



UNIVERSITY of
BRADFORD

ONE BRADFORD, MANY VOICES:
Social Integration Research
REPORT 2022



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One Bradford, Many Voices: Social Integration Research Report

A report of research funded by the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council and conducted by Professor Uduak Archibong and Dr Collins Imoh at the Centre for Inclusion and Diversity, University of Bradford.

**With contributions from Sobia Sadiah, Kajal Patel and Kath Bridger
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The findings, interpretations and recommendations are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position or opinion of the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council or the University of Bradford. The researchers remain responsible for any errors or misunderstandings reflected in this report.

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The logo for Bradford 2025, featuring the letters 'BD' and the number '25' in a stylized, overlapping, white font. The '2' and '5' are connected, and the '5' has a dot. The letters are set against a dark blue background.

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Executive Summary

1. Overview

This research study was commissioned by Bradford's Stronger Communities Partnership as part of the delivery of the Stronger Communities Together Strategy (2018-2023). This strategy sets out the plan to build strong integrated communities across the Bradford District and its vision is to deliver a community where people from different backgrounds can live, learn, work, and socialise together. It responds to the Government's Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, which acknowledged the need to "tackle the inequalities and injustices that hold people back. It is not right that where you are born, who your parents are, or where you went to school should determine your outcomes in life." (H.M. Government, 2018, p7).

As part of strategy delivery, the Stronger Communities Partnership commissioned the University of Bradford's Centre for Inclusion and Diversity to undertake an 18-month programme of social integration research to explore how people connect and integrate, contributing to the body of knowledge that will help to create a better future for the Bradford District and beyond, with the aims of:

- Understanding the dynamics of residential segregation
- Facilitating the reduction of hate crime
- Identifying strategies for and good practice in relation to integration in schools

2. Research Approach

The research was undertaken as a mixed methods study, using multi-dimensional methodological approach, which placed co-creation at the centre of its development and delivery. This empowered participants to share their lived experiences enabling agency, authenticity, and validity across analysis, findings and recommendations.

Methods included an initial desk-based review and analysis of research literature and relevant data; survey work to inform participatory focus group and individual stakeholder discussions; listening rooms which allowed participants to engage in authentic discussion and freely express their feelings and experiences without the influence of researchers; and round table analysis providing a forum for stakeholders to engage with and bring different and enriching ideas to data analysis, generating new knowledge and facilitating co-creation of findings and recommendations.

3. Key Findings

Bradford is a city and district which is working hard to develop its economy and vitalise its communities, and where new opportunities are being created for regeneration, not least demonstrated by recent success in becoming the capital of culture 2025.

It is, however, a city which still faces significant challenges in ensuring that all its citizens are able to be a part of and gain meaningful benefit from these opportunities.



The dynamics of residential integration segregation in Bradford

The separation and segregation of a large proportion of Bradford's ethnic minority communities, in particular the South Asian community, is demonstrated in the way in which they lead parallel lives which have few points of overlap or opportunities for meaningful interaction. These parallel lives often result in a lack of social or community mixing which contributes to a lack of understanding and mistrust between communities, with those experiencing the greatest economic disadvantage becoming isolated and left behind. This separation is characterised by residential segregation, where people who share particular characteristics chose to live in close proximity to each other. It is influenced by a range of variables that impact on the way in which people make choices or have their choices limited regarding where they live.

Bradford's housing stock is ageing with a large proportion in need of significant repair. Much of this housing is situated in the most deprived of Bradford's wards largely occupied by the District's ethnic minority communities. Although there are relatively high levels of home ownership in these wards, low levels of income impact on the ability of homeowners to keep their homes in good repair. Rented accommodation in these areas is also left in disrepair, consequently attracting lower rents making them more affordable for the worst off.

Although, since the inception of Bradford's Stronger Communities Partnership, research indicates a shift towards cohesion, there remains a discourse of 'othering' built around the notion of 'us' and 'them' where negative characteristics are attributed to people or groups differentiating them from the perceived normative White, social group and where difference is regarded as threatening or undesirable. This can be observed in the continued racialisation of space across the Bradford District,

with some areas regarded as 'White' or 'Asian' and resulting in exclusion and marginalisation based on identity, limiting social and spatial mobility.

Residential segregation is therefore often driven by social bonding and drives conscious choice to remain resident in a particular area. Such social bonding enables people to feel a sense of belonging and security through living in a community with shared cultural capital which is understanding and supportive of each other. Social bonding capital is therefore a valuable asset in establishing cohesive communities. Therefore, bringing communities together to create social bonding across divides needs to be facilitated through the development of bridging capital.

However, although White communities cluster together often a result of 'othering' and consequent 'white flight', this clustering is not problematised. Rather, it is areas where Ethnic Minority communities live in close proximity that are regarded as problematic.

Work to improve social integration and cohesion, improving the economic circumstances of those living in deprived wards, therefore needs to take account of the structural inequalities that result from separation of communities, in respect of access to quality housing and jobs as well as both direct and indirect discrimination based on identity. Addressing spatial residential segregation will take time, and social bonding may mean continued physical separation between communities, at least in the immediate future. Therefore, consideration needs to be given as to how social separation can be overcome through facilitating connectedness and solidarity.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Engagement with District-wide stakeholders in the delivery of Bradford's Housing Strategy 2020-2030 taking a co-creation approach to ensure housing solutions are appropriate and take account of community needs.
- Take account of the variables which impact on the way in which local people make choices or have their choices limited regarding where they live when developing housing solutions.
- Further work to build on the platform created by the Stronger Communities Partnership through Bradford for Everyone in facilitating communities to come together to build bridging capital to drive greater understanding and community cohesion.
- Develop new and positive approaches to describing social bonding and its community benefit to counter deficit language which problematises the clustering of ethnic minority residents.

Executive Summary

Understanding factors in hate crime

Hate crime continues to impact on the day to day lives of many Bradford residents as a result of their race, faith, gender, disability or sexuality. It often goes unreported, and the experience of hate crime minimised by the victim as just something to put up with. Findings demonstrate that there is a continuing need to challenge the beliefs and attitudes that underlie hate crime.

The number of hate crimes across the District have been increasing, with a rise of 13.2% in 2020-21, with the majority of recorded hate incidents being race related. Incidents motivated by sexual orientation are the second highest. Incidents relating to faith decreased, and there was no change for those in respect of Trans. It is likely that this is due to the way incidents are recorded by the police, indicating difficulties in identifying whether an incident is motivated by hate or religion, or in the case of sexuality/Trans a lack of understanding on the part of the police around differences between sexual orientation and Trans identity resulting in mis-recording. Findings also indicate a lack of confidence in local police to deal effectively and sensitively with hate crime, with police officers tending to be desensitised to the seriousness of the impact of a hate incident and how reporting is received.

There are high levels of unknown data across recorded incidents. This absence of data may be due to the way in which the police approach and work with the victim, or as a result of a reluctance of the victim to disclose for fear of reprisal or further discrimination. Better recording of data will support better understandings of the profiles of both victims and suspects.

The arrest rate in Bradford has increased incrementally since 2018 but remains low in relation to the level of reported hate incidents, particularly in respect of race. This may be due to the concentration of hate incidents among a small number of victims and offenders which means the possibility of repeat offences is high, as is the potential for repeat victimisation in respect of the same hate incident. However, findings indicate that low arrest rates are complex and intersectional. A lack of evidence which enables the police to build a case also impacts arrest rates. In addition, reported incidents are often not necessarily a hate incident, for example voicing an opinion as free speech, rather than perpetrating an intentional attack on an individual or group motivated by hate. These therefore cannot be prosecuted. This is reflected in an observed lack of awareness and understanding of hate crime and hate incidents at community level.

Although findings indicate a high level of understanding of the importance of reporting hate crime, awareness of reporting centres and pathways other than the police for reporting is low. Whilst reporting centres are an important resource in ensuring that hate crime is understood and reported, drawbacks were observed with regard to location. For some victims, a reporting centre within their community is problematic as they do not want to be identified as a victim or may not want to disclose particular aspects of their identity, for example their sexuality. Therefore, other mechanisms for reporting, such as BHCA's online reporting tool, are as equally valuable.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Approaches to addressing the level of unknown data in hate crime recording should be developed in partnership with West Yorkshire Police. This includes more consistency in the recording of hate incidents.
- Supporting the development of cultural competence and improving the way that the police deal with reports and how they relate to victims should become a priority area for action, utilising already established partnerships between West Yorkshire Police and Bradford Hate Crime Alliance
- Improving awareness and understanding across all communities will support both the prevention of hate crime and improving reporting.
- Review of arrests to identify where gaps in evidence occur in order to improve arrest and prosecution rates, taking into account who reports and who/how it is received.
- Improve awareness of reporting centres and alternative methods for reporting hate crime. BHCA can play a central role in addressing this lack of awareness, building on the achievements it has already made.

Integration in schools

There is a need to increase the diversity of the workforce in schools to ensure that young people have access to teachers who look like them and who can understand and represent their cultural frames of reference and give voice to and value community capital. This means ensuring better representation of teachers in the communities in which they teach. Alongside this, the development of cultural capital across the whole teaching workforce is critical in ensuring that non-white cultural capital is not inadvertently devalued by unconscious bias or the perpetuation of white norms.

In dealing with bullying in schools, whilst sanctions against perpetrators are an important and essential action, it is equally important that they have an opportunity to develop their understanding of impact of their behaviours. This can be achieved both in school and as part of work with partners such as BHCA and Citizens UK. The wellbeing of victims also needs to be addressed through specialist support which is overlaid with well-developed cultural competence amongst staff to ensure that appropriate support can be given to young people.

Integration strategies in schools are most successful where they connect directly with the cultural identities and diversity of all pupils/students, ensuring that a school's learning environment and cultural voice does not devalue the cultural capital of its ethnic minority pupils/students.

Extracurricular activities are helpful in bringing young people together. The principles which underpin these activities, including the way they are delivered, can inform how schools embed inclusion both in the classroom and the whole school space, giving agency to Bradford's diverse cultural heritage, and the pupils and teachers who represent it.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Facilitation of leadership conversations across schools and relevant stakeholders about how to make schools diverse, working across schools/academy Trusts and with civic leadership to support the development of integration strategies in schools.
- Consideration of how the local school system can provide more opportunities for young people to mix, moving away from the limitations of a system which currently provides a lack of opportunity for young people to build bridging capital and make different friends as they move through school.
- Development activities for teachers and school staff to develop cultural competence to ensure that non-white cultural capital is not devalued.
- Consolidate the role of the school in the local community and vice versa to make meaningful connections with cultural identity in the school learning environment.

Part 1.

Introduction

In March 2018, the Government's Department for Housing, Communities and Local Government published its Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, which acknowledged the need to "tackle the inequalities and injustices that hold people back. It is not right that where you are born, who your parents are, or where you went to school should determine your outcomes in life." (HM Government, 2018, p7). As a result, the Government set up the Integration Area programme, focusing local and national resources on the common goal of delivering integrated communities, to better understand and tackle the challenges specific to a place, and building on existing best practices and local strengths. Bradford is one of five local authority areas who took part in this programme.

Bradford's Stronger Communities Partnership have led this work, delivering a locally focused integration strategy, the Stronger Communities Together Strategy (2018-2023). This strategy sets out the plan to build strong integrated communities across the Bradford District and its vision is to deliver a community where people from different backgrounds can live, learn, work, and socialise together.

The Strategy builds on the desire of many people across the Bradford District to work together as part of an inclusive society that ensures people, regardless of background, ethnicity, disability, or sexual orientation can flourish and participate. It recognises Bradford's history of embracing diversity, welcoming refugees and migrant workers who have made, and continue to make Bradford their home, and who make a valued contribution to the city's economic, cultural, and political life.

This is reflected in Bradford's longstanding status as a City of Sanctuary.

The Strategy also acknowledges existing challenges in ensuring that all residents of Bradford feel included and able to participate and flourish both socially and economically. Therefore, as highlighted by the Strategy, "to make sustainable difference we need to change the systems in which we work and live in, change behaviour and perceptions people may hold of others to create a safe city that provides a fair chance for all." (Stronger Communities Together Strategy, p14). Aligning with the Government's Green Paper, key themes across the district's plan include initiatives to improve English language learning; support access to jobs; monitor school segregation; reduce residential segregation; integrate new immigrants; and tackle hate crime.

