination which underpin economic, political and ideological conflict in this country. In doing so, social scientists have examined the ways in which processes of economic decline and racism have impacted on the relationship between worker consciousness and 'racial consciousness', trade unionism and labour relations, while also noting the combined effects of racism, sexism, unpaid domestic labour and class exploitation, which has led some to argue

that Black Caribbean women occupy a 'distinct position in economic, political and ideological relations'.

Social scientists have also used the contextualised social biographies of Muslim Asian women to develop an intersectional framework for the study of labour markets. This research has shown how Muslim Asian women are both racialised and gendered, while highlighting the way in which multiple factors shape women's socio-economic positions. This includes noting the role played by the impacts of global and national economies together with cultural ideologies relating to women's paid employment, education and racism.

Studies have also shown that living in deprived areas of England can have a negative impact on the wages new migrants receive in the initial period after migration. Not only this, while patterns of employment among various 'ethnic groups' may have changed in recent decades, major ethnic inequality remains a persistent feature of the British labour market. Quantitative analyses of large-scale datasets have shown that in comparison to the White British group, members of various ethnic minority groups persistently face an 'ethnic penalty' in the labour market. So much so, that Black African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people face much higher risks of unemployment and have much lower levels of earnings in comparison to their White British counterparts over the course of their working lives. Related surveys have also drawn attention to the persistent ways in which the forms of racism that once sought to legitimise imperialism continue to shape people's everyday

experiences of racism in workplaces across Britain.

Research on the 'ethnic enclave' economy has exposed the intersections of structural inequality and institutional racism. These studies have focussed on employers' recruitment strategies which involve kinship and social networks, as well as the role played by language and business needs in the context of increasingly punitive immigration policies. Other studies have demonstrated how state bordering practices discriminate against racialized minority populations through immigration regulations which have set unrealistic income levels and occupational criteria for obtaining work visas, as well as the outsourcing of immigration checks to employers and targeted immigration raids on businesses in the ethnic enclave economy.

Social scientific research has also drawn attention to the impact of racial and ethnic factors in shaping the transition from education into the labour market. Social scientists have challenged the assumptions that the children of migrants do not experience the structural inequalities faced by their parents, thus 'transforming the classic explanatory models applied to the (early) second generation' by arguing that the persistent nature of ethnic and racial inequality in labour market outcomes 'needs to be understood in relation to higher as well as lower educational attainment'.

2018 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the 1968 Race Relations Amendment Act, which outlawed racial discrimination in employment. And yet structural and institutional racism remain engrained features of the British economy. Amidst the uncertainty and rise in hate crime following the 2016 EU Referendum, the broader hostile environment policy that emerged during Theresa May's time as Home Secretary, the Windrush scandal, the current Government's rightwards shift toward racial neoliberalism and the redrawing of the racial contract, not to mention the general differential impact of the current government's austerity agenda, the case for independent, critical social scientific research in the area of employment and the labour market remains as strong as ever.

Image courtesy of Georgie Wemyss

RACISM AT WORK

Based in the Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity at the University of Manchester, the Racism at Work project draws attention to the nature, scale and human impact of workplace racism. Providing both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the latest surveys carried out in relation to workplace racism, this research demonstrates that racism remains a pervasive feature of everyday working life for many people in Britain. The Racism Ruins Lives report was published in April 2019. Drawing on the Trade Union Congress's 2016/17 Racism at Work survey. Almost 5,200 people took in the survey which contained over 4,800 responses to the surveys open-ended questions. Statistical analysis of the survey revealed that 70% of Asian and Black workers had experienced racial harassment at work in the last five years, with 11% of Black, Asian and Mixed heritage employees reporting that they had experienced racist violence at work. This report also drew attention to the ways in which media and political discourse in and around the 2016 EU Referendum and Donald Trump's election as President of the United States, and the kinds of racial thinking that once underpinned colonialism, slavery and scientific racism, continue to shape workplace racism today. As well as highlighting the structural and institutional nature of contemporary workplace racism, this report also raises questions about the adherence to existing public sector equality duties fifty years after the Race Relations Amendment Act (1968) outlawed racial discrimination in employment.

Ashe, S., Borkowska, M. & Nazroo, J. 2018 Racism Ruins Lives: An analysis of the 2016-2017 TUC Racism at Work Survey. Trade Union Congress. (For further information, go to: https://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/research/projects/racism-at-work/)

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF EQUALITY AND MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Social scientists have been recently investigating how, in the UK, border policing increasingly takes places in everyday everywhere living spaces, fuelling the extension of the hostile environment for migrants and refugees. This can make racialised groups feel unsafe even in their own homes, where family life and privacy is generally considered an unquestionable right. Instead, social scientists have argued that the home itself has become a border zone. Immigration raids carried out by border enforcement officers in private houses contribute to this configuration on contemporary metropolitan borderscapes. High profile raids have been televised and widely broadcasted creating what social scientists have called spectacles of migrant 'illegality' or scenes of exclusion, which display migration as criminality and otherness, inflaming anti-immigration discourse.

Such exclusions and criminalisations also happen more subtly, through policies that marginalise and discount the housing conditions of poor and Black and minority ethnic people generally, as well as that of many migrants and refugees. London is a clear example of how housing policy has been used to push out poor citizens and racialised groups, operating as a kind of social and racialised cleansing. A tragic illustration of the resultant racialised housing inequalities is the Grenfell tower fire - which took place in one of the most unequal areas of the city – and the fire's impact on its residents, many of them of low income and/or Black and minority ethnic groups citizens. Examining the incident's location, impact, response and recovery, social scientists have pointed out that this disaster exemplifies how different social groups have unequal degrees of protection by the State, which prioritises 'whiteness', wealth and UK citizenship above other racialised, classed and citizenship categories, and which has made a 'bonfire' of housing 'red tape' regulations that has destroyed the protections most crucial to poor and otherwise marginalised citizens and residents.

