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Supervisor name:	Isabel Gutierrez Sanchez

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Third marker name (if applicable):	

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BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

[In]Visible Communities: Planning for immigrant diversity in Barking and Dagenham

Ann-Marie Webb

MSc Urban Regeneration

Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Urban Regeneration at University College London:

I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

Signature: Ann-Marie Webb

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Abstract

As cities have become superdiverse, urban planning must adapt to changes in the use of urban space. In Barking and Dagenham, rapid demographic change in the last two decades due to migration has fuelled community tensions and raised questions about how to 'integrate' new demographic groups.

This dissertation provides a narrative led analysis of planning for new immigrant diversity in Barking and Dagenham, using seven in-depth-interviews as the primary dataset. This is supplemented by a range of secondary evidence, including policy documents.

It finds that integration is not seen as an explicit planning concern by policy makers. However, the relationship between housing and the long-term integration of new immigrant communities is shown to be one of cyclical marginalisation, where the spatial imaginary of the borough is constructed upon binaries of 'host' visibility and immigrant invisibility, and in turn further reinforces these binaries through planning.

Introduction

Public discourses around immigration, particularly in the media, have long been characterised by framings of immigrants as 'invaders' and the UK as a country whose social resources are deliberately being exploited by these newcomers (Moore, 2013; Morrison, 2019). At the same time, cities in the UK are becoming 'superdiverse' (Vertovec, 2007), with immigrant diversity highlighted as contributing to the vibrancy and economic growth of places like London. These contrasting imaginaries of urban space, that of immigrant groups posing either a *threat to* or *enrichment of* cities' cultural and economic power, are generally reconciled in policy through an ambition for the integration of new immigrants with the place-based imaginary of established communities. That is, integration achieved through "social cohesion, shared values and national identity" (Lessard-Phillips and Galandini, 2015), where immigrants are seen to transition from strangers to hosts of the place they reside in, is what seemingly grants immigrant communities 'legitimate' entitlement to urban space.

Discussions of planning for diversity (of various kinds) often draw upon one or more aspects of Fincher and Iveson's (2008) conceptual framework, which outlines the need for urban planning to undertake the "recognition" of cultural differences, create opportunities for economic "redistribution", and facilitate social "encounters" that reduce prejudice, in order to achieve socially just outcomes. This dissertation will use all three aspects of this framework as cross-cutting themes through which to build a more holistic understanding of the way that planning for immigrant diversity is undertaken in local contexts, with a focus on housing in the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham. It will seek to add new understandings to the topic of planning for diversity by analysing the way that planning policy and practices either implement or reject claims to urban space made by new immigrant groups.

The topic will be approached through the following research question:

- Using the concepts of planning for diversity, what is the relationship between housing and the long-term integration prospects of new immigrant communities?

Further, three research objectives will be investigated in order to answer this question:

1. How does the recognition of the needs of 'host' groups and new immigrant communities impact redistributive housing planning policies in the borough?
2. What are the housing careers of newly arrived immigrant groups and how does policy attempt to address issues of inequality that stem from these pathways?
3. How do encounters around informal housing impact the long-term integration of new immigrant communities into the local spatial imaginary?

The broadest definition of 'immigrant' describes those who "have migrated across national boundaries and who have arrived into and are now resident in a new country" (Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007). However, this term also encapsulates a significant range of legal statuses, social entitlements, cultural identities, and economic situations that are experienced by individuals. The sheer variety of immigrant identities is beyond the power of this dissertation to address, and instead, Robinson, Reeve and Casey's (ibid) conceptualisation of *new immigrants* is employed in order to investigate the topic of planning for immigrant diversity through housing. That is, immigrants who are "legally entitled to be resident in the UK, who have recently settled in the country and who arrived into a situation of social and economic disadvantage" (p16). Further, refugees and asylum seekers will not be included in this definition for the purposes of this analysis, given their very specific legal and welfare entitlements, and the comparatively wider body of existing literature centring their experiences of settlement and social establishment. 'Recently settled' is a vague term, and it will be taken as those who arrived in Barking and Dagenham during its post-2000 period of demographic change due to migration.

There are some conceptually nebulous terms to consider in this research area. The definitions of recognition, redistribution and encounter will be addressed in the Literature Review through their specific relationship to perspectives on immigration, integration, and spatial imaginaries, in order to focus their use for the analysis of Barking and Dagenham. This analysis is drawn from, and organised according to, trends in primary data collected in the

form of in-depth-interviews with a range of key informants in the borough. Section 1 of the analysis will address research objective 1, by revealing the way that perceptions of 'legitimate' claims to urban space impact the visibility of resident groups in the creation of planning outcomes. Section 2 of the analysis will answer objective 2, by focussing on Eastern European migrant workers' housing careers, as this group was consistently highlighted during interviews as dwelling in ways that did not integrate with the local spatial imaginary. Section 3 will draw together conclusions from the first chapters of analysis in order to address objective 3.

Literature Review

Immigration is widely recognised as an issue that affects the built environment, both in literature and policy. Studies on immigrant housing careers have emphasised the insecurity and informality faced by new immigrant groups, and there is a varied and detailed literature on the barriers to social and economic establishment present in the cultural, legal and welfare systems that these same groups must navigate. However, there is relatively little research on the explicit links between the creation of urban planning policy goals and new immigrant housing need and practices in the UK. This dissertation aims to address this research gap through a more holistic understanding of the wider social structures that underpin planning at the local level; by investigating the way ownership of space and entitlement to housing is first imagined by policy makers and communities, and then manifested through concrete planning goals.

Spatial imaginaries and mobility

It seems obvious to state that urban planning is concerned with the spatial. The built environment, concrete, mapped, and visible, is the tangible result of planning as encapsulated in Soja's (1996) concept of 'Firstspace'. Yet geographical and philosophical writings have increasingly challenged the orthodoxy of traditional perceptions of space as a fixed and neutral surface, through and upon which people and ideas move. In order to understand the reality of life in urban space, it is argued, we must also interrogate the multiplicity of its histories, potential trajectories, and the way it is characterised and argued over; the imagined representation that forms Soja's 'Secondspace' (ibid, p; Massey, 2005).

Pearce (2012) asserts that migration, understood as the movement of people to and from a particular space, has played a role in creating the "severely limited conceptualisation of space and place that has prevailed in Western thought for centuries" (p7): that of fixed national and geographical imaginaries. These have roots in the era of empire, where cartographic surveys formed a crucial part of the colonisation process, by enabling the transformation of "region[s] the Europeans called terra incognita into a mapped and bounded

colony" (Burnett, 2000, p3). These narratives, of domination through boundary creation, conceptualised the relationship between Western and non-Western states in terms of binaries of identity: "Europe against the Orient, rational against the irrational, and the advanced against the backwards" (Wilson, 2017, p453). National imaginaries are in this way shaped by constructions of identity in relation to encounters within, and in the claiming of, space.

There is a contrast between the colonial constructions of national identity and collective (Western) solidarity, and the neoliberal modernity that, since the 1980s, has been accepted as an inevitability (Rodrik, 2017; Moore, 2013). Massey (2005) notes that in the context of globalisation, where the differentiation between spaces' individual trajectories are blurred, the concept of place takes on a symbolic resonance. Place, Massey continues, is intrinsically local; a source of meaning against the vastness of the global that, for some, involves a "protective pulling-up of drawbridges … the attempted withdrawal from invasion / difference" (ibid, p6). Mobility, then, is also seen as the threat of difference to established spatial imaginaries by those who self-identify as unified 'hosts' of that space. The term 'host' can therefore not be empirically defined, it is the construction of a particular collective spatial imaginary. This concept is particularly important to the interrogation of research objective 1, where the social histories and trajectories of Barking and Dagenham influence the way 'host' identities are constructed. This section will further analyse how this figurative "pulling up of drawbridges" is enacted through planning policy around social housing.

All three research objectives involve the cross-cutting application of the concepts of recognition, encounter, and redistribution. These will be outlined in the remainder of this literature review.

Discourses of immigrant recognition and integration in the UK

Fincher and Iveson (2008) highlight the importance of recognition of difference when planning for diversity in the city, and note that it should seek to "accommodate the diversity of group distinctiveness, by attacking those forms of inequality which are a product of failures

to recognise the existence of different needs and values" (p145). Recognition of immigrant diversity in the UK is linked with the policy aim of integration. However, as cities such as London have become "superdiverse" (Vertovec, 2007), the conceptualisations of target groups for policy in terms of ethnicity have become increasingly reductive.