As part of delivering this work, to better understand how change can happen, in 2019 the Stronger Communities Partnership commissioned the University of Bradford's Centre for Inclusion and Diversity to undertake an 18-month programme of social integration research to explore how people connect and integrate, contributing to the body of knowledge that will help to create a better future for the Bradford District and beyond.

It is not right that where you are born, who your parents are, or where you went to school should determine your outcomes in life."

(H.M. Government, 2018, p7)

"... to make sustainable difference we need to change the systems in which we work and live in, change behaviour and perceptions people may hold of others to create a safe city that provides a fair chance for all."

(Stronger Communities Together Strategy, p14)



Part 2.

The Research

This social integration research study was organised into three strands in response to key challenges identified in the Bradford District Stronger Communities Together Strategy:

- Understanding the dynamics of residential segregation
- Facilitating the reduction of hate crime
- Identifying strategies for and good practice in relation to integration in schools

It is intended that the outcomes of the research will contribute new contextual information and evidence to inform decision making and the further development and delivery of the Stronger Communities Together Strategy.

Methodology

Each strand of research activity involved both desk-based and empirical research, and was undertaken as a mixed methods study in four phases:

- Bradford's context for social integration
- Residential integration/segregation
- Experiences and perceptions of hate crime
- Social integration in schools

Ensuring that co-creation which empowered participants to share their lived experiences was central to the development of our research methods. Therefore, the following research methods were employed across the study (see next page).

Massey & Denton's theory of residential segregation (Massey & Denton, 1988) and Barnard's model of spaces in which approaches to integration operate (Barnard, 2020) have informed this research approach. Drawing on such established theories of community cohesion and social integration/segregation, these methods facilitated robust analysis of data through participation and co-creation.

Limitations of available data

The research has used data sets publicly available at the time of undertaking field work between 2019 and 2021.

Whilst the majority of data analysed is recent and up to date, limitations of what has been accessible are recognised:

- 2011 census data was used in analysis as 2021 data was not available. There may therefore have been changes to demographic profiles which we have not been able to capture.
- The configuration of available police data has impacted some local comparisons, and the high levels of unknown demographic data limits an in-depth understanding of the profile of the hate crime landscape.
- There were high levels of unknown data in teaching available workforce data. Reasons for this need to be understood to address areas of under-representation but were outwith the scope of this research.
- The unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic impacted on possibilities for data collection. However, our research design was adapted to ensure a reasonable breadth and depth of data.

Desk Research and Literature Review and Data Analysis

- Desk-based research included review of current academic literature and topic related document and reports currently in the public domain. Data sets from National Statistics data bases (www.statistics.gov.uk) informed all strands of the research.
- Additional data made available by Bradford Council, by participating schools and other key stakeholders was also analysed.
- Data from national and local police sets informed the Hate Crime strand of research.

Survey

- A short survey was employed in the hate crime strand of research to establish a baseline picture of knowledge and experience. Findings were used to inform group discussions and round table analysis.
- The survey was co-created with partners, including Bradford Hate Crime Alliance and Bradford Council.
- Participation was voluntary and was delivered both online and through street canvassing in order to ensure a representative sample across the Bradford District.

Listening rooms

- The Listening Room is a method of engagement that allows participants to express themselves without the researcher's influence. It gives agency and authenticity to participants as they freely express themselves.
- This method limits the disadvantages associated with survey methods which have a predetermined structure and a tendency to restrict participants' voices.
- In a Listening Room there is no right, wrong or acceptable answer. As there is no probing from a researcher participants have the freedom to be themselves and express their feelings which is both empowering and enriching, giving meaning to participants' lived experiences.

Focus Group discussions

- Focus groups provided insights into participants' thinking and understanding around themes identified across the research strands. The process facilitated structured discussions to obtain in-depth insights, clarify aspects of data and explore explicit meanings, beliefs and attitudes.
- A total of eight focus groups were held for the hate crime research strand and two for the schools strand.

Discussions with staff

- Discussions with staff in schools and other key stakeholders were used to gain a deeper understanding of attitudes, beliefs and values and how this influences behaviour, for example interventions used to promote social integration, how young people make friends and reasons for not reporting hate crime.

Roundtable Analysis

- Central to roundtable analysis is stakeholder buy-in and discussion.
- The participation of stakeholders brings different and enriching ideas to data analysis ensuring greater validity.
- The roundtable is used for closed, specific discussions where consensus-building is required.
- The roundtable facilitates the articulation of new knowledge and understand through the engagement of diverse stakeholders and structured discussion.

Part 3: Bradford's Context for Social Integration



A City and District of Diversity

Bradford has a proud history of communities working together. For more than 200 years it has welcomed people from across the world to work, live and be part of Bradford's cultural and economic life. It is a city as diverse in its people as it is in its economic base, culture, and geography. Our diversity is reflected in strong sense of tradition, culture and community, which has grown since the 1950s and 60s as workers from South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean migrated here to meet workforce demands in textile mills, factories, the NHS and other service occupations across the District. These communities have settled and made Bradford their home, contributing to its diversity and rich cultural wealth.

Bradford continues to enjoy City of Sanctuary status providing a safe and inclusive environment for those seeking refuge. Although overall international migration has been decreasing for several years, Bradford has become increasingly diverse, with new communities adding to its diversity, most recently from Eastern Europe. This diversity is reflected in population data, with an estimated 32.6% of Bradford residents being from an Ethnic Minority background¹. The District's population increased by 0.5% between 2018-19, largely due to the birth rate² with 82.8% of the population born in the UK³.

Bradford is now a young city, with more than a quarter of its population (28.9%) aged under 20, with nearly seven in ten

people aged under 50. It has the fourth highest percentage (23.7%) of the under 16 population in England.

This diversity is undoubtedly an asset. However, sometimes our diversity, encompassing multiple identities, can lead people to pull in different directions which in turn can generate misunderstanding and result in intolerance.

To address these challenges Bradford is harnessing the strength of its diversity to make positive changes for all our communities. This is demonstrated by the ongoing work led by Bradford Council through their Health and Wellbeing Board, District-wide Equalities Group, and the Stronger Communities Together Partnership, of which this research is a part.

¹<https://jsna.bradford.gov.uk/documents/The%20population%20of%20Bradford%20District/1.1%20Demographics%20of%20Bradford%20District/Demographics%20of%20Bradford%20District.pdf>

²<https://datahub.bradford.gov.uk/opendata/population/2019-based%20Population%20Estimates%20Alert.pdf>

³<https://ubd.bradford.gov.uk/about-us/ethnicity-and-religion/>

⁴<https://ubd.bradford.gov.uk/about-us/poverty-in-bradford-district/>

⁵<https://ubd.bradford.gov.uk/media/1535/indices-of-deprivation-2019-ward-level-analysis.pdf>

⁶<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157124/report.aspx#tabearn>

Changing fortunes: impact on where we live

Economically the Industrial Revolution transformed Bradford from a rural market town to a Victorian trading hub and the 'wool capital of the world'. Although the textile and heavy manufacturing industries have since declined, other sectors have grown, with current economic strengths across advanced engineering, chemicals, automotive and food manufacture, financial services and digital technologies. Bradford has also been identified as the best place in Britain to start a business, by Barclays Bank SME Growth Factors Index and listed as one of the top 20 cities for business growth by the Sunday Times in 2020. The economic growth witnessed in the District can be attributed, in large part, to the talent of Bradford's diverse communities.

Whilst Bradford has undergone a process of evolving its industrial base and economy, and is now growing its economic base, this has not been without social cost.

De-industrialisation moved Bradford's economy from low skilled to high skilled, impacting those workers, primarily ethnic minority backgrounds and their families, whose livelihoods were centred around traditional textile and manufacturing industries and the areas in which they lived and still live.

Indices of Deprivation published in 2019⁴ shows Bradford District is ranked as the 13th most deprived local authority in England and 2nd most deprived in the Yorkshire and Humber region. This represents a decline when compared with the District's previous ranking of 19th most deprived in 2015.

Poverty has become a significant feature of Bradford's landscape. Fourteen of the District's wards are amongst the 10% most deprived in England, with Manningham consistently the most deprived ward in the District⁵. Recent data shows that in 2021 median weekly earnings in Bradford remain relatively low, with median weekly gross pay of £545, compared with £568 for Yorkshire and Humber and £613 for England⁶.

This has implications for life chances and outcomes, including where young people go to school, and the ability to access decent housing and facilities which enable people to interact socially, for example community leisure facilities. This is a particular issue for those impacted by industrial decline.

Figure 1 shows levels of income deprivation across the District. Wards where industries, particularly textiles, had a significant presence are now the most deprived.

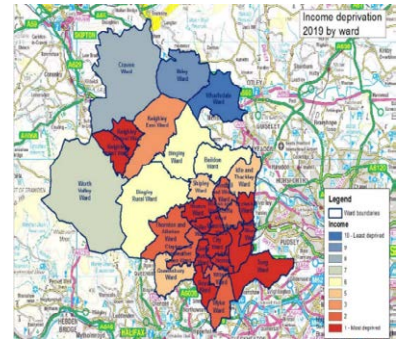


Figure 1: Deprivation at ward level

As a consequence of industrial decline, the fortunes of the residential areas built to service these industries have also declined. It is in these areas that a large proportion of Bradford's ethnic minority communities reside. The intersection between minoritisation and economic disadvantage has had implications for social integration and community cohesion.

Part 4:

Understanding the dynamics of residential integration/ segregation in Bradford

The aim of this strand of research was to understand and explore determinants of residential segregation and the most appropriate method of understanding segregation in the context of the Bradford District. Research methods have included a review of current literature and models of measuring residential and community segregation, alongside Bradford's socio-economic and residential demographic data.

Previous research studies give insights into the drivers of residential separation of communities. Integration and community cohesion is reflected in the extent to which people from all backgrounds can get on with each other, enjoying and respecting the benefits of living in the UK (Casey, 2016). However, the way in which different communities lead their lives can mean that communities operate on a series of 'parallel lives' that do not touch or cross over, with no points of overlap or meaningful interchange (Cantle, 2008). These parallel lives lead to community separation or segregation.

Cantle (2001) highlighted that this not only relates to the physical separation of communities in terms of where they live but also to where children go to school, places of worship, and access to community organisations and social and culture networks. The extent of this separation often impacts on the ability of different communities to build trusting relationships both individually and communally.

Where groups of people who share particular characteristics chose to live in close proximity, clustering together in a concentrated area is often driven by social bonds and the need to feel a sense of belonging, being with people who share the same cultural and ethnic background and cultural capital, and who understand and support each other. In research undertaken in Bradford, Phillips et al (2002) pointed out, in relation to Bradford's South Asian communities, that:

'... clustering based on ethnicity remains important, even for the younger generation of South Asians. It is sustained by positive community links, traditions, and a sense of ethnic identity. It is also maintained by a fear of racial harassment and isolation'

(Phillips et al, 2002, p10)

This can lead to racialisation of space with some areas regarded as 'White', or 'Asian', or associated with other specific ethnic minority communities, impacting on a sense of belonging for those who do not feel welcomed in these racialised areas. Discussion across all strands of research confirmed that these perceptions remain.

Social bonding capital is therefore a valuable asset for people from Ethnic Minority groups as it enables them to feel secure and share resources. It should not be regarded as a negative concept, but as a strategy to cope with social and economic disadvantage and marginalisation, often manifesting through poverty and discrimination, with those experiencing the greatest economic disadvantage feeling isolated and left behind. Therefore, social integration, achieved through a sense of belonging and social bonding, and spatial segregation resulting from such social bonding can be regarded as two sides of the same coin and are inexorably inter-related influenced by both choice and circumstance.

Whilst discussions with stakeholders indicate that there is change with ethnic minority communities becoming more socially mobile, a large proportion of Bradford's South Asian communities who

live predominantly in the most deprived areas of the District are particularly impacted by social disadvantage.

Alongside this, lack of social mixing can contribute to a lack of understanding and mistrust between communities, compounding separation and segregation. This often results in experiences of hate crime, with the highest incidents across the Bradford District being racially motivated.