Another area studied by social scientists in the housing arena is the legal requirement, following the 2014 Immigration Act, that landlords check potential tenants' immigration status. This is part of every-

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day bordering noted earlier. Landlords who are letting accommodation to someone who does not have leave to remain in the UK are committing a criminal offence and might receive a civil penalty of up to £3,000. Research has found that this provision has made landlords less likely to let to those who cannot immediately produce documents, a criterion which has been found by researchers to have a clear potential for discrimination and exclusion from the private rental housing market. Research has shown that this legal provision establishes de facto a new citizenship duty for landlords - to become unpaid border guards. It demonstrates how states select the individuals that

are involved in border work at a variety of scales and spaces.

Social scientists have also explored and challenged the diverse myths existing in the public domain regarding housing and migration. Contrary to popular media discourse, assuring us that migrants enjoy priority when accessing social housing, researchers have not found evidence supporting this statement; nor could they clearly establish a causal relationship between the price of housing and immigration rates. It was also found that the rate of home ownership among migrants

have been in the country for less than five years) are much more likely to rent (80%) compared to the average foreign-born population (41%). It was also found that new immigrants are much more likely to be in temporary accommodation, which research has shown usually involves lack of privacy, restricted freedom and control, poor living conditions, insecurity, and safety issues. Researchers have also pointed out that minority ethnic groups in more secure, long-term accommodation face other housing difficulties, such as limited choice in the social rented sector, racial harassment, insecurity and homelessness, poor conditions in houses in multiple occupation, and overcrowding in owner-occupied accommodation.

Photo by Aarón Blanco Tejedor on Unsplash

(42%) is significantly lower than among the UK-born population (69%), and that migrants (41%) are almost three times as likely to be in private rented accommodation as UK-born individuals (15%).

As revealed by social research, different types of migrants, with diverse rights, opportunities and financial resources, tend to have very different experiences when interacting with the UK housing system. Some types of migrants experience limited access to public benefits, including social housing. As a general rule, newly arrived non-EEA individuals are not entitled to claim social housing benefits. Research has found that new migrants (those who

TACKLING EXTREME HOUSING EXCLUSION

Contemporary austerity policies and severe cuts in welfare systems across many European countries are intensifying the climate of extreme housing exclusion, resulting in some social groups facing street homelessness, overcrowding, poor living conditions, and other insecure housing situations. In the study International lessons on tackling extreme housing exclusion, Netto & al. investigate different international approaches to tackling the problem of extreme housing exclusion and evaluate the transferability of these solutions to the UK.

The authors argue that having little or no statutory support is the main driver in extreme housing exclusion. Thus, the main social group affected is migrants, especially undocumented and/or economic migrants, and asylum-seekers. Undocumented migrants from both EU and non-EU countries and refused asylum-seekers have 'no recourse to public funds', meaning that they are not entitled to receive benefits or occupy social housing. EU economic migrants are not entitled to access public funds for at least the three first months of residence in the UK. Asylum-seekers are only entitled to receive housing support when they face destitution, and failed asylum-seekers can only apply for support under even more severe conditions.

Among these categories of migrants, the authors have noted:

- The interaction between several drivers of extreme housing exclusion, including low income or pay and marginalisation or exclusion from the labour market, lack of legal status and recent arrival, and the lack of affordable housing (Netto et al., 2015, p. 36).

- The study concludes that solutions to the lack of affordable housing would include maximising the use of empty buildings, preventing indefinite occupation of property or land, developing community-led and communal housing solutions, designing low-income permanent housing and high quality temporary housing, and supporting community self-build approaches.

Netto, G., Fitzpatrick, S., Sosenko, F. and Smith, H. 2015 International lessons on tackling extreme housing exclusion. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF EQUALITY AND MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Much social science research has pointed to regular and irregular migrant families' and their children's commitment to education and in some cases, considerable educational achievement. Such research also strongly indicates the positive impact of school education on migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker children's integration.

Image courtesy of National Eductions Union

emphasis on asylum-seeker dispersal, many schools' resource difficulties and under-preparation resulted in wide and unchecked variability of provision. Lack of statistical monitoring means progress cannot be measured or appropriate support offered. A study in 2012 has found 120,000 irregular migrant children in the UK without legal immigration status, at risk of poverty, no healthcare - and no education. In the UK and across Europe, Roma children are particularly likely not to be in school. For all such children, studies have shown that long delays characterise access.

Social scientists have also found that schools often fail to pay attention to migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker children's circumstances once enrolled and as a result many children drop out. Schools may lack translation services and provide little language help, use a 'one size fits all' model of parental involvement which stereotypes migrant parents as 'deficient', and fail to communicate effectively with parents about academic or pastoral issues or involve them in decision-making. Schools ignore irregular migrant children's specific needs, still less the recognised particular requirements of unaccompanied minors who are asylum -seekers, and who leave care at 18 with particularly little support around education. Instead, it was found that schools use existing generic services for 'vulnerable' groups which are often unsuitable for specific needs. For instance, placing all ethnic, religious, and social class groups of newly-arrived children into the 'English as Additional Language Needs (EAL)' category restricts schools' ability to recognise other pedagogic needs, different migratory histories, and children's range of identities, talents, and capabilities. Social scientists who have studied the education

It shows, for instance, that for irregular migrant children, education is stabilising, and that unaccompanied children who are in school learn English and integrate quicker, encouraging settlement.