The influence of post-war migration patterns on UK policymaking is evident today, through the mainstreaming of ethnicity within the discourse of social inclusion and integration (Schloten, Collett and Petrovic, 2017). The period from the 1950s to the 1970s, prompted by domestic labour shortages, saw the first large-scale migration from commonwealth (and postcolonial) countries to the UK (ibid), with free movement policies between commonwealth countries giving new migrants the right to permanent settlement (Perry, 2008). The experiences of this group were instrumental in shaping policy with regards to recognising ethnic difference, resulting in the racial modes of categorisation still in use today (Schloten and Penninx, 2016) in both policy and academic literature.

From the 1990s, as Britain experienced a shift from net emigration to net immigration, there has been a "marked … diversification of country of origin" (Vertovec, 2007, p1028). For example, in 2011 there were a reported 270 nationalities, and 300 languages spoken, in London alone (Evening Standard, 2011). Vertovec (2007) emphasises that this shift in immigration patterns, from countries with historical and, crucially, colonial links with Britain to those without, has produced a 'superdiversity' in major urban areas. Further, he emphasises that this term relates to the multiplicity of identities held by inhabitants of these cities. Ethnicity alone cannot encompass the interplay of variables, such as immigration status and associated entitlements, labour market experiences, gender, age, and the variety of area-specific responses produced by residents and service providers (p1025) that shape the lived experience of immigrants in urban environments. The literature, at least, acknowledges a gap between this top-down ethnic categorisation used to recognise diversity in policy, and the increasing limitations of these categories in a superdiverse context.

The objective of immigrant recognition in British policy making is often centred around integration. Academics and policy makers have struggled to define integration and create metrics for measuring its success, and the term itself is political loaded. While contested

nature of this term is acknowledged, this dissertation will employ it in order to allow for consistent terminology across the various theoretical and policy-centred discussions undertaken. Policy research, such as that conducted by the EU in 2012, have sought to draw out commonalities in integration strategies across a variety of European contexts (Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, n.d.). However, for the most part, national approaches to integration are varied and highly dependent on historical, institutional and cultural contexts. In other words, as Schloten and Penninx (2016) note, state-wide integration approaches are often intertwined with the national imaginary of that country. In the UK, responsibility for integration policies is highly localised, with the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) laying out five guideline policy aims with regards to integration: common ground, social mobility, participation, responsibility, and tackling extremism and intolerance (Creating the Conditions, 2012). At the local level, these concepts are encapsulated in the policy shorthand of 'community cohesion', and in recent years there has been an increased emphasis on this metric as a pathway to the social integration of new migrants and existing communities. Barking and Dagenham has both an Equality and Diversity Strategy (2017) and a dedicated Cohesion and Integration Strategy (2019). However, the significant devolution of policy control means that responses to issues of cohesion and integration vary significantly among other local authority contexts (London Councils, 2017).

Understandings of encounter and redistribution in relation to housing in London

In 2017 and 2018, a series of cohesion and integration documents[1] were published by central government and the GLA that make specific references to new migrants, unusual in a discourse often dominated by discussions of ethnic inequality, as discussed previously. In these policy documents, encounter is cited as a key method of fostering immigrant integration through community cohesion, with the government's Integrated Communities

[1] Promoting Successful Social Integration in London, London Councils, 2017; All Of Us: The Mayor's Strategy for Social Integration, GLA, 2018; and the Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, 2018.

Strategy Green Paper (2018) directly referencing the social phycologist Gordon Allport's hugely influential 'contact hypothesis', which theorised that integration could best be attained by bringing together different social groups, thereby fostering a sense of familiarity amongst strangers, and reducing prejudice (Valentine, 2008). This conception of encounter as a goal of planning has commonly been used in discourses around diversity and the negotiation of urban difference by geographers (Wilson, 2017), with emphasis placed on the way that "everyday" encounters in the public realm produce conviviality in the city (Fincher and Iveson, 2008).

Indeed, the prevalence of work focussing on fleeting or passing moments of encounter has led to its contestation by those who stress the importance of a more nuanced consideration of the spatial and temporal conditions that lead to "meaningful" encounters (Wilson, 2017; Valentine, 2008; Piekut and Valentine, 2017). They suggest that instead, encounters operate on a spectrum, where the strongest impact on group attitudes is created by sustained, interactive encounters, as detailed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Contact facilitated by type of space and hypothesised impact on outgroup attitudes

Type of space	Facilitated contact	Hypothesised impact on attitudes
Public space	Fleeting interactions	*Weakest*
Consumption space	Fleeting, but longer interactions & acquaintances	↑
Institutional space	Social relations, acquaintances & friendships	↕
Socialisation space	Voluntary social relations & friendships	↕
Private space	Close social ties & involuntary relations	↓ *Strongest*

Source: Piekut and Valentine, 2017, p178

In their analysis Piekut and Valentine identity private space, such as housing, as enclosing *familial* relations where stronger ties are developed than those found in quasi-public institutional or socialisation space, but which are also often characterised by involuntary encounter. However, this family-centred view of the home is inherently restrictive, in that it

fails to take into account the variety of housing types in cities such as London, where house shares, hostels, temporary accommodation and communal living arrangements, among others, increase the variety of encounters inside the home between people with varying ties; from strangers to friends. Section 2 of this dissertation focusses on the housing careers of Eastern European migrant workers at the lower end of the PRS, which are characterised by these non-familial relationships in housing occupation.

In fact, research into the types of encounter facilitated by access to, and type of, housing is limited, despite the fact that access to secure housing is listed as one of the EU's key metrics for migrant integration (Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, n.d.). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation identifies a 'new migrant penalty' (Perry, 2008), where those who have recently arrived in the UK are subject to increased difficulties accessing housing, including a lack of advice or knowledge, language barriers, insecure tenure, poor conditions, frequent moves and poor access to wider services. As of 2017, around 80% of immigrants who have been resident in the UK for less than 5 years reside in the private rental sector (PRS), compared to around 20% of the UK born population (Houses of Parliament Post Note, 2017). It is therefore clear that urban planning for communities with high migrant populations needs to be particularly aware of the PRS, which is usually regulated with a 'light touch' from government policy, with homes in the PRS bring exempt from legislation such as the Decent Homes Standard (McFarlane, 2014).

Throughout the analysis, redistributive housing mechanisms are employed as a lens through which to assess the relative visibility or invisibility of new immigrant communities in the production of planning policies and practices in Barking and Dagenham. At its most fundamental, redistribution in planning "seeks to reduce disadvantage and inequality" (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p23). In terms of housing, in the UK this has traditionally taken the form of social housing provision, and fiscal transfers that aid owner occupation (Arbaci, 2019). Given that most new immigrants reside in the PRS, this dissertation will also look at the suitability of new PRS offerings as a form of redistributive planning, in that this provides opportunities for economic and social establishment.

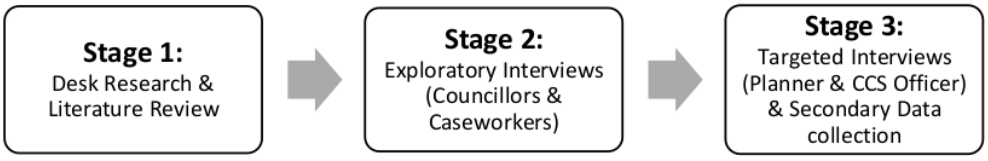
Housing is identified as a key metric of inequality in Barking and Dagenham. By understanding the way that spatial imaginaries distinguish between social groups, and the way that planners allocate scarce resources in response, this dissertation will seek to analyse the visibility of new immigrants in planning goals.

Methodology

My initial interest in this research area was spurred by personal connection; I am the proud daughter of an immigrant and grew up in Outer East London. This fuelled my desire to understand how concepts and contexts of place impact the ability of new immigrants to integrate, and how wider understandings of entitlement to urban space either facilitate or create barriers to their establishment. Barking and Dagenham was chosen as a case study borough for two reasons. Firstly, given my research focus on new immigrant groups, the borough's more recent and proportionally significant demographic change due to migration (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013) was particularly relevant, and meant that policy makers were currently concerned with the topic and the responses being created at the local level. Secondly, as I grew up near, but not in, the borough, I was able to approach the research with enough "empathy" to aid the interpretive analysis of data that was required for this project, whilst maintaining the emotional objectivity needed to avoid over-identification with my research subjects (Hedican, in Given, 2008, p253). This was particularly important in that I did not want to enter these interactions with pre-conceived understandings of place based on my own experience.