Therefore, to ensure our lives converge, the creation of opportunities for interaction resulting from where we live, go to school, who we make friends with, and how and where we interact with different people, for example in community centres, leisure facilities, or at work, is a central aspect of working towards social cohesion. Whilst residential segregation is a critical factor, often driven by social bonding capital, opportunities are also needed for the development of bridging capital, a process which fosters understanding between individuals and communities through interaction and association.

Achieving social cohesion is therefore a dynamic, multi-dimensional process linked to income, housing conditions, health, education, experience of discrimination, and integration in the local community (Levitas, 2005). It is a process which is both social and economic and is underpinned by their intersection.

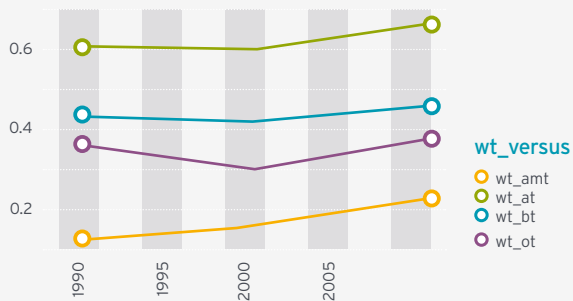


Figure 2: Dissimilarity Index

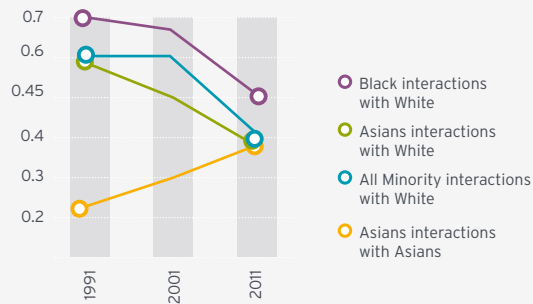


Figure 3: Interaction Index

Measuring spatial integration and social interaction

Where people live is one of the opportunities people have for engaging with each other. The movement of people into and across towns and cities changes the dynamics of how, where and whether people interact with each other.

Therefore, residential segregation, described as 'the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another in different parts of the urban environment' (Massey & Denton, 1988) impacts on both geographic and social interaction. A range of variables can influence this segregation, influencing the way that people make choices, or have their choices limited about where they live, by, for example socio-economic status, ethnicity, and race.

This segregation can be measured and understood using the model developed by Massey & Denton (1998) to assess levels of physical and social segregation based on where people live.

Dissimilarity Index and Interaction Index

The segregation and interaction patterns between White and Ethnic Minority communities across the Bradford District has been assessed using Massey and Denton's dissimilarity and interaction indices. The dissimilarity index measures levels of spatial segregation on a scale where 0 = no segregation and 1 = total segregation. The interaction index measures the probability that a member of one group will meet or interact with or be isolated from a member of another group. The dimension of evenness (spatial distribution between different groups of people) has been used to provide a dissimilarity ranking and the dimension of exposure (level of potential interaction that is facilitated by the spatial difference between groups of people) to consider levels of interaction. Assessments have been made using the most up to date available census data between 1991 and 2011.

Analysis indicates that there are varying degrees of spatial segregation between White and Ethnic Minority communities. Whilst, the level of dissimilarity, at moderate segregation, is the same in 1991 as 2011 for all Ethnic Minority groups and for Black people, for people from an Asian background there was a steady increase in dissimilarity over the period, moving from moderate segregation (0.31) in 1991 to high segregation (0.66) in 2011. These patterns suggest that Bradford's South Asian communities are becoming progressively isolated (Figure 2).

Analysis of interaction indicates that the probability of interactions between White and Ethnic Minority communities and individuals has seen a sharp decline over the period, on average -20%. However, the probability of interactions between Black and Asian communities has increased by 14% (Figure 3).

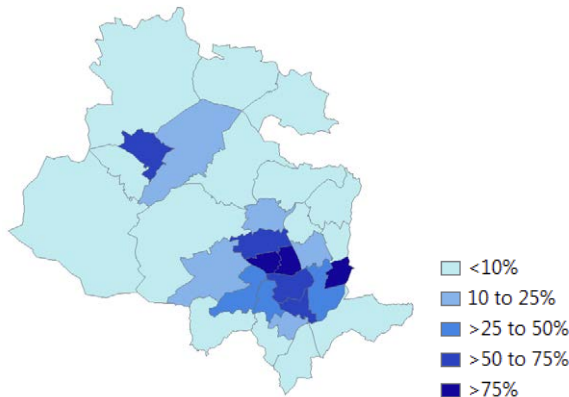


Figure 4: Distribution of Bradford's Ethnic Minority Population

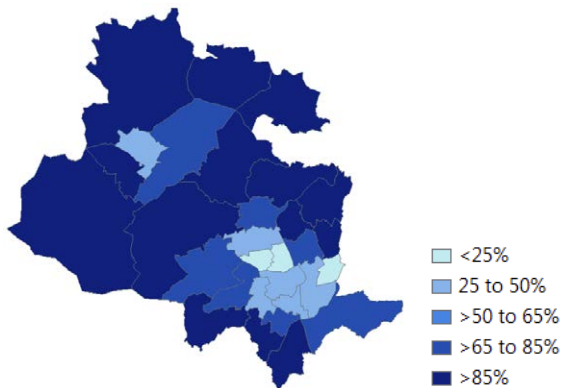


Figure 5: Distribution of Bradford's White population

Spatial residential segregation

As highlighted in the Government's Green Paper (2018), living separate, segregated lives limits opportunities for interaction. This is a central consideration of community cohesion in Bradford.

The Bradford District comprises 30 wards spanning the urban environs of the City and Keighley town centres and surrounding rural areas stretching out down the Aire Valley to Wharfedale.

Bradford's Ethnic Minority population is predominantly resident across nine wards concentrated around the urban City centre and the centre of Keighley (Fig 4). These wards are amongst the 10% most deprived in England; poverty is therefore significant. By contrast, the White population is largely concentrated in the more rural areas of the District (Fig.5).

It is, however, important to note that not everyone living in these areas is economically disadvantaged. People who do not experience deprivation live in areas classified as deprived and vice versa. The reasons for this clustering are multiple and complex.

Factors which influence residential segregation

Analysis of the most up to date available data for the Bradford District, covering the period 2018-2020, indicates a range of factors which are contributing to residential separation and segregation.

i) Deprivation and an aging housing stock

As indicated in Figures 1, 4 and 5, wards with the highest levels of income deprivation are those predominantly occupied by Ethnic Minority communities, especially those of South Asian heritage. These areas are characterised by the decline and disappearance of the textile industry which provided the employment that attracted South Asian migrant workers in the 1950s and 1960s. These workers settled in the areas surrounding their employment and the housing were invariably built at a similar time to the mills themselves.

In these areas income levels are low have been impacted by historic loss of employment. In 2020 it was estimated that

more than a third of Bradford's residents have an income of less than £20,800, with 9.7% of these residents having an income of less than £10,400. This compares with an average UK income of £30,732 (Bradford Council Briefing, 2020)⁷. This level of poverty is therefore a factor in considering where people live and how they can maintain their homes. It is a limiting factor in both, intersecting with and impacting on the profile of Bradford's housing stock.

The District's housing stock is ageing. More than three quarters of Bradford's homes are forty+ years old, built before 1982. Almost a third of these are over 100 years old, built before 1919, clustered around areas dominated by the textile industry, which are now amongst the poorest in the District. Much of this housing is of poor quality, with significant investment required to address extensive disrepair (Figure 6).

Not only does this indicate a large stock of old and dilapidated homes but also a paucity of house building since 1982, with only 21.5% of Bradford's housing stock built between 1983 and 2018.

Types of houses and home ownership:

Bradford's Strategic Housing Market Assessment (SHMA) carried out in 2019 provided detailed information about Bradford's housing stock (Figure 7).

The majority of Bradford's housing is traditional in style, being either terraced (32.1%) or semi-detached (35.4%).

'Where people live in segregated areas, the opportunities for them to mix and form meaningful relationships with people from different groups are more limited'

Government's Green Paper (2018), p43.

⁷<https://ubd.bradford.gov.uk/media/1580/poverty-and-deprivation-jan-2020-update.pdf>

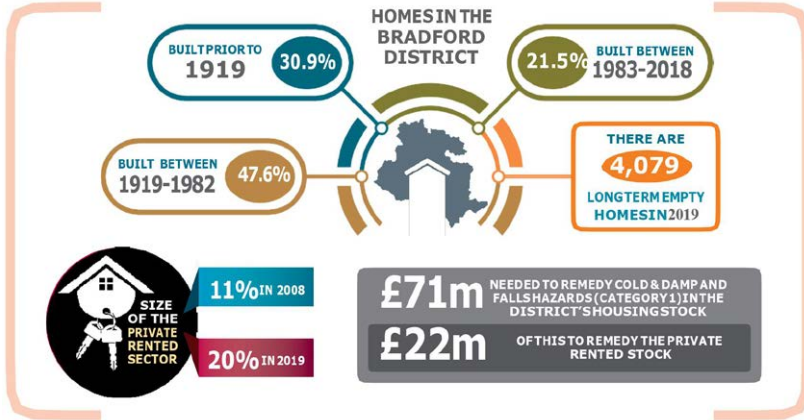


Figure 6: Profile of Bradford's Housing Stock (Bradford Housing Strategy 2020-2030)

Most households are owner occupied. However, the size of the private rented sector has increased by 9% since 2008, with significant investment needed to bring this housing up to a decent standard.

Of note is the level of investment required to remedy cold, damp and hazards in this privately owned stock, both owner-occupied and rented. Most properties in need of repair are located in low-income wards populated by Ethnic Minority communities. The commitments set out in Bradford's Housing Strategy recognises the issue of poor-quality stock and is committed to working with owners and landlords to improve conditions. If delivered effectively this will provide positive impact for those in the most deprived wards.

ii) Social Mobility and the affordability trap

The Strategic Housing Market Assessment (2019) found that there is a relatively high level of home ownership in wards with high Ethnic Minority population, for example Heaton (69%), Toller (65.6%), and Bradford Moor (58.5%), despite these wards being characterised by economic disadvantage. However, this is not as high as in wards with high White populations, where more than three quarters of households are owner-occupied, for example Wharfedale (84.3%), Baildon (80%) and Craven (79.7%).

Housing in economically deprived wards is often over-crowded and in a state of disrepair, and, as indicated above, levels

of poverty are impacting on the ability of many homeowners to keep their homes in good order. These are generally large Victorian houses which require significant maintenance and can be expensive to run.

There is a lower rate of house sales in these areas compared with more affluent parts of the District. The ability/inability to move is influenced by (i) the condition of the property - houses in a state of disrepair will attract lower prices and not afford enough equity to move to more affluent areas, and (ii) the potential to secure a mortgage

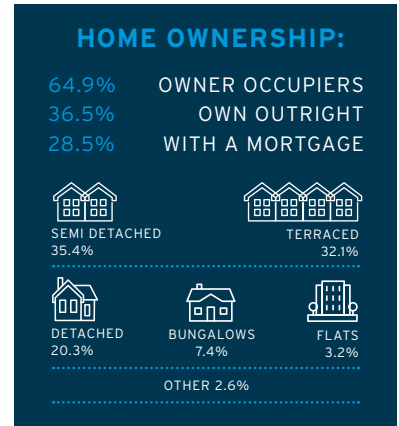


Figure 7: Housing type

against salary (Figure 8). Although property prices have increased since 2018, this is proportionate across the market, it is likely that there has been little shift in affordability, particularly taking into account the disproportionate economic and social impact of the Pandemic on ethnic minority households. Alongside this the number of residents in private rented accommodation has grown, particularly in deprived wards, where the cost of rental is low (Figure 9). This is often a reflection of the poor quality of the housing on offer.