Yet over the past fifteen years, research has also consistently shown wide-ranging educational 'neglect' of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking children. With the

of refugee children have found that, compared to other European countries, their education in the UK is characterised by an 'invisibility' which works against parity and 'ordinary life', and by a lack of will for change within schools.

'Everyday bordering' has also been shown to shadow irregular migrants' school education, generating difficult ID requirements; school discretion on accepting such pupils; parent fear of detection; failure to issue qualifications; non-access to benefits such as free meals; and unavailability of preschool education. Researchers have consistently found that many pupils who are barred, post-19, from access to education and who are unable to work legally, plus labouring under additional restrictions if their appeals fail, lose interest in any further education.

Social researchers have uncovered the negative effects on teachers and children of government dispersal policy and the detention and deportation of children. They have also discovered a number of 'best practice' factors in refugee, migrant and asylum-seeker children's education – for example, a strong 'welcome culture', celebrating value diversity and the cultural and linguistic capital of migrant families; a clear admissions policy especially at upper secondary level; innovative uses of funding such as the Pupil Premium to cover gaps; and support tailored specifically to refugee children - for instance help from teachers, integrated language services, and mental health services. Roma children do well in schools where there are good contacts between teachers and parents, age-appropriate placements despite language issues, Roma teaching assistants, and integrated services within the schools.

Studies have found that in secondary schools, bullying and racism are serious concerns for many migrant children, often related to negative media images of immigrants, and leading to fighting, discrimination and ethnic segregation, which may be ignored. Social scientists have documented the reshaping of local youth cultures by the events of 9/11 and the Iraq War, and the growth of islamaphobic bullying. Brexit has augmented this hostility. It was found that signs saying 'leave the EU, No more Polish vermin', were left outside Cambridgeshire schools in the aftermath of the referendum. Half the young people sampled in a post-referendum survey reported an increase in racism, including frequently in schools. For EU migrant parents, uncertainties over their own futures, and that of their children's education, especially those speaking other languages in a new context, were found to cause high levels of distress. More broadly, Brexit has been found to threaten the integrated futures which, for many, UK schooling promises and provides.

Social science research thus indicates the on-going problems of marginalisation, invisibility and the hostile environment for racialised migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker children in schools. At the same time, the research identifies strategies for the empowerment and engagement of migrant families, programmes of refugee-focused teacher education, and the success of holistic approaches that take into account the specificity and psycho-social complexity of migrant children's needs, celebrate international diversity and equitably bring together refugee and local children.

IRREGULAR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS: NEGLECT AND OBSTRUCTION VS COMMITMENT AND CREATIVITY

Recent research by Gladwell and Chetwynd (2018) for the Refugee Support Network found no Local Education Authority bringing all irregular migrant children into education within 20 days as mandated, and a third of secondary and FE students waiting over three months. Delays derived from cuts in specialist services; insufficient Special Education Needs places; school reluctance to compromise rankings; academies requiring Department of Education direction to take migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker children; temporary accommodation and transfers, which are frequent both for unaccompanied minors and for families; age assessments; and mental health issues:

- Mental health challenges are still a problem. It's not unusual that we get referrals for 1:1 education support for young people who just can't cope in a school environment, can't cope with being around other people in big groups, can't yet engage with a routine (p31).

The authors also identify six factors strongly positively associated with good educational outcomes for migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker children: at least one committed adult supporting the child long-term; appropriate curricula; pastoral and mental health support; voluntary sector partnerships; CPD training and creative approaches:

- Children who had been matched with a buddy on arrival spoke warmly of this experience and one, a year later, had himself become a buddy in his secondary school...one school had demonstrated a particular welcome at the peer level...'the whole class had learned some basic Arabic – they showed a really warm welcome to the children'. Other schools, particularly those part of the Schools of Sanctuary initiative, had adopted a school-wide approach to peer support, ensuring that the entire student cohort was aware of the issues facing refugee and migrant children, and the important contribution these children could make in their school (p.51).

Gladwell, C. and Chetwynd, G. 2018 Education for refugee and asylum seeking children. London: Refugee Support Network and UNICEF UK

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF EQUALITY AND MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Social-scientific research on universities has pointed to the value claimed, in UK policy, for global flows of students and staff as building varied forms of capital and a knowledge economy. At the same time, such research has shown how in practice, globalised higher education largely reproduces and builds on existing high levels of capital. UK universities' partnerships with low- or middle-income countries have been assessed as extractive, rather than developmental, and even feminist initiatives within higher education have been found as often operating with stereotypes around 'migrants' and gender. Students who are migrants, refugees or asylum-seekers with lower levels of economic, cultural and/or linguistic capitals receive, research has found, little attention within the university sector. Forced migrants, in particular, face barriers related to immigration status, English language, and earlier, less-recognised study histories. Refugees lack UK support networks; asylum-seekers and those with 'irregular' migration status from, for instance, the Windrush generation must pay non-EU student fees; immigration bail conditions may prohibit some from HE entry; ongoing legal cases generate uncertainty and disrupt study.