The research process was broadly divided into three stages, as detailed below:

Figure 2: Research Process



Source: Author's own

Initial desk research was instrumental to deciding on the overall methodological approach. Much of this research consisted of understanding the patterns of immigration and the complex legal frameworks of entitlements and status to which immigrants, both newly arrived and long established, are subject. Comprehending the "loose usage" (Anderson and

Blinder, 2019, p5) and wide application of the term 'migrant', and its interchangeability in public and academic discourse with the term 'immigrant' (ibid) shaped the specificity of the term *new immigrants* that I have used as the focus of this dissertation. It became apparent during this stage that the quantitative dataset for immigrant groups has significant gaps, in part due this definitional complexity, and also to the reliance on self-reporting (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013). This data is therefore used with caution in my analysis, and mainly to provide contextual background to the changing demographic nature of places. A qualitative-led framework was chosen in order to situate the understanding of policy making processes from the perspective of those experiencing and implementing them (Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). In-depth-interviews (IDIs) were sought with a range of key informants, from local policy makers to immigrant advocates and representatives, in order to provide a rounded understanding based on both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' perspectives. It is acknowledged that the number of interviewees in this dataset is not large enough to make conclusive assertions. However, the depth of knowledge of the interviewees provides a thorough and nuanced addition to understandings of a relatively underserved topic of planning.

Over 80 email requests for interview were sent between 1st June and 31st August 2020. Four interviews were secured through this direct approach. Representatives from the local charity sector were particularly difficult to contact, and so three interviewees from this sector were recruited using snowball sampling (Naderifar, Goli, and Ghaljaie, 2017). The final dataset consisted of seven IDIs, including two local Councillors, one Crime and Community Safety Officer, one local Planner and three local charity Caseworkers who worked directly with newly arrived immigrants. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and a half, with the majority lasting around an hour. It should be noted that two of the charity representatives (#2 and #3 in the analysis) were mainly based in a neighbouring borough, meaning their relationship with the 'place' was different. However, the remit of their work did overlap with Barking and Dagenham. Further, the value of their detailed knowledge of, and interactions with, the immigrant groups relevant to my research meant they were considered an appropriate data source. While they were encouraged to answer questions freely and with regards to whichever geographical location they felt was appropriate, when analysing their

data only information that could be taken as contextual, or as a part of the general patterns of immigrant establishment in Outer East London, was taken into account.

Table 1: IDI dataset

Interviewee	Exploratory or Targeted	Geographic remit
Councillor #1	Exploratory	LLBD
Councillor #2	Exploratory	LLBD
Charity Caseworker #1	Exploratory	LLBD
Charity Caseworker #2	Exploratory	Outer East London
Charity Caseworker #3	Exploratory	Outer East London
CCS Officer	Targeted	LLBD
Planner	Targeted	LLBD

Source: Author's own

The first five interviews to be conducted and analysed were those with the Local Councillors and Charity Caseworkers. In order to achieve my research objectives, it was important that interviewees were able to narrate their own conceptualisations of place, and in doing so draw their own imagined 'boundaries' around groups and their relationship with urban place/space. The interviews were therefore designed to be semi-structured and exploratory, because, as Coghlan and Brydon-Miller (2014) note:

> "as narratives emerge organically, individuals express their own experiences and understandings to give access to deeper and richer knowing than is commonly available in more conventional research modes" (p548).

All the interviews were recorded and manually transcribed, before being coded using Nvivo. A thematic analysis was undertaken in order to identify common trends across the entirety of the dataset (Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). Originally, a directed analysis approach was attempted, with a coding framework created based on Fincher and Iveson's (2008) three concepts of planning for diversity; redistribution, recognition and encounter. However, this approach became more inductive (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) as the thematic overlap in the application of these concepts to practical examples became apparent. As each transcript was analysed, the coding framework was adapted in line with the emergent themes, of access to, encounter around, and integration challenges arising from housing. Examples of both coding approaches can be found in Appendix B. Once these initial interviews

had been analysed, a final stage of data collection and analysis was undertaken in order to interrogate the main themes that had been identified. This included two further, more targeted, interviews with the Planner and Crime and Community Safety (CCS) Officer. In addition, seven local policy documents were scrutinised, and desk research was undertaken on case studies that had been raised by interviewees.

Ethical considerations

All data was collected in consideration of ethical risks. In light of the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews were conducted online. The initial emails requesting interviews clearly outlined my research focus and the general topics that would be covered. The personal data of all interviewees was kept private, and interview data was anonymised with generalised identifiers based on role (i.e. Councillor #1, Planner) for analysis. Verbal consent was sought, and recorded, at the start of each interview for all interviews to be recorded and transcribed, and for answers to be anonymised and shared in the dissertation. All data records were disposed of upon completion of this project. Ethical considerations also meant that direct contact with newly arrived immigrant groups was not able to be sought, as this group is considered vulnerable. While charity representatives were able to provide nuanced perspectives and case study examples, they cannot speak for the lived experience of individuals in this group. It would be interesting for further research to add the narratives of individual newly arrived immigrants to this topic.

Analysis: Barking and Dagenham

Context

Barking and Dagenham is located in Outer East London, and is bordered by the boroughs of Redbridge, Havering and Newham. For around the last 20 years, the area has been undergoing a change in its place-based identity. Often described as a "mining town without the mines" (O'Connor, 2015), post-war employment in the borough was monopolised by one major company; Ford. When in 2002 the company closed its last vehicle assembly line in the area, the experiences of residents echoed those of other post-industrial towns affected by the decline of the UK's manufacturing industry (O'Conner, 2015; LBBD, 2013). Employment and skill levels in the borough remain low, and the employment that is available is characterised by insecurity, with income deprivation approximately twice that of the rest of London (TrustForLondon, 2020). In 2015, the borough was ranked 3rd most deprived in London and 12th most deprived Nationally (LBBD, Key Population Statistics).

While all the boroughs in this part of London have strong histories of international immigration and settlement, Barking and Dagenham has experienced rapid demographic change at a later stage than its neighbours. In the decade between the 2001 and 2011 census', the borough's non-UK born population saw the largest percentage increase of all London boroughs, of 205% (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013) to around 30% of the population. The White British share of the borough's population dropped from 81% to 49% in the same time period (LBBD, 2016), making the area "a "key locality in discussions of white flight" (Elahi, Finney, and Lymperopoulou, 2017, p3). Other significant ethnic minority groups include the Black African population, which saw the sharpest rise, from 0.4% to 15.4% of the borough's residents, with the White Other group also undergoing significant change by tripling in proportional representation.

The context of Barking and Dagenham is clearly nuanced, but certain narratives dominate the discourse around community cohesion and immigration. If the borough is in one breath identified by the fight for equality and the Ford women machinists' strike that eventually led

to the Equal Pay Act in 1970 (Burns, 2016), in the other it is associated with anti-immigrant sentiment; with the BNP winning 12 seats in the 2006 elections. While a successful anti-fascist campaign saw Labour regain all seats in 2010, echoes of this division remain, with the borough voting overwhelmingly to leave the European Union in 2016 (Macaskill and Marshall, 2019).

Housing is a key integration and cohesion problem in the borough, due to the difficulty in accessing suitable, good quality homes that are financially affordable (LBBD, 2019c). This has coincided with the explosion of homes in the private rental sector since the early 2000's, with the PRS growing from 5% to 25% of the borough's housing stock (ibid). While the borough ranks well in terms of ethnic equality in the metrics of health, education and employment, there is a huge inequality between while British and minority groups with regards to housing, with Barking and Dagenham ranked third worst in Britain (Elahi, Finney, and Lymperopoulou, 2017). Newly arrived immigrants to the borough, particularly those who are in low paid and insecure work, are exposed to the poorest conditions in the private rental sector, with overcrowding and informal housing practices identified by these cohesion and equality policy documents and interviewees as a fundamental problem caused by rogue landlords.

Section 1: Recognition of, and redistribution for, new immigrant and 'host'groups

As places become more diverse, the needs of residents become more complex and varied. This section will show that while there are attempts to recognise this difference in Barking and Dagenham, planning for housing remains rooted in a framework that assigns hierarchical status to social groups. The 'host' community is privileged as having a more legitimate claim to urban space and welfare distribution than new arrivals, in this case, immigrant communities. In this, planning mechanisms for recognition fail to translate an understanding of new immigrants' needs into concrete policy goals.

Recognition of new immigrants and the imagined boundaries of 'hosts'

There is an increasing understanding of the city as home to a heterogenous public; one formed by a multitude of identity groups with shared experiences and "ways of life" (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p89). The recognition of diversity in local areas has been mainstreamed insofar as most Local Plans contain a demographic analysis with quantitative data regarding different identity groups, including religion, age, ethnicity, and education, among others. This analysis has been criticised as limited by a top-down oversimplification of the reality of urban life and the multiplicities of identity felt by its inhabitants (Vertovec, 2007). In response to this, the success of Barking and Dagenham's engagement with community groups was highlighted by interviewees, with the local charity caseworker (#1) emphasising the representational nature of these relationships, in that the best interactions relied on "properly funded" (Councillor #2) and politically active local groups engaging with policy makers on behalf of immigrant communities. Barking and Dagenham is the only London Borough to have a Faith Policy, for example, emphasising the way that attempts are being made to gain a more nuanced understanding of the needs of diverse communities within the borough in general.