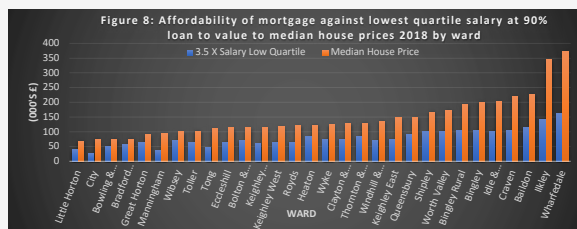


Figure 8

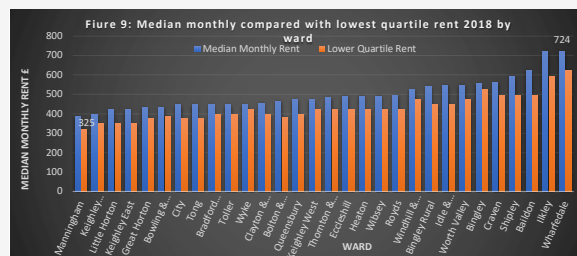


Figure 9

It is well documented that where you live has an impact on your life chances; the ability to be socially mobile can change a life trajectory. If moving is not an option, the choices available to improve life chances are limited and can potentially be a barrier to social mobility. The Strategic Housing Market Assessment (2019) estimated that 6.8% of households would like to move, but 78.7% of these cannot afford to do so.

Consequently, as where people live is often determined by economic status, with prospects to move home hampered by economic circumstances, those living in areas of high deprivation are therefore often stuck. In Bradford, the intersection between low income, historic economic and employment circumstances and the ethnicity of workers who have been particularly impacted by economic decline, have exacerbated spatial residential segregation between communities and hindered social mobility.

Although it could be argued that equality is available to all our citizens, research demonstrates that identity is directly linked to the level of accessible opportunities for employment, education, health and housing (Cabinet Office, 2017; JRF, 2017; Weekes-Bernard, 2017). For example, in terms of social mobility and progression for our growing young population, many young people from an Ethnic Minority background access higher education but are more likely to end up in low paid employment, characterised by insecurity and a lack of progression, and are more likely to live in areas of economic deprivation (GWB, 2021; Byrne, 2010).

As data analysed by Casey (2016) shows, there tends to be a lower rate of movement to a higher socio-economic class from a low-income household for Ethnic Minority communities than for White communities. This is borne out by analysis of income vs social mobility in Bradford (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Income vs social mobility by ethnicity

	WHITE	ETHNIC MINORITY
Living in low income households	19%	46.75%
Level of social mobility	44.3%	30.95%

This situation is often as a result of structural inequality in respect of access to jobs and good quality housing, as well as both direct and indirect discrimination. The notion of cultural difference therefore becomes a means of submerging material and systemic inequalities (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009), and acts as a process of 'othering' people from backgrounds which are different to the culturally dominant White norm.

iii) A sense of belonging - clustering and residence of choice

Achieving social integration through promoting residential integration cannot be forced. Rather, it should be achieved through a process of dialogue, deliberation, and mutual understanding.

However, addressing issues of spatial segregation and poor housing to deliver integrated neighbourhoods will not necessarily guarantee that residents will interact. Whilst spatial integration should be facilitated and can be regarded as both socially desirable and beneficial, it will only be successful if other drivers of segregation, including inequality and structural disadvantage, particularly for ethnic minority communities, are understood. As highlighted by Cantle (2008), spatial and social segregation are inextricably bound together.

Despite Bradford's history of community engagement there remains a discourse of 'othering' which is built around the notion of 'us' and 'them', underpinning structurally driven inequality (Levitas, 2005; Byrne, 2010).

The process of 'othering' attributes negative characteristics to people or groups which differentiate them from the perceived normative, in this case White, social group. It results in exclusion and marginalisation based on identity.

In the context of Bradford, this has resulted in the racialisation of space though segregationist discourses embedded in media and government reports, for example references to 'Asian spaces' (Phillips, 2003), which compounds spatial segregation. This was particularly prevalent at the time of the Bradford riots in 2002, racialising inner-city wards on ethnic and religious grounds. Discussions with stakeholders confirm that this discourse is still prevalent. It is an additional factor limiting social and spatial mobility.

In these circumstances, stepping outside a space which is associated with 'us' into one associated with 'them' can be difficult and often intimidating. The concept of racial threat, particularly in White communities where people from Ethnic Minority communities who appear 'different' are regarded as threatening or undesirable, can be seen to have resulted in 'white flight' - White communities cluster together in 'White areas', and is observable across the Bradford District (see Figures 1, 4 and 5). It is interesting to note that this type of clustering is not problematised. Rather, it is areas where Ethnic Minority communities live in close proximity that are regarded as problematic.

It is therefore unsurprising that people from ethnic minority backgrounds seek kinship and a sense of belonging in where they live. Phillips (2007) stressed the importance of such spaces which engender feelings of familiarity, security, safety, and support, and where access to culturally appropriate amenities, including those which facilitate religious and cultural observance, are important.

This social bonding, often linked to strong community and family ties, enables a meaningful community life. Therefore, for all communities, to live in close proximity to people with whom they share a similar heritage and feel they have things in common is often a conscious choice as much as an economic necessity.

iv) Building relationships for social integration

As the above discussion indicates, changing patterns of spatial segregation will take capital investment on the part of Bradford Council and the UK Government. It is intrinsically linked to the socio-economic position of residents across the District and will take time to achieve both in terms of the physical environment and social motivation.

The poor quality of existing housing in the most deprived wards urgently needs addressing. However, whilst this will certainly make a difference to the ability to residents to sell their homes for a reasonable return, it may be that social bonding means that they choose to continue to live in particular areas based on feelings of connectedness, solidarity, and support within a community.

Kawachi & Berkman (2000) highlighted that 'social cohesion is the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society'. Although social bonding may mean continued physical separation between communities, at least in the immediate future, consideration needs to be given to how social separation can be overcome by facilitating connectedness and solidarity.

The belief that the late MP Jo Cox had that 'we are far more united and have far more in common with each other than that which divides us' can be seen in the outcomes of the work of the Stronger Communities Together Partnership. The work of the Partnership has promoted and increased interaction and dialogue between people from different backgrounds, enabling communities to come together in shared spaces such as community and leisure settings and working together for community benefit. This has particularly been the case during the Pandemic where many people from all backgrounds have been involved in supporting each other across the District.

Recent research undertaken by the University of Kent and The Cohesion and Integration Network into the benefits of social cohesion investment as part of the Government's Integration Area Programme

shows that participating local authority areas, including Bradford, are reporting stronger and better social relationships and a more positive orientation towards people from different social groups, including new immigrants, compared to other areas (Abrams et al 2022).

This highlights the importance of building social capital which provides bridging ties between different groups.

Giving people the opportunity to get to know and understand one another facilitates the development of 'bridging capital', creating connections between

communities and closing perceived divides. It facilitates a deeper understanding of rights, freedoms, and responsibilities, and strengthens relationships between individuals and their fellow citizens.

This principle underpins work to reduce and overcome hate incidents and social integration work in schools to ensure that young people from different backgrounds have the opportunity for social interaction and that they progress through life with values of tolerance, understanding and respect.



Part 5: Understanding Factors in Hate Crime Reporting

Experiences of hate crime can be physically, emotionally, and psychologically devastating for victims and their families, as well as witnesses (Smith & Törning, 2019; Iqanski & Lagou, 2015). These experiences have the potential to divide communities, making people feel that they do not belong, to question their identity, and change the way they organise their lives to avoid further incidents. It is an injustice that many citizens in Bradford must live with as part of their day-to-day lives, often leading to fear and mistrust as well as the strengthening of social bonding capital. Action to reduce and deal effectively with such crime is therefore central to cohesive and integrative communities.

As part of developing cohesive and integrated communities, Bradford's commitment to address hate crime is set out in the Bradford District Hate Crime Strategy 2021-24 and the Stronger Communities Together Strategy. Both strategies recognise that the promotion of the values of tolerance, understanding and respect and enabling citizens to get along is key to the prevention of hate crime. Bradford's Hate Crime Strategy aims to prevent and respond to hate crime, increase reporting of hate incidents, improve support for victims, and build an understanding of hate crime. It aligns with national strategy as set out in the Government's Action Plan, Action Against Hate, to tackle hate crime (Home Office 2016).

"Bradford is a young, diverse, and welcoming city. A City of Sanctuary, that is a home to people from many backgrounds, cultures, languages, and faiths. A place that should feel safe and free of all forms of hate crime.

The impact of hate crime can be devastating for victims and their families. It can also have the potential to divide and damage communities"

**Councillor Abdul Jabar Safer
and Stronger Communities
Portfolio Holder**

The aim of this strand of research was to support the delivery of this Strategy by developing an overview of hate crime reporting across the Bradford District and examine factors which potentially lead to the under-reporting of hate crime and identify ways in which it could be improved. It was undertaken using an analysis of secondary data on hate crime across the Bradford District, West Yorkshire and nationally, alongside the collection of primary data through an online survey, focus groups with community members and discussion with key stakeholders (694 participants). Analysis of survey data does not include numbers ≤ 6 to ensure anonymity of participants.

The Legal Framework

In understanding patterns of, and factors which influence hate crime reporting, consideration needs to be given to the legal framework which informs work around hate crime. It impacts on how it is perceived by both victims and perpetrators and how it is dealt with by the police and justice system.

What is hate crime? What is a hate incident?

Language and terminology used in the discourse of hate crime is central to the way in which victims, perpetrators and the police recognise and respond to hate crime and hate incidents. There are key distinctions between the two, with an incident motivated by hate only becoming a crime when it is identified as a criminal offence and can be prosecuted as such. This means that appropriate levels of evidence need to be available and gathered in order to build a case to put forward to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Differences in understanding and interpretation of what constitutes a hate crime as opposed to a hate incident can result in variations in what is reported by individuals and how it is recorded by the police or through other reporting pathways, for example reporting centres. This is currently being addressed through training and awareness raising activities being delivered by Bradford Hate Crime Alliance (BHCA), which is working with communities, hate crime reporting centres, and the police to prevent hate crime.

⁸Hate crime, England and Wales, 2018 to 2019 (publishing.service.gov.uk)

⁹https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/839172/hate-crime-1819-hosb2419.pdf

HATE INCIDENT

Any incident perceived by the victim or another person to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's actual or perceived disability, race, religion, sexual orientation, or gender identity, including:

- verbal abuse
- harassment
- bullying or intimidation
- physical attacks
- threats of violence
- hoax calls, abusive phone or text messages, hate mail, online posts.

West Yorkshire Police:

<https://www.westyorkshire.police.uk/advice/abuse-anti-social-behaviour/hate-crime/hate-crime>

HATE CRIME OFFENCE

Any criminal offence which is perceived by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice, based on a person's disability or perceived disability; race or perceived race; or religion or perceived religion; or sexual orientation or perceived sexual orientation or transgender identity or perceived transgender identity.

Crown Prosecution Service:

<https://www.cps.gov.uk/crime-info/hate-crime>

Classification and recording of hate crime and hate incidents

There are five centrally monitored strands of hate crime based on the following protected characteristics:

- Race or ethnicity
- Religion or beliefs
- Sexual orientation
- Disability, and
- Transgender identity⁸.

A hate crime can be motivated by a single protected characteristic, but is often intersectional, for example many victims are women as well as being from an Ethnic Minority, or they may also be LGBT+, or disabled (All-Party Parliamentary Group, 2019). The Home Office's 2018/19 Hate Crime report states that 12% of hate crime offences were estimated to have involved more than one motivating factor; the majority of these were hate crimes related to both race and religion⁹.

Current legislation, however, does not allow for such intersectionality in the recording of hate incidents. Consequently, the picture portrayed by current data tends to be one dimensional and without nuance.

Responses to Hate Crime

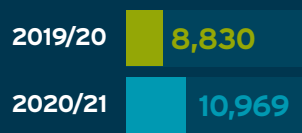
The work of the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), Police Forces and local and national support groups and networks are supporting the delivery of the national and local strategies on hate crime to secure justice and provide support to all those affected by hate crime.

This includes increasing the number of cases put forward to the CPS for prosecution, improving the conviction rate for hate crimes and implementing the Sentencing Act 2020, which allows for an uplift in sentence for those convicted of a hate crime.

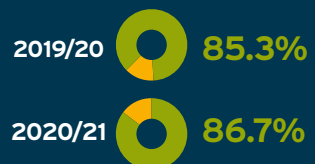
Success can be seen in published CPS data which indicates an increasing conviction rate and increases in the number of uplifted sentences to reflect the fact that the offence was a hate crime.

INCREASING REPORTING OF AND RESPONDING TO HATE CRIME

Reports from the police to the CPS: Between 2019/20 to 2020/21 number of reports increased by 24.4%



The conviction rate increased slightly from 2019/20 to 2020/21.



The proportion of convictions with a sentence uplift increased in 2019/20 to 2020/21.