Universities are increasingly charged by government with policing all international students' visa compliance. Earlier 2010s research showed skilled non-EU students and staff partially succeeding in efforts to enter into dialogue with government agencies on such issues. However, after the 2014 Immigration Act, the hostile environment has been ramped up in universities, via what researchers have called 'everyday bordering': the creation of 'internal' borders that constitute all citizens as at the same time border guards and subjects of surveillance. These 'bordering'

processes include biometric data collection, police registration, credibility interviews, unusually extensive administrative procedures, and heavy attendance monitoring. Such 'bordering' is, social researchers find, reducing student recruitment, particularly from Asia; limiting non-EU academics' interest in working in the UK; creating negative attitudes internationally about UK higher education; generating

anxiety about and over-zealous application of the 'bordering' processes among UK academics and administrators; and producing racism, discrimination against specific national groups, and discrimination against women, where 'bordering' processes disregard care responsibilities. At the same time, researchers have chronicled successful strategies, such as those developed by the organisations Article 26 and Universities of Sanctuary, for financial and other support for asylum-seeker and

refugee students, as well as pre-university programmes that have become practice benchmarks, delivered now, to varying degrees, by around 70 Higher Education and Further Education providers.

However, as research has shown, internal bordering processes operating in universities have had damaging effects on the UK's profile as an international educator. It was found that these measures have created a high level of anxiety among international students, negative publicity, and students losing their places when their migration status was not settled on time for the beginning of the academic years as well as some legal challenges.

Researchers have calculated that Brexit's effects on migration pose specific challenges to university staff and student numbers and finance. About a fifth of UK academic staff are from other EU countries, more than in other UK labour sectors; they face uncertain citizenship prospects. Studies estimate post-Brexit higher education losses of £800m. It was found that after the referendum, not just EU students but all international students were less likely to say they would study in the UK.

The university as 'soft border' has also been argued by social scientists to involve university staff with inappropriate terrorism 'management' through the Prevent agenda of vigilance around extremism, which is applied to non-EU and EU students and staff. Researchers point to the unproductive confusions among the uses of Prevent within university applications between appropriate education and monitoring and misplaced 'policing', demonstrating also how academics resist becoming security agents, while universities themselves focus more and more on risk reduction.

Racism and classism interact with the hostile environment in universities, affecting many UK-born and non-UK born young Black and minority ethnic people especially. These students, studies have documented, tend, like state secondary education students generally, to perceive Russell Group universities in particular as so racist and classist that it is pointless to apply. Yet social researchers have shown how Black and minority ethnic group potential students continue to value university education highly, despite discrimination operating particularly strongly in this sector in admissions, especially in Russell Group universities, in post-graduation employment, and in staff appointments.

UNEQUAL ADMISSIONS FOR BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC GROUP STUDENTS

Boliver has discovered some potential answers to the question of why, while ethnic minority communities are overall better represented in universities than White British peers, applicants from Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds are particularly likely to be refused - even when these applicants have the same A level grades or predicted grades as White applicants, and independent of degree and A level subjects and GCSE results. In Russell Group universities specifically, other Black and minority ethnic groups are similarly disadvantaged. Boliver hypothesises that direct discrimination may be operating on the basis of names and other personal details not removed from application forms. Moreover, finding that ethnic minorities are especially likely to be refused when they constitute a high percentage of applicants, she suggests selectors may be operating in such circumstances – though they do not do this where ethnic minority applications are a small applicant percentage – to generate subject cohorts they see as numerically reflecting the UK population, by, in these cases, reducing Black and minority ethnic group acceptance likelihood. Boliver also points out the lack of detailed individual university-level data on Black and minority ethnic group admissions and UCAS's unwillingness to release data - continuing omissions and evasions which make it hard to ascertain the reasons for discriminatory patterns.

Boliver, V. 2015. Why are British ethnic minorities less likely to be offered places at highly selective UK universities? In Alexander, C. and Arday, J. Aiming higher. London: Runnymede Trust.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF RACIST AND ANTI-RACIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS.

In recent years, Britain, wider Europe and other countries in the Global North and South have seen a rise in far-right mobilisation and activism against racialised minority groups, Muslims and immigrants. We have witnessed the rise of a reconstructed far right, surfing a populist hype and cloaking their racism in pseudo-progressive tropes such as free speech and women's rights to target racialised minorities. This has been accompanied by a revival of traditional white supremacist, nativist and fascist calls for repatriation and ethnic cleansing.

Photo by Nitish Meena on Unsplash

or nationalist; and articulations of racism, comprising those where the main goal or target is the elimination or expulsion of Jewish people, and those directed more by anti-Black and anti-Asian racism or Islamophobia. British examples include the British Union of Fascists, the National Front, the British National Party and Britain First.

The main trend in recent years has been how these traditional 'others' have been replaced by a focus on Muslims and on anti-Islamic mobilisations through extreme right groups like the English Defence League. Aligned with forms of cultural racism, traditional extreme right, anti-Black and anti-Asian racism and anti-Semitism has been seen in the resurgence of the so-called 'Alt-Right' globally. What is significant about these shifts, social researchers have found, is the way they link a number of elements of contemporary racism to issues of migration, security and law enforcement.

Social scientists make an important contribution to understanding this contemporary resurgence, often by looking to elements of continuity and change in racial discourse. Social science investigates different aspects of far-right practices from extremism and violence to mainstream racism and scapegoating, and from a range of approaches from causal explanation to policy-oriented problem solving to critical analysis.