However, conflicting descriptions were offered when interviewees were asked about community relations between the boroughs established population and newly arrived immigrants. For some, the white, "working class and proud" community were seen to look

after each other, but "make it really hard" for foreigners (Councillor #1). The inward-looking attitude of this group at all levels of governance during the years of a BNP run council was emphasised, with this same interviewee remembering the approach of certain councillors towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in this period as: "make sure we are not too kind to them, or we will attract more of them". However, other respondents were reluctant to acknowledge tensions, with one stating that Barking and Dagenham "doesn't have a race problem" (CCS Officer). Indeed, three respondents in total noted positive inter-ethnic relations in the borough.

The certainty of these positive characterisations of relations in the borough were undermined either by the interviewees' responses to other questions, or by Barking and Dagenham's own policy documents. This suggested an unwillingness on the part of some policy makers to highlight or unduly emphasise the cohesion problems between established and new populations as anti-immigrant. The borough's Cohesion and Integration Strategy (2019c) highlights the division between the borough's White British population and newer migrant minorities, citing a 2018 survey that found …

> *"27% of residents disagree that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together, compared with a national average of 11%"* (p7).

Given the place-making emphasis of the borough's regeneration strategy, which aims to aims to attract inwards investment and a new creative class of resident (Ich Bin Barkinger!, 2016), and the undeniable improvement in community relations and inequality between ethnic groups since the BNP lost power in the borough, it is understandable that policy makers wish to present a more positive and proud narrative regarding community interactions.

Further, of particular note in the respondents' emphasis on positive community relations was the conflation of 'immigrant' with 'ethnic'. Questions were clearly articulated as regarding "established communities" (be they British born or long-term migrant communities) and "newly arrived immigrants". Yet respondents often fell back to discussing the needs of ethnic groups in general, rather than the specific needs of new immigrants to the borough. The categorisation of the population in terms of ethnicity has its roots in national

policy framings of managing diversity by "safeguarding racial equality … rather than the [explicit] integration of immigrants" (Schloten, Collett and Petrovic, 2017), as first outlined in the literature review of this dissertation. Many critics have highlighted the potential pitfalls in this assumption of cultural hegemony between members of the same ethnic group, emphasising that generational differences, types of legal status, and country of birth, to name a few amongst many other variables, create a multitude of co-existing identities (Vertovec, 2007). These assumptions in discourse by policy makers, however inadvertent, emphasise the entrenchment of implicit understandings of established 'host' communities as White British, and new immigrant communities as 'Other' in the national and local spatial imaginary.

Ascriptions of legitimacy and visibility to 'hosts' over new immigrants

The neoliberal political turn in the 1980s has transformed the welfare system in the UK; from social democratic to liberal, and from ideologies of collectivism to that of individualism. This shift has significantly impacted housing welfare, with redistributive mechanisms that valorise owner occupation precipitated by the 1980 Housing Act's 'Right to Buy' policy, which gave council tenants the right to purchase their properties at a discounted rate (Arbaci, 2019; Foster, 2015). The loss of social housing stock is a continued and fundamental planning concern for London LPAs, and its increasing scarcity has fuelled tensions across the UK. In 2016, a joint poll by the Guardian and the Observer found that 69% of the population believed Britain was in the midst of a housing crisis, with the majority of these perceiving immigration as the most significant cause (Tigar, 2016). In Barking and Dagenham, housing is identified as one of the main barriers to cohesion between established communities and new immigrants, an issue described as a "can of worms" (Councillor #2) that "divides everybody in this borough" (Caseworker #1). The expectations of established White British residents with regards to social housing were highlighted as generationally entrenched in a time period where housing welfare was much more accessible:

> *"we are hitting upon a problem where the settled white community, their grandparents and their parents are still trying to tell them, the council can do everything and will do everything. Go on the waiting list, couple of years you will*

get a flat … and if you have 3 children they have got to give you a house and a garden, then you buy it under the right to buy, and then you move out to Essex. And that's the White dream." (Councillor #1)

While the context of welfare provision has changed since the 1980s, it was emphasised that local White British expectations of entitlement had not. Where council housing stock in the borough is decreasing at a rate of 250 units per year (Councillor #1), the increased difficulty in access has historically been attributed to immigrants 'jumping the queue' for welfare, despite widely available evidence that immigrant groups do not have an advantage (Shelter, 2008). In 2007, Barking and Dagenham's longstanding MP Margaret Hodge not only fuelled this misconception, but also emphasised the "legitimate sense of entitlement felt by the indigenous family" and explicitly called for their prioritisation even over those new migrants with more severe demonstrable need:

"A recently-arrived family with four or five children living in a damp and overcrowded privately rented flat with the children suffering from asthma will usually get priority over a family with less housing need who have lived in the area for three generations and are stuck at home with the grandparents.

We should look at policies where the legitimate sense of entitlement felt by the indigenous family overrides the legitimate need demonstrated by the new migrants"

(Evening Standard, 2007)

Most striking in this form of recognition is the emphasis on the legitimacy of welfare claims based on 'host' status, that of the established community, versus migrant newcomers (implicitly, *im*migrants). If Wilson (2017) notes that encounters are "central to the making and unmaking" (p456) of border imaginaries, then so too in the case of housing, historic encounters between residents and institutional structures of welfare can be seen to have drawn boundaries of legitimacy based on recognition of 'host' status.

Impact of recognition on redistributive planning practice

The impact of this boundary drawing can be seen in the respective visibility of 'host' and new immigrant groups in planning policies. Despite the evident effort of the council to engage with the needs of immigrant groups in Barking and Dagenham from a bottom-up perspective, as outlined at the beginning of this chapter, there was less clarity regarding the explicit links between this recognition and the planning policy goals of the borough. Indeed, when planners were contacted for interview regarding this dissertation, non-expertise in the topic of planning for diversity was most often cited as the reason for refusal. Further, it was noted by one planner[2] that this focus did not align with the day-to-day work undertaken by most planning professionals at LPAs in general. This finding, in itself, suggests that new immigrant groups are less visible to policy makers when they do not fit traditional understandings of the "hegemonic cultures through which power operates" (Valentine, 2007, p18).

In conceptualising the importance of recognition in planning, Fincher and Iveson (2008) highlight the role of social movements based on identity politics, where a recognition of the discrimination faced by certain groups was channelled into policy demands that "challenged taken-for-granted assumptions about how city life ought to be conducted that were inscribed in urban form, urban design and urban planning" (Fincher and Iveson, 2008: referencing Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*, 1983). In Barking and Dagenham, the failure of recognition to *challenge* assumptions of urbanity can be seen most clearly in the provision of housing size. All interviewees were clear about the local need for 4-bedroom houses, and the differences "culturally [in] the way families occupy space" (Planner) were explicitly acknowledged, in that the habitation of more than one generation of the same family in one residence is becoming an increasingly prevalent form of dwelling in the borough, with South Asian communities identified as commonly living this way. However, it was acknowledged that planners in the borough still "generally plan for one family to live in [one] house" because "that's the way we've done it for ever and ever" (Planner). Further, while Barking and

[2] Not employed by Barking and Dagenham; but engaged with as part of the 'snowball sampling' method

Dagenham's yet to be adopted Local Plan does not offer a guide for the percentage of 4-bedroom properties to be provided by new developments (LBBD, 2019), it was noted that with regards to the overall build, the borough "doesn't build an awful lot of four and five bedroom homes" (Planner). In this, the entrenchment of traditional understandings and practices of planning is emphasised.

In contrast, current planning practice demonstrates that the recognition of 'host' entitlement perpetuates the increased visibility and political power of what Hodge referred to as the "indigenous" voice; that of the established, and implicitly, White British community. A recently approved development in the North of the borough at Marks Gate will provide 257 affordable homes; 70% of which will be Affordable Rent, and the remaining 30% of which will be London Affordable Rent (Planning Portal, 2019). It was noted that "one of the things that came up very strongly [during] engagement was … that aggression [from residents], saying … the homes won't be for people round here" (Planner). In response to these concerns, planners are working to establish a local lettings policy, that would prioritise those who lived locally in the allocation of the new affordable units, with 163 families from Marks Gate being identified from the housing list (*Building new homes for Marks Gate*, 2020). It was noted that the mitigation of "that sort of view that everything is just up for grabs … and people who have lived here all their lives won't have access to those homes" (Planner) was of primary importance in this allocation strategy. In making decisions regarding the allocation of scarce redistributive resources, concepts of legitimate entitlement to the borough's limited welfare redistribution can be seen to prioritise 'host' relationships to the space of the area by virtue of their longevity. For new immigrant groups, their perceived lack of ownership of the urban space renders their need less 'visible' in terms of planning practice around social housing.