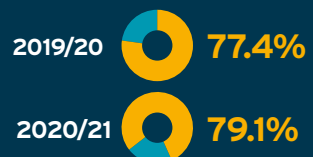


Figure 10

⁸ CBP-8537.pdf (parliament.uk)

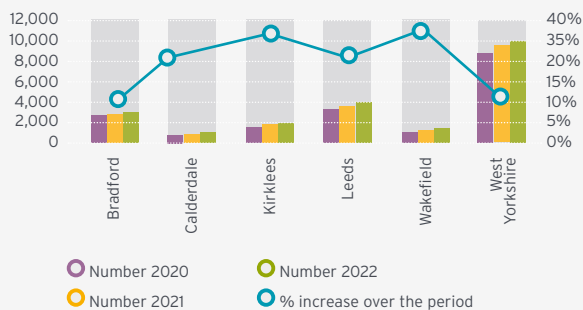


Figure 11: Increase in recorded hate incidents across West Yorkshire 2020 to 2022

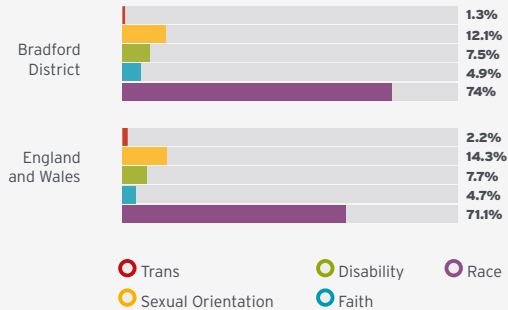


Figure 12: Prevalence of hate crime by protected characteristic 2021

Levels of Hate Crime Reporting

The two main sources of hate crime data for England and Wales are statistics recorded by the police and the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW). It is identified that CSEW data is problematic as it does not include all type of hate incidents, or crimes directed at those under 16. Survey questions are also open to interpretation resulting in inconsistency in response. Therefore, data sets used in this analysis are those generated by police records.¹⁰

Number of hate incidents reported

Data shows that the number of hate incidents recorded by the police has been steadily rising across all protected characteristic groups, with an overall national increase of 9% in 2021, rising 1% on the previous year.

Although this is thought to have been driven by ongoing improvements in police crime reporting and an increased awareness of hate crime, increases have also coincided with particular trigger events, including the EU referendum in 2016, terrorist attacks in 2017, and Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 and far right counter attacks.¹¹

Numbers have also increased at regional and local levels but at a higher rate.

In Bradford, between 2020-2022 there was an increase of 13.2% in recorded hate incidents (Figure 11). Although the number of recorded hate incidents in Bradford

represented more than a quarter (27%) of all incidents in West Yorkshire, the rate of increase in Bradford was lower than for other West Yorkshire local authority areas (Figure 11).¹²

There may be a range of factors influencing increasing numbers of recorded hate crime. Rather than an increase in levels of crime, it may be a reflection of the implementation of, and impetus created by the Government's Action Plan to improve hate crime recording. It may also be that other routes through which hate crime can be reported are successfully enabling victims to report an incident. These themes were explored through primary data gathering activities.

It is worth noting that the lower level of increase in Bradford may align with the activity of Bradford for Everyone, which started to roll out in 2019.

As recent research led by the University of Kent has identified, local authorities participating in the Government's Integration Area programme reported stronger and better social relationships as a more positive orientation towards people from different groups, including people from migrant communities. This may be creating a positive impact in reducing levels of hate incidents, particularly taking into account that both Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated racism and intolerance (Brzozowski and Fox, 2021).

In terms of prevalence, levels of under-reporting are necessarily estimated. CSEW data suggests that only half of incidents perpetrated were brought to the attention of the Police. Data gathered through our survey and focus group activity sheds further light on levels of hate crime reporting and the factors which influence levels of reporting/non-reporting of hate incidents.

Profile of reported hate incidents

The profile of hate incidents has been examined using police data, to understand which type of incident are most prevalent and change in the rate of increase over time. The high level of unknown data in the recording of hate crime is noted. As a result, it is difficult to gain a robust understanding of the hate crime landscape in Bradford.

¹⁰<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/hate-crime-statistics>

¹¹<https://bradfordforeveryone.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Hate-Crime-Strategy-Proof-40ct2021b.pdf>

¹²<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2020-to-2021>

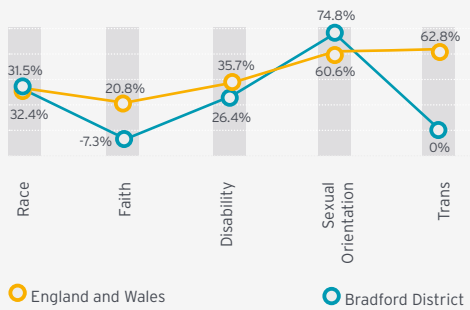


Figure 13: % increase/decrease in hate crime by protected characteristic 2018- 2021

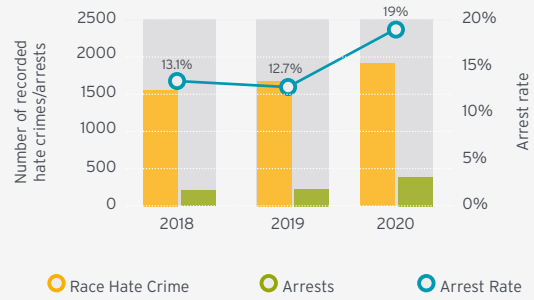


Figure 14: Bradford's Hate Crime Arrests/Arrest Rate 2018-2020

This absence of data may be due to the way in which the police approach and work with the victim, or as a result of a reluctance of the victim to disclose for fear of reprisal or further discrimination. The following analysis focuses on trend indicated by known data.

Hate crime by protected characteristic

Between 2018-2021 the profile of offences in the Bradford District generally reflected the picture for England and Wales, with a significant majority of hate crime related to race (Figure 12). Motivation in relation to the victim's sexual orientation was the next largest group of hate crimes recorded.

Although there was an increase in all hate crime across all protected characteristics nationally, the exception in Bradford was for incidents related to faith, which decreased by 7.3%. The biggest increase in Bradford was in respect of sexual orientation (74.8%). There has been no change in Bradford in respect of Trans related incidents (Figure 13).

Consultation with BHCA indicates that these changes may be due to the way crimes in respect of sexuality/Trans are recorded by the police¹³.

It may be difficult to identify whether an incident is motivated by hate or religion, often it is both. Similarly, a lack of understanding around differences between sexual orientation and Trans identity may result in mis-recording of incidents.

Race Hate Incidents Arrest Rates

As race related hate incidents represent almost three quarters of all recorded hate incidents, arrest rates for race related hate crime are considered in more detail.

Although, arrest rates have been increasing incrementally, with a 5.9% increase between 2018 and 2020, the number of reported incidents consistently out number arrests made. For example, in 2020 the number of reported incidents was 1,915, but the number of arrests totalled 99 (Figure 14).

This is not an uncommon phenomenon. Crime concentration theory (Farrell, 2015) is used to describe how crime often tends to be concentrated within a small subset of victims and offenders. This is no different for hate crime. Consequently, the possibility of repeat offences by the same suspect is high. It also includes patterns of repeat victimisation where the same hate incident is perpetrated against the same victim on multiple occasions. Whilst an increase in arrest rate is a positive trend, the arrest rate remained low particularly in relation to the level of race related hate crime experienced by Bradford's residents.

Consultation with BHCA indicates that the reasons for this are complex and intersectional. They include:

- Reporting of incidents which are not necessarily a hate incident, for example voicing an opinion as free speech, rather than perpetrating an intentional attack on an individual or group motivated by hate.
- A lack of evidence which enables the police to build a case for arrest. This may be due to the fact that the victim is unable to provide such evidence, or that they are reluctant to do so for fear of reprisal.
- The approach of the police who may deal with incidents insensitively or without gravity. Discussions with research participants and stakeholders indicate that often those receiving and recording the report are desensitised to the impact and implications of (a) the incident itself, and (b) the manner in which it is received: it is just another incident.

HATE CRIMES	VICTIM PROFILE	SUSPECT PROFILE
Race	Most victims are male, aged between 30-39 years Ethnicity of highest number of victims is unknown, followed by people from an ethnic minority group	Most suspects are male, although the number of female suspects is increasing (2018 = 40%). The majority of suspects are White
Faith	The majority of victims are of Muslim faith (2018 =47%) The second highest group of victims are Jewish (2018=18%)	Between 2016-2018 the highest number of suspects were aged under 16 years
Disability	Most victims are White, followed by those of unknown ethnicity The majority are male, aged 30 -39 years	The suspects are mainly White males, aged under 16 years
Sexual Orientation	Victims are predominately White and male, aged 20-29 years	The majority of suspects are white and male, aged under 16 years
Transphobic	Almost half of victims are white and female (2018=46.1%) Male victims totalled 40.9% with the remainder unknown Most victims are aged 40-49 years	The majority of suspects are white or unknown ethnicity Most suspects are aged between 30-39 and 50-59, with rising numbers of 16 years olds

Victims and Suspects

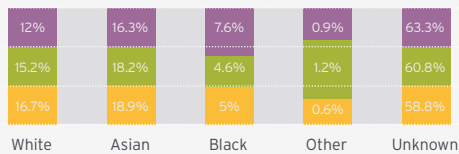
Analysis of the profile of hate crime victims shows that the ethnicity of the majority is unknown for all protected characteristics. This could be due of the approach of the police in recording, or reluctance on the part of the victim to declare their ethnicity. For example, if a crime is motivated by sexual orientation the victim may not wish their family to be aware of their sexuality, or may fear victimisation, which is known to happen to such victims in family settings as well as in public spaces.

Although police recording does not enable intersectional analysis, consideration of the profile of victims sheds light on the intersectional nature of hate crime. Incidents recorded as either race or faith are interlinked, with the majority of faith incidents directed towards Muslim or Jewish victims.

Similarly, for transphobic incidents almost half of victims are female and trans.

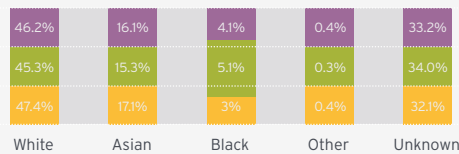
Across all strands, the majority of suspects are White, with growing numbers of young people under 16 recorded as suspects.

The largest proportions of hate crime in Bradford were motivated by race, accounting for 74%, or sexual orientation, accounting for 12.1% of hate crimes in 2021. As the largest, these two motivations are considered in detail in respect of victims and suspects.



VICTIMS

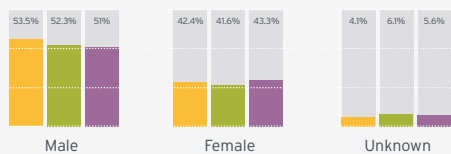
2018 2019 2020



SUSPECTS

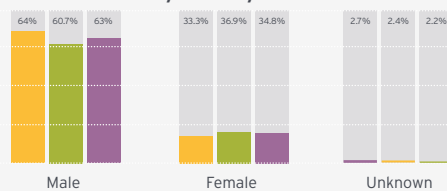
2018 2019 2020

Figure 15: Victims and suspects of racially motivated hate crime in Bradford by ethnicity



VICTIMS

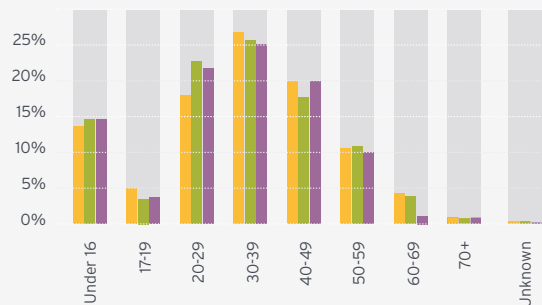
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SUSPECTS

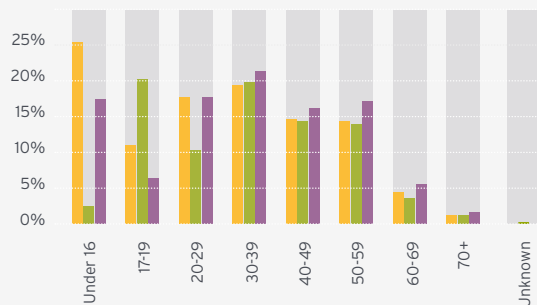
2018 2019 2020

Figure 16: Victims and suspects in racially motivated hate crime by gender



VICTIMS

2018 2019 2020



SUSPECTS

2018 2019 2020

Figure 17: Victims of racially motivated hate crime by age

Figure 18: Suspects in racially motivated hate crime by age

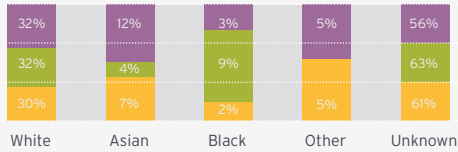
Racially motivated hate crime: The ethnicity of more than half of the victims of racially motivated hate crime was unknown, rising from 58.8% in 2018 to 63.3% in 2020. For those recorded as suspects, the majority were White, falling slightly from 47.4% in 2018 to 46.2% in 2020. The ethnicity of about a third (33.2%) of suspects was unknown (Figure 15). By contrast, the gender of a small minority of both victims and suspects in relation to

race related hate crime was unknown, with just over half of victims being male, 51% in 2020, and an increase in female victims to 43.3% in 2020 (Figure 16).