The far-right has never been homogenous. It is divided by form, working via organisations, parties or street activists; tactics, which may be electoral, protest-based and/or involve violence; ideology, which can be fascist, imperialist and/

While political scientists mainly concentrate on the extent of support for far right parties and movements, sociologists tend to provide a more critical understanding of the ways in which the far right and racist discourse currently operates. As a field, far-right studies has, in Europe particularly, been dominated by political scientists who focus mostly on psephology, parties and electoral results, as opposed to wider social contexts, causes, issues and implications, including racism and xenophobia, which can often become secondary or compartmentalised as a characteristic in a taxonomy. Although electoral and party focused research is important, it can miss the social context (where, arguably, causal and exacerbating factors, radicalisation,

mobilisation and harm occur), as well as sometimes reaffirm, defend and/or leave unchallenged establishment parties and liberal democracy. Moreover, these may also be the target of the 'populist' backlash that feeds the far-right and hold less extreme racist and xenophobic positions (partly to appeal to possible far-right supporters and reduce their effect).

Sociologists have drawn attention to the role of racism, identity, ideology and socio-economic conditions in the revival of the far right and the extent to which the ideas of the so-called 'far right' have become part of the 'mainstream'. Across Europe, there has been increased support for racist and xenophobic far-right parties such as the Front National in France, the AfD (Alternative for Germany) in Germany, the Lega in Italy and the Freedom Party in Austria. Sociologists stress that politicians, the media, but also academics themselves can legitimise these trends in a wide range of ways. David Cameron's call as Prime Minister for 'muscular liberalism' marked the beginning of a long period of opposition to multiculturalism in Britain where some groups, particularly Muslims have been depicted as living separate or 'parallel lives', as if this is just a matter of choice rather than a product of discrimination and structural disadvantage in housing and employment.

Social scientists have found that in terms of policy, the Prevent agenda has focussed Muslims as potential extremists and terrorists at risk of radicalisation partly because of their social marginalisation. This has served to legitimise the far-right and wider Islamophobia. Sociologists stress the existence of multiple and overlapping racisms and the need to link 'old' and 'new' forms of racist sentiment, in particular the ways newer racialised minorities – like Muslims, but also some refugee and asylum communities – are at the forefront of racist discourse alongside more 'traditional' groups such as Black and Asian as well as Jewish people.

Separating racist and fascist movements from the mainstream was one of the goals of anti-racism, especially in the 1970s through Rock against Racism and the campaigns against the National Front in Britain. However, in the current climate, as demonstrated in the 2016 Brexit cam-

Photo by Antoine Merour on Unsplash

paign, far-right ideas have become part of the mainstream. Thus the increasing normalisation and mainstreaming of scapegoating anti-immigrant xenophobia and Islamophobia, as well as nativist white nationalism has become routine rather than exceptional.

The election and rule of President Trump underscores this through instances such as his immigration ban on people from seven majority-Muslim countries, his commitment to 'building a wall' between the US and Mexico, and his response to the Honduran migrant caravan. Some have even begun discussing Trump in terms of contemporary fascism. At the same time, scholars working on

securitization note the disparity between the policing of white racist movements, such as the KKK, National Socialist Movement, Traditionalist Workers Party and American Vanguard in the USA, or the various far right parties in Europe who are rarely treated as a discrete security issue, while Muslims are subjected to collective suspicion and even guilt. This is despite Mark Rowley, the former Metropolitan Police counterterrorism chief, warning that the far right poses 'an organised and significant' threat. In December 2018, it was reported that there was a 39% increase in far right Prevent referrals. This demonstrates the need for analysis of both the conventional far right as well as 'mainstream' state policies and media discourse. These links should be core to social science research in the field.

MAINSTREAMING THE FAR-RIGHT AND COUNTER MEASURES

An important study of mainstreaming is by Cynthia Miller-Idriss. Miller-Idriss is a Cultural Sociologist who focuses on aesthetics, fascism, gender and nationhood, particularly in relation to the far-right in Germany. Her work specifically looks at how clothing, style and fashion symbols act as a gateway into extremist scenes and subcultures, and enabler for the mainstreaming of the far-right into popular culture, as well as on the role of education in countering that. She highlights the German approach in which teachers receive significant guidance on extremist youth culture and learn new strategies to engage those at risk.

Miller-Idriss, C. 2018. The extreme gone mainstream: Commercialization and far-right youth culture in Germany. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Miller-Idriss, C. 2009. Blood and culture: Youth, right-wing extremism, and national belonging in contemporary Germany. Durham: Duke University Press.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF RACIST AND ANTI-RACIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS.

As long as migrants and racialised minorities have experienced exclusion, they have developed forms of resistance. Recent historical sociology on class and the experience of 'racialised outsiders' – Irish Catholics, Ashkenazi Jews and people of African and Asian descent – has tracked instances when migrant minorities organised politically and articulated their subaltern condition, and in doing so contributed to the development of Britain's democratic culture from the late 18th century onwards. Irish and black radicals involved in the struggle against slavery and the campaign for universal suffrage developed powerful critiques of racialised norms of citizenship and politi-

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cal belonging; Jewish migrants contested 'anti-alien' racism in the early twentieth century; the Windrush generation fought for both civil rights and cultural recognition, with a powerful effect on the institutions of the British state.

In the 1990s the political force of the movements driven by the Windrush generation helped reshape social science too, encouraging an anti-racist approach, rather than the older race relations approach. However, while both racism and the migrant and minority experience have been heavily researched by social scientists, anti-racism as a political discourse and a form of collective social action has remained relatively under-examined and often ignored as a serious field of research.