This section concludes that while the nuanced use of top-down and bottom-up methods of categorisation and engagement enable Barking and Dagenham to recognise the needs of their migrant communities, there is a gap between this recognition and the implementation of relevant planning policy goals. "Assumptions about how city life ought to be conducted" are left unchallenged. Those needs and priorities most commonly afforded to 'host' populations, however, are not only recognised, but are perpetuated in policy, rendering this

group more visible. This suggests that the methods of recognition currently taking place in the borough do not fully enact planning for diversity, but instead, are rendered a tick box by the entrenched hierarchy of the spatial imaginary.

Section 2: Housing careers of EEA migrant workers and suitability of new PRS development

The next section of analysis will root discussions of research objective 2 within the specific case of Eastern European (EEA) immigrants. This group have been the focus of more recent migration patterns, given that EEA states were granted EU secession rights within the last 20 years, opening up previously inaccessible pathways to settlement in the UK. Given their status as newer arrivals than many other immigrant groups in the borough, EEA immigrants are of particular interest to this dissertation, in that they do not meet the temporal and cultural requirements of 'host' identities discussed in section 1. This will allow a more revealing analysis of how new migrants are enabled, or prevented, from integrating into the local spatial imaginary by moving from being newcomers to being 'hosts'.

In 2004, the A8 states: The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia, joined to the EU. In 2007, Romania and Bulgaria gained entry as A2 states. New immigrants from these groups (EEA migrant workers) are subject to a complex, and often unclear, set of rights and entitlements. While migrant workers are eligible for state welfare, such as housing assistance, these benefits are contingent on proof of employment through registration in the national Worker Registration Scheme (A8) or Worker Authorisation Scheme (A2) (Shelter, 2008). For many, work in the UK is seasonal, and so as they cycle in and out of employment, they move in and out of eligibility for welfare assistance, a process that results in most new EEA migrant workers seeking housing in the PRS (ibid).

During the in-depth-interviews, EEA immigrants were singled out in discussions of housing. For this group, overcrowding and homelessness were highlighted as forms of informal dwelling that were at once problematised from a planning and enforcement perspective, and also characterised as 'voluntary' on the part of individuals themselves. This section of analysis will show that these top-down perceptions, evidenced in interview and policy data, of Eastern European immigrant workers as *willing* outsiders to the community of Barking and Dagenham are reinforced by the access structures of new PRS development in the borough, which contribute to their continued marginalisation and inequality of housing outcomes. Further, it is shown that encounters around informal housing prevent the

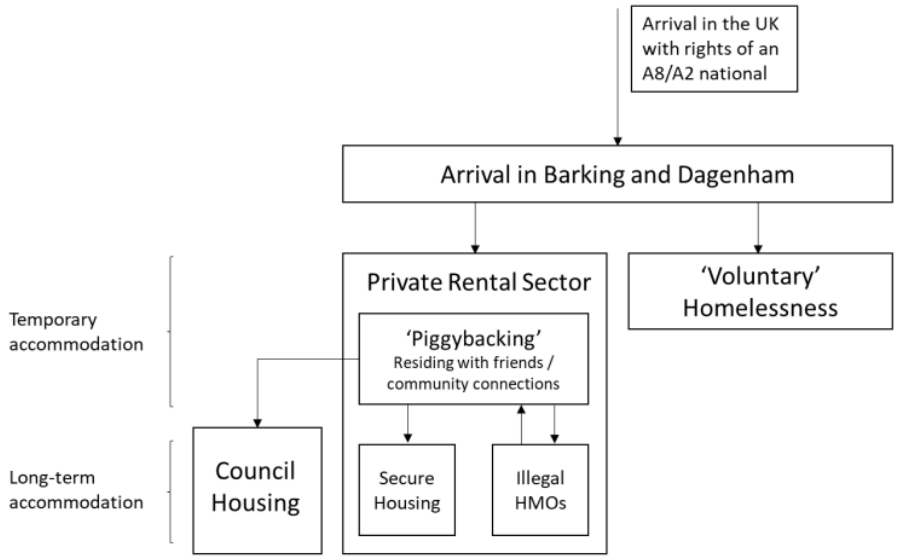
integration of new EEA immigrants into the local spatial imaginary of the borough, entrenching their 'outsider' status.

Issues of inequality observed in EEA immigrant housing careers

Figure 3 details the housing careers of newly arrived EEA immigrants in Barking and Dagenham as observed by the key informants interviewed. Upon arrival in the borough, there was acknowledgement that initial housing practices were marked by an inevitable transience. In the long-term, if immigrants were successfully able to establish themselves, they were shown to progress to secure housing either in the PRS or the social rent sector. However, overcrowding was problematised as a major source of inequality in the housing system of the borough, with "33% of minorities living in overcrowded housing, compared to 12% of White British" (Elahi, Finney, and Lymperopoulou, 2017, p1). With regards to EEA immigrant housing pathways, two causes of overcrowding were broadly presented: that of 'piggybacking', whereby immigrants newly arrived in the borough live temporarily and informally with those who are legal leaseholders or tenants of a property, and illegal Houses of Multiple Occupation (HMOs), where absentee landlords and poor living conditions were seen to characterise the housing offering.

Conflicting narratives of 'piggybacking' produced a revealing insight into the patterns of housing in the borough, and the difference between top-down and bottom-up understandings. Charity caseworkers highlighted the importance of this practice as a legitimate method of establishment for new immigrants. For Eastern Europeans, this was linked to the need to accumulate the correct rights and entitlements over time to be able to access state welfare, particularly housing benefit. Members of the community who are working will secure a property, and "others who move in with them can have time and breathing space to find their own properties … they have to piggyback off someone who has established themselves … until they can manage to get on their own two feet" (Caseworker #3). It was acknowledged, however, that there was an intrinsic transience to this housing career that was a source of tension within the community, with new arrivals in this housing "much more visible" (Caseworker #1) to settled residents.

Figure 3: Observed housing careers of EEA migrant workers in Barking and Dagenham



Source: Author's own, using in-depth-interview data; Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007; Shelter, 2008

However, 'piggybacking' was identified by the local planner as a practice also undertaken by long-term renters in illegally converted HMOs as "that is the cheapest type of accommodation you can probably access in London". It was noted that this accommodation usually had the most …

> *"… unscrupulous landlords … [providing] the old fashioned 'warm bed' thing where you've got someone living in it who is there for the nights and somebody else who swaps over during the day"* (Planner).

Blame for overcrowded housing was placed firmly on landlords who "don't care about the tenants … they are just taking the money" (Planner). This claim is entrenched in local and national governance; part of Barking and Dagenham's £1.3 million funding from the central government's Controlling Migration Fund is dedicated to tackling rogue landlords (Assets Publishing Service, 2020). However, the stipulations of this fund were that it was to be used to help the whole community, once again privileging length of residence as the best

characterisation of 'hosts' and emphasising their rights to benefit from community funding. The enforcement of the boroughs licencing policy was cited by all interviewees except for the charity caseworkers as the way the problem of rogue landlords was successfully tackled. There are financial incentives to this method, with the borough's landlord accreditation scheme expected to bring in £16 million in funding a year (Barking and Dagenham Council, 2019). Raco and Schiller (2020) note that this enforcement approach centres the agents of illegal and poor-quality housing as problems that can be removed, rather than in terms of the wider structural issues that drive tenants to this housing in the first place. Indeed, it was acknowledged that:

> *"these people are not just vulnerable because of the type of house they are in, but they are also vulnerable because we are coming along and creating an extra issue for them; which is that they've got to move on and got to find somewhere else like that because that's all they can afford"* (Planner).

The fundamental problems with only intervening by removing criminal landlords was inadvertently emphasised by the planner, who revealed that tenants in the worst areas of the PRS are caught in perpetual cycles of poor quality and insecure housing regardless of enforcement action, depicted in Figure 3 as the relationship between 'piggybacking' and illegal HMOs. When informal housing is understood as an enforcement, rather than a welfare, issue, the after-impacts of removing rogue landlords are not fully considered.