In terms of age, although the numbers fluctuate, the majority of race related hate crime was consistently experienced by people aged between 30-39 years, 24.8% in 2020, followed by those aged 20-29 (22.1%) and 40-49 years (19.7%). Those aged 60+ were least likely to be victim.

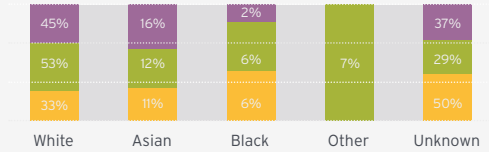
Of note is the number of victims under the age of 16 at 14.7% (Figure 17).

With regard to suspects, again the age profile fluctuates. In 2020 the largest group of suspects in race related hate crimes were aged 30-39 (21.5%), followed by those aged 20-29 (18%). The next largest groups were aged between 40-49 and under 16 years (17.8%) (Figure 18).



VICTIMS

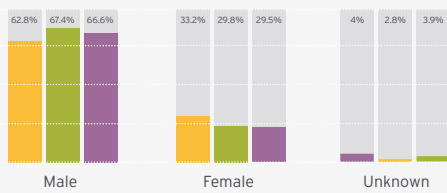
2018 2019 2020



SUSPECTS

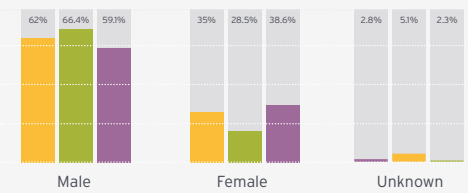
2018 2019 2020

Figure 19: Victims and suspects of hate crime motivated by sexual orientation by ethnicity



VICTIMS

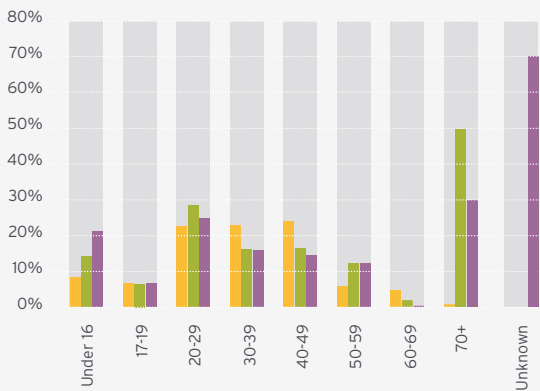
2018 2019 2020



SUSPECTS

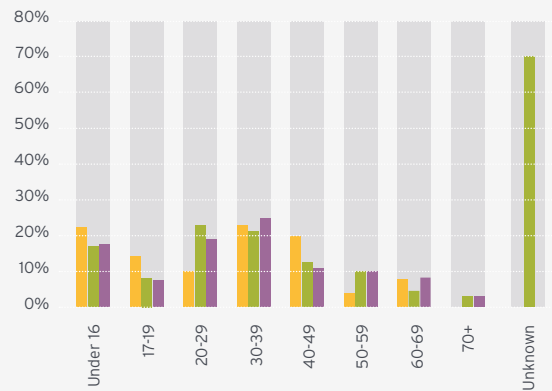
2018 2019 2020

Figure 20: Victims and suspects in hate crime motivated by sexual orientation by gender



VICTIMS

2018 2019 2020



SUSPECTS

2018 2019 2020

Figure 21: Victims of hate crime motivated by sexual orientation by age

Figure 22: Suspects in hate crime motivated by sexual orientation by age

Hate crime motivated by sexual orientation: As for racially motivated hate crime, the ethnicity of the majority of victims of hate crime motivated by sexual orientation was unknown, although there was some decrease from 61% in 2018 to 56% in 2020. The second largest group of victims identified as White with smaller proportions of ethnic minority victims. As highlighted above, this may be due to a reluctance to disclose. In respect of suspects, the majority were White, 45% in 2020, followed by those whose ethnicity is unknown, 37% in 2020 (Figure 19).

The majority of both victims and suspects were male, 66.6% and 59.1% respectively in 2020, with small numbers whose gender was unknown (Figure 20). Most victims tended to be relatively young. The largest proportions of victims were most likely to be aged 20-29 (25.9%) or under 16 (21.6%) (Figure 21). Suspects were most likely to be aged 30-39 (24.1%) followed by those aged 20-29 (18.6%) and those under 16 (17.7%) (Figure 22).

For racially motivated hate crime and for those motivated by sexual orientation the level of unknown data is high. This trend indicates that attention needs to be paid to the recording of hate crime to better understand the high rates of unknown ethnicity for victims and suspects. Similarly, consideration should be given as to why suspects tend to be male and White, and what factors drive the age profile of suspects.

Understanding local communities' knowledge, perceptions, and experiences of hate crime

In developing approaches to improve hate crime reporting, it is important to consider whether patterns of experiencing hate crime reflect patterns of reporting, including who reports and where. This was explored through survey and focus groups activities.

These were designed to enable community members to share their thoughts about, and experiences of, hate crime across the Bradford District, with a total of 694 participants taking part. The profile of participants is broadly representative and therefore reflects trends in local lived experiences, providing insights which illuminate recorded crime statistics.

Knowledge and importance of reporting hate incidents/crimes

There was a high level of awareness of hate crime among survey participants, although it should be noted that 10% of participants did not know about it at all (Figure 23). Further inquiry indicated that this awareness related to hate crime as a concept rather than what hate incidents and hate crimes actually constitutes or the differences between.

Participants showed high levels of awareness of the importance of reporting, with the majority of participants feeling strongly that it was important to report, with little variation across protected characteristic groups, by socio-economic status or educational background.

Profile of victims and suspects of hate crime

45.85% of participants indicated that they had experienced a hate crime. However, although participants generally felt that the reporting of hate incidents was important, only 33% of those who experienced an incident reported it. It is therefore clear that the level of experience of hate incidents does not translate into reporting. Very few research participants felt able to report their experience (Figures 25 and 26).

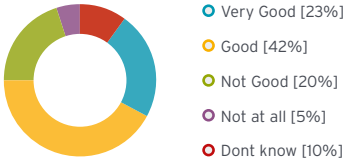


Figure 23: Knowledge of hate crime/hate incidents



Figure 24: Strength of feeling about the importance of reporting hate crime



Figure 25: Have you experienced a hate crime?



Figure 26: If you experienced a hate crime did you report it?

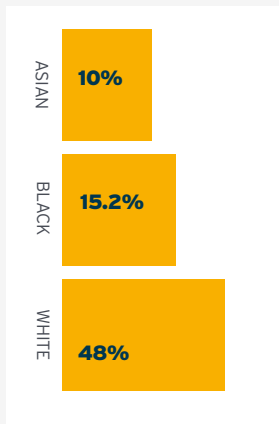


Figure 27: Who reports the most?

Across research participants, those who identified as Asian were least likely to report an incident at only 10%, compared with 15.2% of those who identified as Black, and 48% of those identifying as White (Figure 27).

PROFILE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS	
White	272
Asian	132
Black	25
Male	226
Female	244
Disabled	57

Participants who identified as White were significantly less likely to have experienced a hate incident (35.3%) but more likely to report (48%).

By contrast participants who identified as Black and Asian experienced higher levels of hate incidents, 64% and 53.8% respectively, but were significantly less likely to report, 15.2% and 10% respectively.

Participants' experiences indicate that men were more likely to experience a hate incident than women, 52.2% and 37.7% respectively, and were more likely to report, 18.5% compared to women at 9.8%.

Whilst levels of reporting across all protected characteristic groups is low, the lowest levels can be observed for people who identify as gay or lesbian, with a reporting rate of just 7.1% compared to an experience level of 57.1%

These findings indicate structural disadvantage for those who are minoritised, whether by ethnicity, religion, disability, gender or sexuality. Work to build better relationships between communities is likely to impact positively in reducing hate crime. However, in parallel systems and processes that enable victims of hate crime to feel confident in reporting hate crime need to be examined and improved.

Participants' Experience of Hate Crimes or Incidents/Levels of Reporting

CATEGORY	EXPERIENCE OF HATE CRIME	REPORTING
Black	64%	15.2%
Asian	53.8%	10%
White British	35.3%	48%
Female	37.7%	9.8%
Male	52.2%	18.6%
Disability	59.6%	28.1%
Gay or Lesbian	57.1%	7.1%
Straight/Heterosexual	44.6%	14.5%
Christians	42%	16.7%
Muslims	56.5%	16.8%
No Religion	31.1%	6.6%
50-64 years of age	48.4%	16.9%
30-49 years of age	53.9%	14.5%

Where is hate crime reported?

Survey findings and focus group discussions indicated a significant lack of awareness of hate crime reporting centres, with the only known location for reporting being the police.

Only 18% of participants indicating that they knew the location of their nearest centre, varying slightly across protected characteristic group (Figure 28).

In respect of ethnicity, slightly more people who identified as Asian (15.9%) knew the location of a reporting centre compared with those who identified as White (12.6%). Disabled people had the highest level of knowledge (22.8%), whilst more people who identified as gay or lesbian had a greater knowledge (21.4%) than those who identified as straight/heterosexual (14.2%). Amongst survey participants the largest religious affiliations were Christian, Muslim, and no religious affiliation. Findings indicate that the Muslim community had a greater knowledge (17.5%) than Christian communities (15.4%) or those with no religious affiliation (9.8%) (Figure 29).

This lack of knowledge is inevitably reflected in where people who experience hate crime report it. The majority of those who had experienced a hate incident opted to report to the police (53.6%), regardless of protected characteristic. This pattern of reporting indicates a need to increase awareness of reporting centres in local communities, for those who feel able to use them.

Accessibility does not necessarily mean that a reporting centre needs to be local. Discussions with stakeholders indicates that location can be problematic for those who do not want to be visible when they report. This is often linked to the fear of reprisal or family repercussions, particularly relating to sexuality.

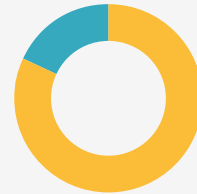
Community locations are often regarded as unsafe by young people whose identity does not conform to community or religious norms. These young people seek refuge in school or in organisations such as BHCA.

Types of hate crime experienced and reported

Home Office research (2018)¹⁴ indicated that significant proportions of racially and religiously motivated hate incidents are not investigated and that even when victims report them, they are not being assessed as such by the police. This is likely to impact on confidence levels amongst victims, and may be impacting, not only on levels of reporting, but also on what is reported.

Research participants indicated that they would be most likely to report a racially or religiously motivated hate incident, 22% and 17% respectively. Although overall reporting levels are low, this correlates with those hate incidents which are reported and recorded. 14% of participants stated that they would report an incident motivated by a person's sexual orientation or transgender identity, and 13% would report an incident motivated by a person's disability. Whilst 12% of participants indicated that they would report all types of hate incident, 11% stated that they did not know whether they would report any type of hate incident (Figure 30).

Amongst survey and discussion group participants the most frequently experienced hate incidents were verbal abuse.



- Yes [18%]
- No [82%]

Figure 28: Do you know where your nearest crime reporting centre is?