In a recent seminal study of anti-racism, six forms of anti-racism have been identified: everyday anti-racism, in which ordinary people have found ways to resist discrimination and live together across lines of difference; multicultural anti-racism, which affirms diversity and enables empathy; psychological anti-racism, based around raising consciousness and affirming subaltern identities; radical anti-racism, which challenges the structural roots of racism; anti-Nazi and anti-fascist anti-racism; and the politics of trying to make institutions 'representative' of society's diversity.

All of these currents overlap. For instance, recent ethnographies of anti-deportation campaigns have shown that some activists are informed by political agendas around structural change or the critique of immigration controls, while others are motivated by more basic sympathy and solidarity arising from having attended the same school or living in the same neighbourhood as those threatened with deportation. And they can be contradictory: as the same ethnographies show, pro-migrant mobilisations can create divisions by playing off 'good'/'deserving' from 'bad'/'undeserving' immigrants or can deny migrants agency by framing them as objects of humanitarianism rather than subjects of politics.

Other forms of anti-racist activism also emerge as Britain's demography and social structure changes. New forms of youth culture and of anti-racist activism have emerged that require new thinking

from social scientists. The unique forms of contemporary disadvantage faced by migrant and minority populations are, many social scientists argue, due to the combination of austerity, which has impacted disproportionately on people of colour in the UK, and the forms of bordering described in earlier sections of this publication. These forms have given rise to new political vocabularies and new routes of mobilisation, as shown by the examples of migrant trade union organising and the Strangers into Citizens campaign. Some recent anthropological and sociological research among young people of colour in urban Britain has attempted to map the cultural implications of these shifts, showing that older languages of civil rights and cultural recognition have been replaced among younger generations of activists with an imperative to carve out their own spaces of engagement and reclaim their terms of speaking, by practices of self-care and self-affirmation in new community spaces. Such shifts are exemplified by political activism in response to the 2017 Grenfell tragedy. Here, the ethnic, religious, and migration status, diversity and the economic, social and legal precariousness of the residents of the social housing Tower – located in one of the most privileged parts of London – became emblematic of a political constituency that has been little heard by mainstream Britain, but which demanded redress – and to be heard – in the aftermath of the fire. This political constituency was often given voice not by conventional political activists, but through urban expressive culture, for instance by young multi-racial British grime and hip hop musicians. These creative activists signalled a new form of political subjectivity is emerging from urban

Britain's complex mix of super-diversity and super-inequality.

A recent scholarly article concludes by describing 'resources for hope' in relation to anti-racism in the current Brexit period. First, the memory of the collective resistance of the twentieth century remains deposited in some parts of Britain's black and minority ethnic populations and has inspired more recent movements such as Grenfell activism, as it has outside the UK with Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall. Second, in everyday life in especially, but not only, urban neighbourhoods, multi-ethnic populations have found ways of

rubbing along together in a banal, unremarkable way, partly due to the gains and successes of earlier cycles of struggle, including that of the Windrush Generation. Meanwhile, quantitative social scientists, analysing data such as the British Social Attitudes Survey, have charted a generational shift in attitudes towards migrants and minoritised groups among the UK's majority ethnic population, with a decline in various forms of prejudice and the emergence among younger cohorts of a kind of anti-racist 'common sense'. Social science has both a responsibility and the unique tools to trace these shifts, as well as to contribute to a society based on equality, justice and mutual respect.

STUDYING THE COMPLEX NATURE OF ANTI-RACIST MOBILISATION IN THE UK

Two case studies illustrate the complex nature of anti-racist mobilisation in the UK, and the contribution social scientists can make to understanding it. First, the research on Cities of Sanctuary movement which emerged in early 21st century Britain based on a wide coalition of civil society groups from faith organizations to trade unions, has shown that different forms of belonging and citizenship can transform policy agendas around race and migration. The new movements, the researcher Vicky Squire argues, exemplify 'mobile solidarities': they promote the physical movement of people – the right to migrate – and are based on heterogeneous political collectives shaped by globalisation's intensified mobility and diversity, rather than on communities of co-ethnic residents.

Second, the mobilisation of migrants within trade unions has challenged traditional grammars of class stratification. Many studies have shown that British trade unions have been revitalised by the engagement of migrant workers, including those with insecure immigration status. Such workers are often employed in some of the most exploitative and precarious economic sectors, and have organised both inside and outside, and sometimes against traditional trade unions. Davide Però and John Solomos, researching Latin American migrant workers in the UK, shows that, for them, economic, political and cultural issues are thoroughly interwoven, with experiences of low pay and exploitation inseparable from immigration controls and from minority experiences of prejudice, disrespect and lack of cultural recognition in the workplace, in unions and in everyday life. Such entanglements erode the conventional social science distinctions between class and culture, showing that intersectional class analysis needs to take the growing super-diversity of the UK population into account, a move that is opening up fruitful areas of social science inquiry.

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Però, D. and Solomos, J. 2010. Introduction: migrant politics and mobilization: exclusion, engagements, incorporation. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33, (1), 1-18.

5. CONCLUSION: SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Society is under huge pressure, multiple crises are shaking the foundations of the liberal democratic order and the values on which it grounds its legitimation. Nativist and far-right movements are on the rise in Britain, as in many western democracies. Global wealth inequality and climate breakdown call for the emergence of new forms of solidarity and resistance that transcend national boundaries without losing track of local dynamics and impacts. In a globalised and interconnected world, social sciences have to respond to the challenge to investigate the local and the global, and their interconnection. International cooperation and networks, collaborative and comparative work, knowledge circulation and exchange are an essential part of this process. British social sciences have greatly benefitted from these forms of collaboration and cooperation. Brexit and the hostile environment are turning people and ideas away, making the country less attractive to students and international scholars and damaging our international reputation for research excellence.