While this dissertation focusses on housing in the borough, interview responses regarding homelessness were considered an important part of the policy makers' narrative regarding EEA migrant workers, given that immigrants make up a "disproportionate amount" (Caseworker #2) of the homeless population. They are therefore included here as further evidence of the top-down characterisations of this group. "Rough sleeping" was repeatedly problematised, along with actions such as day drinking and begging, as a community safety and enforcement issue for the public realm by the Crime and Community Safety Officer, emphasising local government understandings of informality as an enforcement, rather than welfare, issue. Councillors also emphasised the agency of EEA workers in their homelessness,

with links drawn between immigrants' low income and insecure work and the active choice to forgo regular accommodation in order to save money:

> *"You have groups of Eastern European [men] who came here just to do the labour work and so it's not that they don't have money to survive or whatever, because they are being paid for their labour … but I would say for them it's not a big deal if they don't sleep in a hotel or in a flat … they can just spend a few hours here and there and sleep rough and that's fine you know"* (Councillor #2)

> *"He [a Romanian migrant worker] is probably being ripped off; he probably isn't even on minimum wage. But the way he sets up his affairs, no rent, whatever he earns – don't ask me about his tax I don't want to think"* (Councillor #1).

A striking observation from these discussions of voluntary homelessness was an implicit acceptance of EEA immigrant informality on behalf of policy makers in the borough. When speaking about overcrowding and homelessness, informants acknowledged the unstable and at times exploitative housing careers of EEA workers with sympathy, yet the group's entrenchment within wholly informal and hard to regulate spaces was not raised as a planning concern. Indeed, when discussing overcrowding, one councillor emphasised that with regards to Eastern European immigrants, overcrowding was "just what the expectations are" (Councillor #1). Housing inequality for this group is rendered a problem by policy makers, but at the same time their framing of informality as an active choice on the part of EEA immigrants characterises them as *willingly* situated outside of the planned city. This characterisation of immigrant willingness allows planning policy makers to shift responsibility for housing welfare to that of enforcement bodies. This removes the responsibility for the concerns of this group from the remit of urban planning.

Evidenced lack of appropriate alternatives to informal housing

The problematisation of housing inequality stemming from overcrowding does, however, demonstrate a clear need for flexible, low cost PRS housing in the borough with regards to EEA workers. While development plans for the area's regeneration do not target policies

towards this specific group, the borough is engaged in large scale Build-to-Rent initiatives through BeFirst, the council's private regeneration vehicle, and Reside, a council owned housing company. It is therefore useful to assess whether future provision matches up to this identified need, particularly given the borough's core regeneration aim that 'no one is left behind' (LBBD, 2018), in order to see if current planning practices are successful in addressing issues of inequality in the borough.

Reside was set up in 2012 to improve the affordable PRS offering in the borough, with property rents offered at between 65% and 80% of market value (LBBD, Affordable Rents, n.d.). In 2019 the council announced intentions to provide an additional 3,000 properties through the company (LBBD, 2019b). Motivations are financial as well as ideological; housing companies are not subject to the same borrowing limitations as the Housing Revenue Account, and neither are they subject to the same affordable housing requirements as ordinary council stock (Hackett, 2017). Housing companies therefore have greater freedom and scope to provide new development at profit. Reside properties are marketed at residents with lower incomes who are unable to access council housing, but they are also part of a wider place-making strategy that aims to attract inward investment from inner London (ibid; LBBD, 2018). While data for Reside's wholly owned developments is unavailable, a similar build-to-rent scheme brought forward privately by Grainger Plc and facilitated by Council CPO, Abbeville Apartments, is majority rented by young professionals, with IT, Finance and Teaching listed as the top three sectors (Polic, 2016). These jobs, usually on fixed term contracts with set hours, are markedly different than the insecure work that was seen to characterise those reliant on informal housing.

Access to Reside properties relies on similar criteria to that of housing welfare where EEA workers are concerned. In order to be eligible, evidence of employment, legal immigration status, and three years proof of address are required, as well as a minimum guaranteed salary, as no more than 40% of a tenant's yearly income must be spent on rent (Reside webpage, 2020). These criteria emphasise regular, stable employment and income, and evidence of 'legitimate' past housing practices in order for properties to be accessible. For those EEA workers who exist in informal work and housing sectors, cycling in and out of employment

and seeking initial establishment through 'piggybacking', this is impossible. When questioned on the suitability of new PRS development, one councillor was open about the potential mismatch between provision and need:

> *"with regards to the rental aspect … we will be building up to 60,000 homes within the next years, and let's be honest … are those properties going to eligible or affordable for those people [new immigrants currently in the PRS], you know let's be honest, I don't think so unfortunately."* (Councillor #2)

The inaccessibility of this housing, by virtue of its emphasis on proven formality in dwelling, such as length of regular residence and employment, means that housing becomes a barrier to establishment for new immigrant groups. The likelihood of them being able to transition, from the temporary housing that is observed to be a necessary pathway, to secure long-term housing, is diminished. Instead, the cycle between 'piggybacking' and other forms of insecure accommodation is perpetuated.

There are of course other contributing factors to Barking and Dagenham's emphasis on a middle-income social group with regards to these new PRS properties, not least financial. As local government budgets have been cut by almost half since 2010 (Ferm and Raco, 2020), welfare funding, referred to as a slice of the limited financial "cake" by the local planner interviewed, has been put under immense pressure. The need for the borough's regeneration company to be financially self-sufficient limits the type of housing that is developed, particularly given the political emphasis for surplus to be spent on maintaining the social housing stock of the borough (Planner). Yet, the disparity between the experiences and need of those in the lower end of the PRS, and the construction of EEA immigrants as agents in their own informality (Raco and Schiller, 2020), suggests that another factor to the unsuitability of new development for EEA workers' needs is their 'invisibility' as a priority for planners.

Section 3: Impact of encounters around housing on the local spatial imaginary

This dissertation has argued that the city is more than a physical 'container' (Mumford, in Pearce, 2012) for urban life, but rather is shaped by the imagined boundary creation of its inhabitants. In this, "urban space is the product of a multiplicity of encounters, and thus always under construction" (Wilson, 2017, p453). Encounters around housing are particularly interesting in this regard, in that they involve both extremes of Piekut and Valentine's (2017) scale; of fleeting and close interactions. In Barking and Dagenham, the entrenchment of EEA migrant workers in poor quality and visibly informal housing has implications for the way encounters between this group and 'hosts' construct the local spatial imaginary.

Wessendorf (2017) notes that migrants' sense of belonging is formed by their "social location within structures of power, inclusion and exclusion" (p4). In the borough, EEA migrant workers are perceived as willing outsiders by policy makers, whose exclusion from mainstream urban life is a symptom of their chosen informal dwelling practices. In policy 3.4.5 of the Borough Wide Development Policies, those living in short-term HMOs are characterised as having "limited stake in the community" (p35) due to their perceived transience and are explicitly identified as a source of neighbourhood tension. This view was corroborated by interviewees, who noted that fleeting encounters between 'hosts' and EEA immigrants centred around the "visual" problem (Councillor #1) of this group:

> *"there is an inevitable tension, because if people are sleeping on the streets or involved in petty theft or working illegally, the white community are going to think: well aren't these people awful"* (Councillor #1).

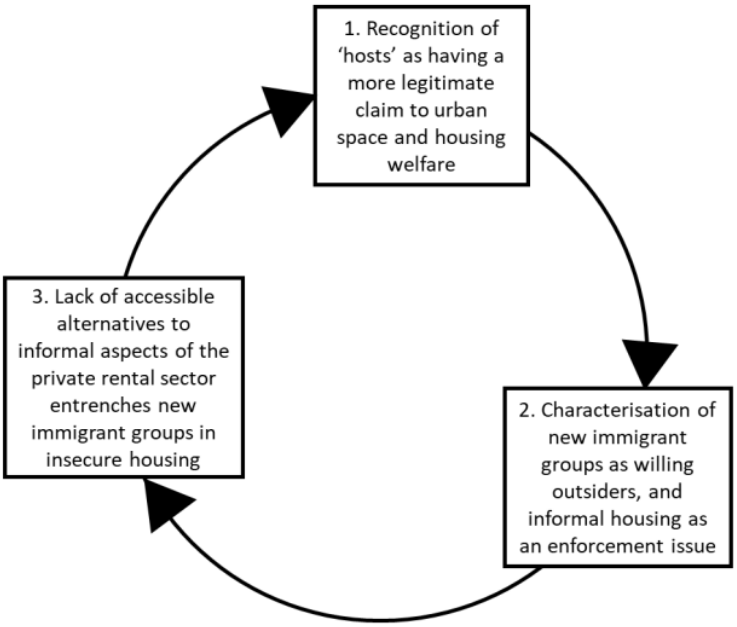
Informants were very clear that in most cases, structural factors like the government's hostile environment policy agenda and discriminatory letting practices on the part of landlords limited the options of immigrant groups and contributed to their entrenchment in informal spaces. Yet there are clear links between understandings of immigrant informality as encompassing those with a 'limited stake in the community', and the contrast with those 'hosts' seen as having legitimate claims to urban space by virtue of their temporal establishment and, implicitly, their white British-ness.