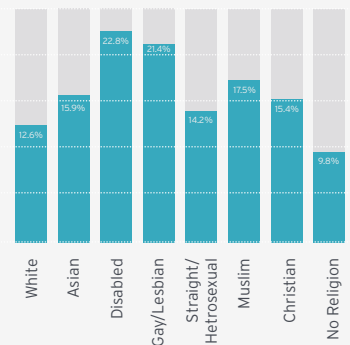


Figure 29: Knowledge of the location of hate crime reporting centres

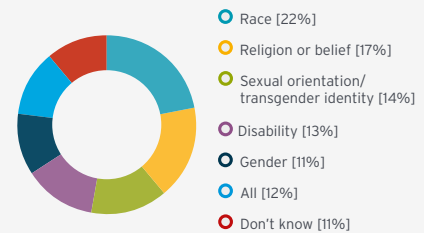


Figure 30: Crimes that survey/discussion group participants are most likely to report

¹⁴ https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/748140/hate-crime-a-thematic-review-of-the-current-evidence-oct2018-horr102.pdf

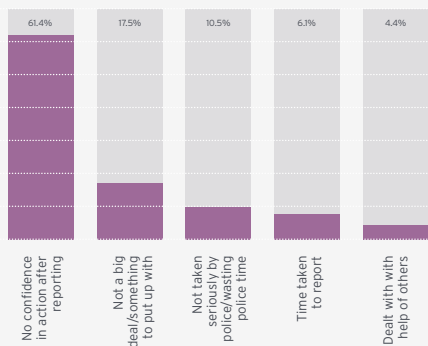


Figure 31: Survey/discussion group participants: reasons for not reporting hate crime incidents



Figure 32: Feedback from discussion group participants

Reasons for non-reporting of hate incidents

A number of studies have examined barriers to reporting. Research undertaken by NatCen (2018) identified factors which either discourage or prevent victims from reporting a hate incident to the Police:

- Being put off by previous negative experiences of the police and the reporting process.
- A belief that nothing can be done about it, so reporting is a waste of time.
- Regarding the incident as insufficiently serious to report, often because it is an everyday, inevitable part of life.
- Feeling ashamed or blaming themselves for the incident
- Difficulties in accessing reporting facilities due to geographical or mobility issues.
- A fear of repercussions, for example attracting further prejudice and attack.

Research also identified that certain barriers are more specific to different victim communities. For example, for the LGBT community the fear of being 'outed' was a frequent concern (Chakraborti and Hardy, 2015).

The majority of these factors were confirmed by survey and discussion group findings shown in Figure 31 above. The primary reason for victims not reporting a hate incident to the police was a lack of

confidence that any action will be taken as a result (61%). This included 20% of participants who identified as Black and 18.9% of those who identified as Asian, compared with only 7.1% of participants who identified as White, indicating a lack of trust in the police and judicial system amongst ethnic minority communities.

Research undertaken by Wangari- Jones (2020) for the Racial Justice Network, investigating hate crime and systemic injustice, identified disparities in how evidence was collected and presented, for example in respect of a racial slur, with many cases being dismissed unless they involved physical evidence, such as bodily harm or arson, as these cases are more straightforward to prosecute than offences which relate to public order. However, CPS data shows that prosecution rates are increasing.

A number of discussion group participants realised they did not actually understand what constituted a hate crime or what the difference between a hate crime and a hate incident is. Work to raise awareness of what is a hate crime, and its seriousness needs to be undertaken to increase reporting. Research participants also indicated that it would be helpful to communicate positive and accessible messages about outcomes as a result of reporting.

Survey and focus group participants also minimised their experience by regarding incidents as not serious enough to report, 'not a big deal' or as it is part of day-to-day life, 'something to put up with' (17.5%).

They also indicated that they often blame themselves or avoid situations and places where they feel at greater risk of abuse. Non-reporting in these circumstances can often be a result of normalisation by the victim when the crime is committed against people who are regularly victimised (NatCen, 2018; Home Office, 2018)¹⁵.

The majority of incidents experienced by participants were either verbal abuse (40.8%) or threatening behaviour (20%), neither of which should be regarded as something to just put up with.

A number of participants were concerned that the police do not take victims seriously and that they would be wasting police time if they reported an incident, with some citing negative experiences of the police. These experiences included poor cultural awareness and a lack of understanding of hate incidents. Others identified that the reporting process is difficult and time consuming. These factors are likely to contribute to non-reporting.

These findings indicate a need to ensure that the police work to both demonstrate action and improve their processes and approach. Other stakeholders, for example the Bradford Hate Crime Alliance can work to support victims in reporting and through the process, and also with the policy to increase cultural awareness and communication.

Views expressed by participants demonstrate these findings shown in Figure 32.

¹⁵ https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/748140/hate-crime-a-thematic-review-of-the-current-evidence-oct2018-horr102.pdf

Part 6:

School Integration

School life plays an important role in enabling young people to navigate the world with tolerance, understanding and respect. It acts as a microcosm of the world we live in both locally and globally and can lay the foundations of our life's trajectory.

Therefore, teachers who are role models and inspire their pupils, alongside a school environment which embraces diversity and values difference are central to the development and delivery of cohesive, integrated communities.

This strand of research aimed to explore social integration initiatives in schools, including the impact of the diversity of teaching workforce, and the attitudes, beliefs, and values of students in relation to making friends. It included an examination of teacher workforce data alongside consideration of inclusion policies and procedures at six Bradford schools. These included, two each at sixth form, secondary and primary levels, chosen to represent the residential demographic profile of the District. Young people from these schools also participated, sharing their thoughts and experiences of making friends and interacting with others. Two stakeholder engagement events were also held to test findings and to co-create recommendations.

Understanding the influence of teachers on their pupils

A review of academic literature undertaken by Verhoeven et al (2018)¹⁶ identified the different ways in which school experience and the influence of teachers plays a central role in the identity development of young people. They suggest that schools and teachers are often unaware of the ways in which they may impact on the development of their pupils, not only in terms of their academic achievement, but also their identity development and how they relate to others. This is confirmed through recent

in-depth case study work undertaken in English schools which identified three different spaces in which approaches to integration operate in schools (Barnard, 2020):

- **Unintentional Impact:** Often described as unconscious bias, unintentional, often negative impact manifests through the messages communicated by teachers through their teaching practice, the way they relate to different groups of pupils and the expectations they have of them.
- **Intentional Teaching Practice:** The use of intentional teaching strategies in the classroom that give young people the opportunity to mix and engage with different cultural and social perspectives enables them to explore their own and others' identities and develop bridging capital.
- **Cultural Climate:** A school environment which has developed cultural inclusivity through the provision of meaningful and supportive spaces for pupils to bring their own cultural knowledge and experiences into the classroom and enables them to relate learning to their everyday lives, facilitating engagement, and often raising attainment.

All three spheres of influence are explored through this research strand.

Our Teaching Workforce

In teaching environments where there is a significant mismatch between the ethnicity of pupils and teachers, unconscious bias can inadvertently influence the way teachers perceive their pupils, potentially resulting in stereotyping including assumptions about young people based on different aspects of their identity, such as race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status or ability. It can influence how school staff perceive their pupils and can lead to favouritism or an underestimation of ability to achieve success, potentially affecting educational

“A more culturally diverse education system can only do good, it can only serve to bring together a more diverse amount of thought, ideas, and experiences to create an education system which truly values everyone in it”.

Rhia Gibbs, 2022

<https://www.independentthinking.co.uk/resources/posts/2022/february/representation-matters-i/>

outcomes. Therefore, in understanding how schools facilitate integration it is important to consider workforce diversity (Verhoeven et al, 2018).

This element of the school integration research strand examined the demography of Bradford's schools' workforce, using payroll data held by Bradford Council which numbers 122, or 59% of all Bradford's schools. These schools are distributed across all wards in the Bradford District.

This sample and findings from data analysis can therefore be regarded as representative.

It is noted that there appears to be a large proportion of the schools' workforce across the District who have not disclosed their ethnicity. This may be due to the process of or format for reporting locally. However, further inquiry is needed to ascertain the potential reasons for this.

¹⁶<https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s10648-018-9457-3.pdf>

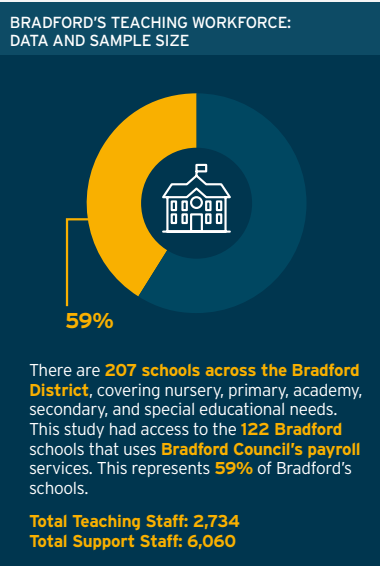


Figure 33: Bradford's Teaching Workforce: Data and Sample size

Gender

The workforce in schools is predominantly female and white. In Bradford the proportion of female teachers is slightly higher than nationally (Bradford=79%; UK=75%), rising for support staff who are 88% female. More than half of head teachers are also female (UK=67%).

Ethnicity

In England and Wales, the proportion of teachers who identify as White is +5% higher than the population, with teachers who identify as Asian and Black under-represented by -3% and -2% respectively.

In Bradford this situation is reversed with teachers who identify as White under-represented by -5% in proportion to the local White population. However, the proportion of ethnic minority teachers in the workforce remains below that of the local ethnic minority population, with a particularly sharp rise in under-representation for teachers who identify as Asian, representing only 7% of the District's teaching workforce compared to 26% of local residents.

There is a high proportion of teachers for whom their ethnicity is unknown (29%). The profile for support staff shows a similar picture, also with 29% of staff whose ethnicity is unknown.

Teaching workforce by ethnicity

	Ethnicity	Population	Teaching workforce
England & Wales	White	85%	90%
	Black	4%	2%
	Asian	8%	5%
	Mixed	2%	2%
	Unknown	2%	1%
Bradford	White	67%	67%
	Black	2%	2%
	Asian	26%	26%
	Mixed	3%	3%
	Unknown	2%	2%

Support staff by ethnicity in Bradford schools

Ethnicity	Population	Support staff
White	67%	55%
Black	3%	1%
Asian	26%	14%
Mixed	2%	1%
Unknown	2%	29%

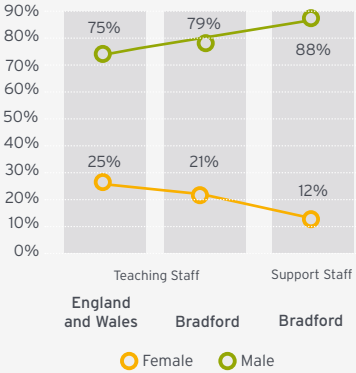


Figure 34: Gender profile of school staff 2021



Representation at ward level

The patterns of Bradford's residential segregation observed at ward level is reflected in the profile of young people in school. An inevitable consequence therefore is segregation of communities in the school environment. Without the right school infrastructure and teaching support, pupils are likely to experience disadvantage both socially and academically.

Data shows that in wards with high numbers of ethnic minority residents, teaching staff do not reflect the communities in which they work. For example, in Bradford Moor, Manningham and Toller wards, more than 76% of residents, contrasting with less than 30% of teachers identify as Asian. The majority of teachers are White in all three wards (Figure 35).

Although the Black community in Bradford is relatively small, a similar picture can be observed in those wards which are home to the highest proportion of residents who identify as Black. In both City and Tong wards there are no Black teachers to serve a Black community of 6.6% and 3.9% respectively. In these wards the under-representation of Asian teachers can also be observed (Figure 36).

This is in stark contrast to wards in which the majority population identifies as White where the ethnic profile of teachers matches that of the local community (Figure 37).

“BAME teachers give minority ethnic students a chance to see what academic success looks like and it gives them something to aspire to. For Children to see an adult that loos like them, possesses great qualities, and an abundance of knowledge, leaves them feeling inspired. After all, you can't be what you can't see.”

Rhia Gibbs, 2022

Ethnic minority teachers “bring different perspective and life experiences, exposing our children to cultural diversity, which reflects the languages, cultures and ethnic background of the local community and society at large”.