Social scientists need to be alert to the emergence of new forms of racialisation, exclusion and exploitation in these turbulent times in society and closer home, in their own institutions. In the higher education (HE) and further education (FE) sectors, more stringent visa checks on students were introduced to unmask alleged abuses of the immigration system. But they travelled a long way from there, and are now a central part of the bureaucratic machinery of British universities: imposing straining and time-consuming bureaucratic requirements for the sake of 'compliance' (the normalised version of the hostile environment), and more importantly affecting the relationship between students and teachers and the very nature of what universities should be about, that it is the production and circulation of knowledge across disciplinary and geographical boundaries.

As Britain struggles to redefine itself in the Brexit period, race and migration are central to the public issues that matter. Social science research illuminates these issues and enriches policy debates. There is an urgent need for social scientists to communicate this knowledge to the wider society and reclaim their role as public intellectuals.

Photo by Matteo Paganelli on Unsplash

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Molly Andrews

Professor of Political Psychology, and Co-director of the Centre for Narrative Research (www.uel.ac.uk/cnr/index.htm) at the University of East London. Amongst her publications are Lifetimes of Commitment: Aging, Politics, Psychology; Shaping History: Narratives of Political Change (both Cambridge University Press), and Narrative Imagination and Everyday Life (Oxford University Press).

Floya Anthias, FAcSS,

Emeritus Professor of Sociology and Social Justice at the University of Roehampton. Floya's recent books (since 2014) include Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe, Springer, and Contesting Integration, Engendering Migration, Palgrave. Her latest book, Translocational Belongings: Intersectional Dilemmas (Routledge), is coming out in Spring 2020.

Madeleine Arnot, FAcSS

Emeritus Professor of Sociology of Education who co-founded the Centre for the Study of Global Human Movement at Cambridge University. Her publications include: Education, Asylum and the 'Non-Citizen' Child: the politics of compassion and belonging (2010, H. Pinson et al); and Language Development and Social Integration of Students with English as an Additional Language (Evans et al., in press).

Stephen Ashe

A Researcher at the University of Manchester, where he leads a programme of research on workplace racism. Recent publications include Racism Ruins Lives: An Analysis of the 2016-2017 Trade Union Congress Racism at Work Survey (with M. Borkowska & J. Nazroo) and Reframing the 'Left Behind': Race and Class in Post-Brexit Oldham (with J. Rhodes & S. Valluvan).

Avtar Brah, FAcSS,

Professor Emerita of Sociology at Birkbeck College, University of London and a member of the Editorial Collective of Feminist Review and the journal Identities. Her books include Cartographies of Diaspora/Contesting Identities; Hybridity and its Discontents: Science, Culture, Politics; Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture; and, Global Futures: Migration, Enviornment and Globalization.

Giorgia Donà

Co-director of the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging at the University of East London (UEL) and Fellow of the UK Higher Education Academy. Recent publications include The Marginalised in Genocide Narratives (2019), Forced Migration: Current Issues and Debates (ed. 2019, with Alice Bloch) and Child and Youth Migration: Mobility-in-Migration in an Era of Globalisation (ed. 2014, with Angela Veale).

Umut Erel

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Ben Gidley

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Rachel Humphris
A Lecturer in Politics and Sociology at Queen Mary, University of London. She researches migration, citizenship, borders, cities, gender and race. Her monograph, Home-land: Romanian Roma, domestic spaces and the state was published with University of Bristol/University of Chicago Press in March 2019.

Eleonore Kofman
Professor of Gender, Migration and Citizenship and Director of the Social Policy Research Centre at Middlesex University London. Publications include Family Friendly? The impact on children of the Family Migration Rules: A review of the financial requirements, Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2015 and 'Family migration as a class matter', International Migration, 2018.

Karim Murji, FAcSS,
Professor of Social Policy at the University of West London. He is the author of Racism, Policy and Politics (2017) and co-editor of (2015) Theories of Race and Ethnicity and (2014) of Race critical race scholarship. Recent articles include (2018) 'Rioting and the politics of crisis' and (with U.Erel and Z. Nahaboo, 2016), and 'Understanding the contemporary race-migration nexus', both in Ethnic and Racial Studies.

Ann Phoenix, FAcSS,
Professor of Psychosocial Studies at University College, London and a Fellow of the British Academy. Her recent articles include (2019), Situating Children's Family Troubles: Poverty and Serial Migration, Journal of Family Issues; and (with B. Hayanga & D. Kneale2019), 'Understanding the friendship networks of older Black and Minority Ethnic people living in the United Kingdom' Ageing and Society.

Aurlien Mondaon
A Senior Lecturer in politics at the University of Bath. He published in 2013 the book, and he recently co-edited After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, racism and free speech published with Zed. His forthcoming book (co-authored with A. Winter, 2020) is Reactionary democracy: How racism and the populist far-right became mainstream.

Nando Sigona
Professor of International Migration and Forced Displacement and Director of the Institute for Research into Superdiversity at the University of Birmingham. His books include Undocumented Migration (with Gonzales, Franco and Papoutsi, Polity 2019) and Sans Papiers. The social and economic lives of undocumented migrants (with Bloch and Zetter, Pluto 2014).

Corinne Squire, FAcSS,
Professor of Social Sciences and Co-Director, Centre for Narrative Research, at the University of East London. She co-edited Voices from the 'Jungle', a book of personal accounts written by residents of the Calais refugee camp (Africa et al., Pluto, 2017). Other books include Doing narrative research (with Andrews and Tamboukou, Sage, 2013) and Living with HIV and ART (Palgrave, 2013).