These binaries, of host legitimacy and new immigrant illegitimacy in their occupation of urban space, are mirrored in the planning system. One charity caseworker noted that when planning for new developments, councils generally look at a "white British formula of what a unit was, rather than thinking more broadly what new or not so new communities need" (Caseworker #2), suggesting that the relative invisibility of new immigrant groups, as evidenced in this dissertation, is perpetuated in the creation of planning policy. Indeed, when asked about the potential to create new planning policies that are more suited to the demonstrated housing priorities of EEA migrant workers in the borough, the planner asserted that "we're never going to plan to create slums", reinforcing these understandings of planning and immigrant housing practices as "rational against the irrational, and the advanced against the backwards" (Wilson, 2017, p453) in the local spatial imaginary. This entrenchment marginalises new immigrant groups, by ensuring that the continued lack of viable options for housing establishment fuels the continuation of negative interactions between this group and the wider public. The result is the creation of a barrier to their long-term integration and ability to claim access to urban space.

Conclusion

The relationship between housing and the long-term integration of new immigrant communities can therefore be seen to be one of cyclical marginalisation. This process is depicted in Figure 4. That is, hierarchies within the social imaginary that legitimise 'host' claims to urban space (1) are further entrenched by planning priorities of the local area, while the characterisation of new immigrant groups as 'willing' outsiders (2) furthers their 'invisibility' to policy makers. This results in a lack of accessible alternatives for this group (3), which not only forms a barrier to their long-term integration by virtue of keeping them in informal spaces but, continues to reinforce binaries between 'host' and immigrant (1).

Figure 4: Cyclical process of marginalisation in urban space for new immigrant groups



Source: Author's own

Boundaries around the imagined identity of 'hosts' are created by virtue of length of time a community has been resident in the borough, and, implicitly, by their white British-ness. Hosts are recognised as having a more legitimate entitlement to redistributive welfare, such

as social housing, than newer communities. While this recognition does not fuel overtly discriminatory planning practices, the greater relative political power of 'host' claims to urban space can be seen in certain policies, such as the local lettings provision in Marks Gate. 'Host' needs and concerns, even if they are not based on fact, as is the case with wrongful conceptions of new immigrants 'jumping the housing queue', are rendered more visible to decision makers than those of groups who have a less entrenched status within the local spatial imaginary.

It is important to understand the reality of new immigrant housing pathways, in order to understand how and why residents become entrenched in poor quality, and potentially exploitative, housing. While policy makers have a broad understanding of the financial reasons that new EEA migrant workers choose informal housing in the borough, it is apparent that the implicit acceptance of these choices is problematic. Responsibility for engaging with formal dwelling practices (i.e. those considered acceptable by the host community) is given over to new immigrants and private landlords, shifting responsibility for housing equality from being a redistributive welfare consideration to being one of enforcement. This removes the housing concerns of this group from the remit of planning in the borough.

Points one and two of Figure 4, therefore, show that the position of established 'hosts' is reinforced through planning structures, while the needs of new immigrant groups, in this case EEA migrant workers, are further rendered as 'outside' of the spatial imaginary of Barking and Dagenham. The continued invisibility of EEA immigrant groups to policy makers is seen in that the borough's new development does not meet the needs of this group. Indeed, the barriers to entry of the new PRS offerings in the borough valorise the metrics of legitimacy used to characterise the 'host' group; that of social, economic and temporal establishment in the area. The lack of accessible alternatives to informal housing means new immigrant groups are less able to transition from the status of newcomers to having the above-mentioned establishment that enables them to self-identity as 'hosts' and draw upon the entitlements that brings. The continued encounters between 'hosts' and newcomers, mediated through their relative visibility and invisibility within structures of housing, serve to reinforce hierarchies of entitlement in the local spatial imaginary. The result is the cyclical

marginalisation of new immigrant groups in urban space, in which housing acts as a barrier to long-term integration prospects.

Of course, urban planning alone cannot change the wider social structures that perpetuate immigrant marginalisation. However, what this dissertation has identified is that planning practice is removed from direct engagement with issues of integration. Suitable housing is clearly a key method of establishment for new immigrant communities, and changes should be considered that will enable planning to bridge the gap between recognition of need and enactment of concrete outcomes.

Interventions in informal housing should be considered as a welfare issue as well as one of enforcement, where there is added consideration to the barriers that keep new migrants in cycles of insecurity. Further, the creation of new development that is open to those in cyclical work or without such long-term proven establishment in the community could be considered. Most importantly, for planning to truly adapt to the changing demographics of the city, a re-evaluation of our understanding of space is needed, one that embraces new ways of culturally occupying space and rejects binaries based on assumptions of British legitimacy. In light of this, there is potential for further research into the urban design solutions that can incorporate the different types of space and flexibility needed by new immigrant groups, and into the planning policy processes that can turn recognition of these needs into policy goals.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-Structured IDI guide for all interviewees

(Including more targeted questions for Planner and CCS Officer interviews)

DISCUSSION GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

INTERVIEWER INTRODUCTION:

Thank you for speaking to me today. Really looking forward to hearing your insights.

My name is Ann-Marie Webb. I'm currently studying for my master's in Urban Regeneration at UCL.

The aim of this interview is to have an exploratory discussion into the ways that the borough recognises immigrants and their needs, the importance housing for community integration, redistributive planning policies and your thoughts on any other relevant aspects of planning.

All of your personal information will be kept private. Interview data will be shared anonymously, and any identifiable information will not appear linked with your interview answers, which will only be included alongside a general identifier (such as Councillor, Planner etc). I would like to record this interview for my analysis purposes, is this something you are comfortable with? Any records will be disposed of after submission.

'Migrants' / 'immigrants' is often used as a broad-brush term. For the purposes of this research I am interested in international immigrants who are recently arrived in the country and the borough. However, as this is an exploratory interview, please do discuss whichever immigrant groups you feel are relevant, I'd just ask that you are quite explicit about the type of migrant you are referring to in your answers.

INTERVIEWEE INTRODUCTION (SELECT RELEVANT):

1) Could you tell me a bit about yourself and your role on the council/in the organisation?
2) How would you characterise the relationship between new immigrants and the established community in the borough?

POLICY

Firstly, I would like to discuss the policy context that you operate under and the impact that this has on the provision of housing and other welfare services for international migrants, and the implications of this for the wider community.

3) The 2016 Immigration Bill, and policies such as Right to Rent, NHS Charging and Data Sharing, place emphasis on reporting those without the right to reside in the UK. What, in your opinion, has been the impact of this 'hostile environment' policy agenda for the migrants in your borough?
   PROMPTS
   a. How has this impacted communication between the LA and migrants?

b. Has there been an effect on the ability of the LA to police / regulate rogue landlords and poor housing in the PRS?
c. What has been the implications for preventing exploitation of the migrant community in the borough?

4) In your opinion, has this policy emphasis been successful? Is it sustainable?

PROVISION OF SERVICES

PROVISION OF HOUSING – PRS, THIRD SECTOR, PRIVITISATION OF WELFARE

It is well known that councils are operating under ever more constrained budgetary conditions. I'm interested in the long-term implications of the privatisation of welfare.

5) Research has shown that the private rental sector is the main source of housing for newly arrived migrants. As the size of the private rental sector continues to expand, how does the council manage the regulation needed to combat poor housing and its providers?
    a. What is the impact of relying on the private sector to provide the majority of housing, particularly low-cost housing, in the borough?
6) Around 80% of recently arrived migrants use the PRS. Do you think international migrants in the borough have adequate access to good quality housing, at correct prices?
7) As a charity, do you work with the council and could you explain how you work together?
   or
8) Could you explain a bit about the relationship between the council and third sector welfare providers?
   PROMPTS
   For example, charities such as Praxis, Refugee and Migrant Forum of East London, how do you work together to provide housing or other services such as immigration advice?
        a) Is this a sustainable model?
        b) What are the limitations to relying on the third sector?
        c) What are the benefits to working with the third sector?

FUNDING AND FINANCING

I would like to understand the process behind the council's provision of services for international migrants, particularly with regards to housing.

9) Your borough has been the recipient of funding from the Controlling Migration Fund. (LLBD: £1.3m, LBR: £850,000). Can you explain a bit about how you are using this fund?
    a. An important aspect of this funding provision is the need for it to benefit the existing community. What has been the effect of this prescription?
    b. The fund is explicitly not to benefit illegal migrants. In your opinion, is this withdrawal of government help beneficial or a detriment to the local community in the long term?
        i. What are the implications for preventing exploitation of the migrant community in the borough?
10) There seems to be dual aims of immigration enforcement and integration at play here. Is there an inherent conflict in the policy aims of central and local government in this respect?

11) How would you characterise the relationship between newly arrived migrants and the existing community in the borough?
12) What has been the impact of the Brexit vote on community relations?
13) What impact does the media narrative have on migrant integration?
14) For newly arrived migrants, what are the main information sources for how to access housing and which locations to settle?
    a. Are there trends or patterns in those migrants who ask for help from the LA and those who use more informal channels within the community?
        i. What do those channels look like?
        ii. What is the role of religious institutions, for example churches or gurdwaras?
15) What are the main barriers to migrants establishing themselves in the community?
    PROMPTS
    For example, language, existence of friends and family vs isolation
    b. How does the borough communicate with migrants?
    c. How do you mitigate potential issues such as language or cultural barriers?
    d. What is the impact of transient populations, particularly short-term migration flows?
16) How does the public perception of migrants impact their ability to establish themselves in the community?
    e. [illegible] understandings of the rights of migrants and their access to public funds and the reality of the limitations of this provision?
    f. Are there particular local patterns in attitudes towards migrants within the borough?

IMPACT OF COVID-19

17) Has the Covid- [illegible]
    a. For those living in the PRS, what do you anticipate will be the long-term impact of this period of insecurity?
        i. In terms of housing security / need
        ii. In terms of economic stability
18) Which migrant groups would you consider to be the most vulnerable?
    b. [illegible]
19) [illegible] way to that of the rest of the community?

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR PLANNERS

Recognition

1) Data about migration is usually quantitative and related to ethic categorisation. In what way is this recognition used to create wider planning goals?
2) Immigrant groups are complex and multifaceted. New migrants have a variety of legal statuses and ability to access public funds. When understanding the complex needs of the borough, in what way do you generalise in order to create policy?

a. The no one left behind mantra of B&D regen

3) Most migrants find themselves in the PRS, and often the most vulnerable find themselves in the lower end of the PRS and in danger of exploitation.

PROMPTS

a. Overcrowding – seen as bad, but what about those that operate in 'in between' spaces – for example, those who tend to temporarily live in big groups while awaiting legal status confirmation – 'piggybacking'
b. Is there a 'white-centric' standard of housing / space that potentially needs to change?

Encounter

4) Policy docs talk about the importance of neutral spaces for integration. What do these spaces look like?
5) How do you build them into your planning and development work in the borough?

Policy

6) You operate under gov, London and local policy contexts. With regards to immigrants, do you feel there are some areas of clash?
   a. Hostile env vs blind eye?
7) Funding – how do you balance the reality of government cuts with the overall aims for social justice in planning?

QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR CRIME AND SAFETY EXPERTS

ADDITIONAL INTRO QUESTIONS

8) What are the main aims and priorities for your team?
   a. Who sets them / do you get set certain targets?
9) Where does your funding come from?

CRIME AND SAFETY

10) Policy docs talk about the importance of safe spaces for integration. What do these spaces look like?

PROMPTS

a. What are the characteristics of a safe space, or a space for positive interactions in the community?
b. Are there certain spaces that you think are instrumental to community cohesion between the existing community and migrant groups?

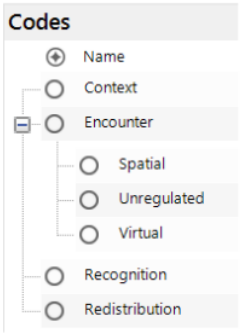
11) What is your approach to enforcing the government's hostile environment policy agenda?

PROMPTS

a. What is the specific relation to enforcement of immigration checks right to rent?
b. Does the governments hostile policy agenda have much bearing on the way crime and community cohesion policy is undertaken in B&D?

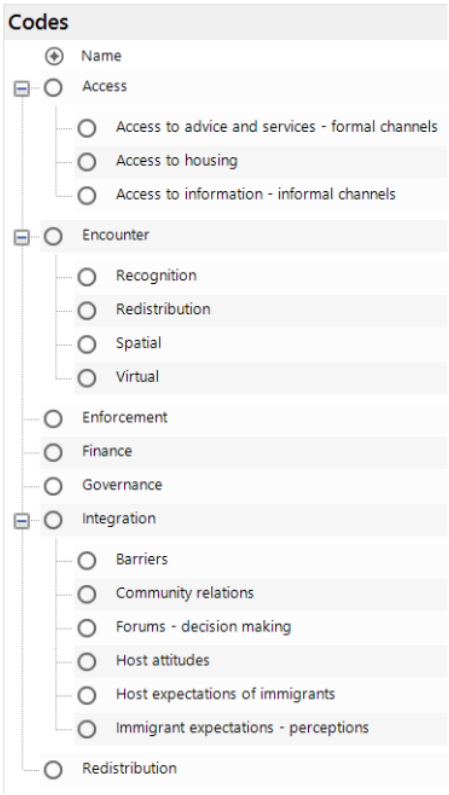
Appendix B: Coding framework for IDI dataset

Original deductive coding system for interview dataset



Source: Nvivo

Final inductive coding system for dataset



Source: Nvivo

Appendix C: Risk Assessment

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

FIELD / LOCATION WORK

The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form

http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf

DEPARTMENT/SECTION

LOCATION(S)

PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK: Fieldwork will take the form of online interviews.

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.
If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.
Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT	**The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard**
e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals.	Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ? NO RISK – all fieldwork online

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice
	participants have been trained and given all necessary information
	only accredited centres are used for rural field work
	participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment
	trained leaders accompany the trip

	refuge is available
	work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EMERGENCIES	**Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. fire, accidents	Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life NO

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	participants have registered with LOCATE at http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/
	fire fighting equipment is carried on the trip and participants know how to use it
	contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants
	participants have means of contacting emergency services
	participants have been trained and given all necessary information
	a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure
	the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EQUIPMENT	**Is equipment used?**	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. clothing, outboard motors.	Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
	participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work

	all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
	all users have been advised of correct use
	special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING	**Is lone working a possibility?**	**YES**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. alone or in isolation *lone interviews.*	Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW - There is no risk of physical attack as I will be working alone but within my own home at all times - There is a small risk of wrongful accusations and this will be mitigated by recording all interviews		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
	lone or isolated working is not allowed
	location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
	all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
	all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
YES	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented: All interviews will be recorded

ILL HEALTH	The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.
e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low? NO

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
	an appropriate number of trained first-aiders and first aid kits are present on the field trip
	all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
	participants have been advised of the physical demands of the trip and are deemed to be physically suited
	participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
	participants who require medication have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT	Will transport be required	NO	X	Move to next hazard
		YES		Use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. hired vehicles	Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training Is the risk high / medium / low?			

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
	only public transport will be used
	the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
	transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
	drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
	drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence
	there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
	sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC	**Will people be dealing with public**	**YES**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW – interview participants will be organisational / institutional representatives, e.g. charity employees or local councillors		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
	interviews are contracted out to a third party
	advice and support from local groups has been sought
YES	participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
YES	interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

WORKING ON OR NEAR WATER	**Will people work on or near water?**	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.	Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	lone working on or near water will not be allowed
	coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
	all participants are competent swimmers
	participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
	boat is operated by a competent person
	all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
	participants have received any appropriate inoculations
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING (MH)	**Do MH activities take place?**	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard** **If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks**
e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.	Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

	the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
	the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
	all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
	all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
	equipment components will be assembled on site
	any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

SUBSTANCES	Will participants work with substances	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste	Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low?		
CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**		

	the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
	all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
	participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
	waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
	suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

OTHER HAZARDS	Have you identified any other hazards?	NO	If 'No' move to next section If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.	Hazard: Risk: is the risk		
CONTROL MEASURES	**Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks**		

Have you identified any risks that are not adequately controlled?	**NO**	**X**	**Move to Declaration**
	YES		**Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken**

Is this project subject to the UCL requirements on the ethics of Non-NHS Human Research?	NO
If yes, please state your Project ID Number	

For more information, please refer to: http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/

DECLARATION	The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment.

Select the appropriate statement:

	I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual risk
	I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR

FIELDWORK 5 May 2010