Nuria Targarona Rifa
Graduated in Political Sciences at Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona, Spain) and in Refugee Studies at the University of East London (UEL). She works as a client advisor providing guidance to asylum seekers on accessing housing and financial support, healthcare and social activities. Her current research focuses on how the prohibition to work has an impact on asylum seekers' lives and wellbeing.

Georgie Wemyss
Senior Lecturer and Co-Director at in the Centre for research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB) at the University of East London. She is the author of The Invisible Empire: White Discourse, Tolerance and Belonging (2016), the co-author (with N. Yuval-Davis & K. Cassidy of Bordering (Polity 2019) and the producer and research of the documentary film Everyday Borders, 2016.

Aaron Winter
Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of East London. He is co-editor of Discourses and Practices of Terrorism: Interrogating Terror (2010), Reflexivity in Criminological Research: Experiences with the Powerful and the Powerless (2014) and Historical Perspectives on Organised Crime and Terrorism (2018), and co-author with A. Mondon, of Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far-right Became (2020).

Nira Yuval-Davis, FAcSS
Professor Emeritus, Honorary Director of the Research Centre on Migration, Refugees and Belonging, University of East London. Among her books are Gender and Nation (1997), The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations (2011) and the co-authored (with G. Wemyss & K. Cassidy, 2019) Bordering. Her 1984 article in on Zionism, Antisemitism and the Struggle Against Racism has recently been republished in Feminist Review.

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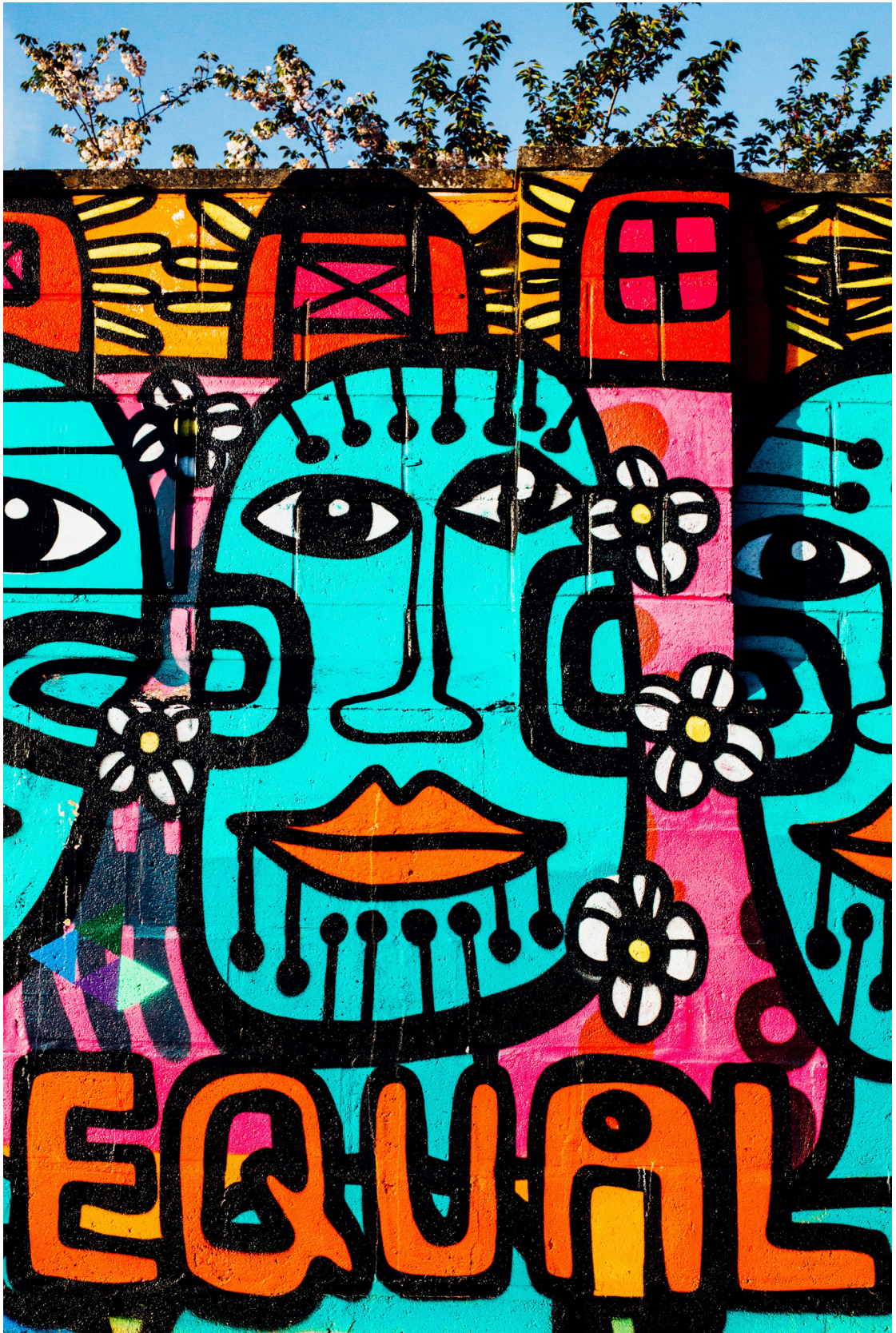
ENVIRONMENT SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AGAINST THE HOSTILE