Tereshchenko et al (2018)

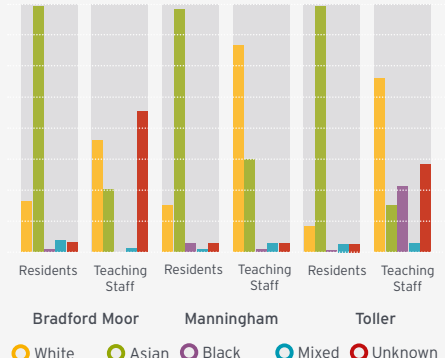


Figure 35: Profile of teaching staff in wards with high proportion of Asian residents

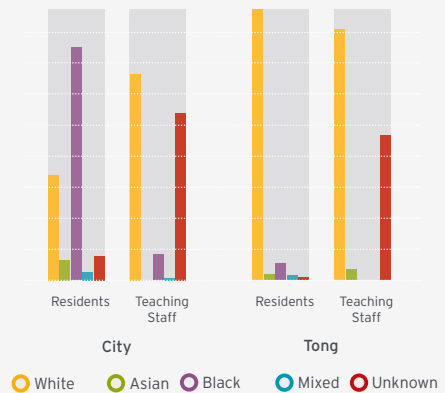


Figure 36: Profile of teaching staff in wards with high proportion of Black residents

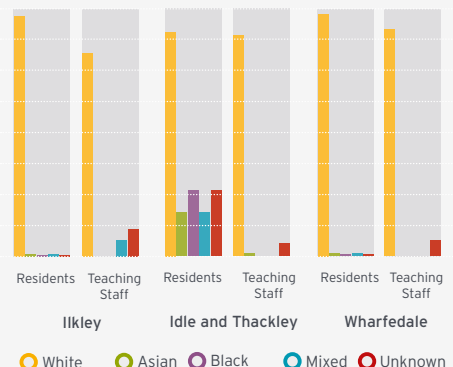


Figure 37: Profile of teaching staff in wards with high proportion of White residents

Diversity in the workforce matters in terms of both raising attainment and developing greater tolerance and understanding among different groups of young people. Without it, unconscious bias, including a lack of cultural competence, can impact on pupils' attainment and socialisation (Ofsted, 1999; Gillborn et al, 2013; Demie, 2019; Redding, 2019; Verhoeven et al, 2018; Tereshchenko et al, 2020; Demie and See, 2022). It can disadvantage groups of pupils through misinterpretation of their behaviour and understandings.

It is therefore important that the diversity of teachers in all schools across the Bradford District is a better representation of the communities they serve. This means, for example, increasing the number of ethnic minority teachers in wards such as Manningham, Toller, and Bradford Moor, so young people can see what they can be.

In this way ethnic minority teachers will bring a shared heritage and lived experiences enabling them to better understand and engage with their pupils. Currently, this is generally a privilege only enjoyed by White pupils.

Having teachers of all ethnicities is important for all pupils in all schools, regardless of their ethnicity or background. This is not only important for young people in schools with high numbers of ethnic minority pupils, but also where ethnic minority pupils attend schools where White pupils are in the majority, as well as for the White pupils themselves. It enables everyone to benefit from the wealth of diversity that is at the heart of Bradford's identity as a city.

Such diversity serves to dismantle stereotypes and exposes young people to different cultures, different perspectives, and views of the world, bringing a rich cultural diversity to a school community. This is critical in preparing young people for the wider world and in developing tolerance and understanding of others.

Building friendships in school: the role of teaching practices

As young people attend school in Bradford within their local community, reflecting patterns of residential segregation, they generally move through school in the same peer groups with little opportunity to mix outside their social and identity groups. Inevitably, in the same way that social bonding capital draws communities together where they live, it also often underlies the way in which young people make friends.

Therefore, intentional teaching strategies and practices which create opportunities for young people to mix both in and outside the classroom are central to enabling young people to build a range of friendships which cut across ethnic, religious, social, or other divides, and explore their own and others' identities.

Such opportunities enable them to understand that friendships can be forged through common interests such as music, or sport, rather than just based on shared characteristics, and develop the bridging capital which brings communities together, influencing how and with whom they make friends.

The impact of school segregation on making friends in school

Young people at participating schools were given the opportunity to talk about their attitudes, beliefs, and values in relation to making friends as part of listening room sessions. The following themes emerged:

i) A lack of diversity in friendship groups

The demography of a school will necessarily influence its pupils' friendship groups. Participants identified that they had had the same friendship groups since primary school and that they had not change their friends since then. There was a reluctance among pupils and students to make new friends if they move to college or university. Participants' friends tended to reflect their own ethnicity or gender, feeling "connected to people more like me", and preferring friends who share the same religious beliefs. This was regarded as a bond and a sharing of values.

ii) Cultural and social capital

For some participants, although they would be happy to have more diverse friendship groups, not being concerned about "what colour you are or what ethnicity you are", they were unsure how to make these friendships. This indicates a lack of cultural and social capital which bridges the gap between communities.

Whilst participants identified that although they were able to make friends in lessons, it was difficult to take this type of friendship forward outside the classroom. Participants identified that they did not know how to interact with friends from a different ethnic or religious group. They felt they would have different values, and "felt intimidated by someone who doesn't share the same characteristics". Participants admitted that although unintended, this can lead to friction or conflict, often resulting from a lack of understanding, making them more wary of stepping outside their normative friendship groups. This could be a reflection of the significant number of victims and suspects of hate crime under 16 years of age.

iii) The importance of extracurricular activities

Those who had participated in extracurricular activities found that this was a way to bridge that gap and gain confidence in making new friends. Commenting on a friendship forged through extracurricular sport, one participant reported "We would never have met unless we interacted through netball".

Student spaces, such as a student union room, was also seen as a good place to interact with different people: it is "one of the best places to interact with people because it's all these different people coming in".

iv) School as a social hub

Participants were aware of the importance of companionship and loneliness associated with a lack of friends. Friendships were regarded among participants as an important part of school life, with coming to school associated with “coming to see my friends because that’s what makes me happy”.

For some it provided an environment which enabled them to be themselves. For example, for those whose sexuality clashed with family values or beliefs, it provided a safe space and an escape from pressures at home. This echoes the findings with discussions with young people regarding hate crime.

Teaching practice to facilitate integration

In the same way that extracurricular activities can facilitate the building of friendships, the way that teachers organise their teaching practice and build relationships with their pupils/students has the potential to build understanding and integration between different groups.

Where teachers, through their own cultural competence and understandings, start to build representational spaces in the classroom that reflect lived and everyday experiences (Barnard, 2020), they are able to demonstrate the valuing of difference and positively impact on the wellbeing and achievement of their pupils/students.

i) Facilitating relationships

Participants were keen to emphasise the benefits of good teacher/pupil relationships and highlighted that respect is central: *“If the teachers give you respect, you give it back”*. They also identified that where teachers got to know their pupils/students they felt happier and more relaxed and this leads to higher levels of achievement: *“the better relationship I have with the teachers, the higher my grades”*.

It was recognised that teachers can help young people to make friends through their classroom practice, for example encouraging interactions in class activities, and mixing pupils/students into different groups for group exercises, helping them to *“get to know each other”*. They also facilitate conversations about social justice and equality which young people continue away from the classroom. This awareness led some participants to express concerns that some teachers do not always treat pupils/students equally, *“differentiating because of an ethnicity”*.

ii) Supporting mental health and wellbeing

Building good teacher/pupil relationships can also support mental health and wellbeing. Participants agreed that where relationships are good, they felt they could ask for help and that *“you can confide in them”*, because they knew that *“the teachers are there for you”*. However, concern was expressed that teachers do not often ask about their pupils/students’ mental health, and this can potentially become a barrier in seeking help if it is needed.

iii) Moving on from school

School was regarded as a steppingstone to the next stage in life. Participants regarded it as helping them to be successful and that their teachers are *“crucial to your success”*, demonstrating the importance of role models.

They appreciated teacher input and careers advice which opened up a broader view of the world, for example to a range of career options. However, they felt that more could be done to improve their life skills as they did not believe they would *“be well equipped enough to make decisions”*. Opportunities to engage with different people and have new experiences through school will help young people be more confident in their decision making and enable them to access that broader range of opportunities as they move on from school/college.

Whole school culture

The culture in school is informed by the way in which its policies inform its practices and its approach to inclusion, both inside and outside the classroom. It relates not only to pupil/student behaviour and the way in which young people in school/college relate to each other and to staff, but also to the way in which a school/college celebrates diversity, engages with its community in the provision of its curriculum, and provides meaningful space for young people to interact and share their culture.

In culturally inclusive learning environments, pupils feel secure enough to make mistakes, do not feel judged, rather recognised and valued.

In participating schools, the following areas of practice were being delivered to support school integration.

i) Zero tolerance approaches to bullying

Across all participating schools a zero-tolerance approach to bullying, including inappropriate language and all forms of discrimination, was found in policies and procedures. Incidents of bullying, as with hate crime, are often motivated by intolerance of difference. It is therefore important that efforts to address such incidents go hand in hand with work to bridge divides and develop greater cultural understanding and tolerance between all pupils/students. Varying approaches to addressing issues and incidents. The following common themes were observed:

- Discussion with those involved to understanding the nature and impact of the incident, with the parents of both victim and perpetrator being notified.
- Action to address inappropriate behaviour, including sanctions depending on the nature of the incident, for example caution, detention or exclusion, and education for the perpetrators to ensure they understand why such behaviours are unacceptable and to enable them to engage with others with respect.

- Support for victims which may include internal pastoral support or referral to a specialist agency, for example the Bradford Hate Crime Alliance who support young people who have been victims through discussion groups and small workshops.

It was noted that the emphasis in the approach of participating schools was on the perpetrator rather than the victim and that activities to support victims are not often evaluated in terms of their effectiveness.

ii) Creating a safe environment for reporting

Participating schools were generally working hard to provide a safe environment where pupils/students feel comfortable in speaking to a trusted adult about an incident they have experienced. As highlighted by pupil/student participants their relationships with their teachers play a pivotal role here.

School staff receive specialist training to ensure that incidents are dealt with sensitively and appropriately. This needs to be overlaid with well-developed cultural competence to ensure that all pupils/students are supported appropriately.

iii) Celebrating and encouraging diversity

Whilst all schools demonstrated that they were working to celebrate the diversity of their school and the local area, where the impact was most positively observed was where the school's approach connected directly with their local communities and engage

Learning about and respecting others' culture and identity:

Promotion of religious and cultural celebrations in tutorials to enable pupils/students to appreciate and understand each other's culture.

Encouraging respect through interaction as part of the school day:

- Family-style dining
- No use of mobile phones at lunch
- Discussions around equality, diversity and inclusion embedded in the curriculum
- Challenging discrimination and stereotyping
- Encouraging all staff and pupils to smile when moving round the school to shows they are all part of one community

them in the development of school life. Examples included liaising with and involving parents, as part of curriculum delivery, in learning about different histories (sharing lived experiences); ensuring that pupils/students are able to talk about and share their heritage and culture with others as part of respectfully learning about each other; and enabling discussion about difference and tolerance in both formal and informal settings. This was particularly observed in the participating primary schools.

iv) Nurturing respect and encouraging interaction

Participating schools employed a range of strategies to promote respect and interaction between their pupils/students. Where this was observed to be most effective was where both messages and approach in action reinforced each other. For example, one secondary school begins each term with a whole school reminder about the school's values, and code of conduct, reinforcing the school's expectations of its pupils. This is followed up through opportunities for pupils to take responsibility for each other and interact, including with teachers. Here the policy of 'family-style' dining expects pupils to serve food to each other and clear up together. Teachers also sit with pupils to engage

and interact with them.

Similarly, at another school, mealtimes have also been identified as an opportunity for pupils/students to interact, with a policy of not allowing the use of mobile phones during lunch. This encourages students to interact rather than concentrating on their phone, improving relationships. Alongside this, although the pupils are predominantly White, teaching about equality, diversity and inclusion are embedded in the curriculum, and discrimination and stereotyping are challenged.

One primary school encourages interaction among all pupils and staff by smiling as part of everyday school life to show that they are part of one community. They ensure that a climate of respect permeates the school, by ensuring that all voices are heard regardless of ethnicity or background. As a result, they have significantly raised the attainment of pupils with special educational needs.

School based enrichment activities:

These enable pupils/students to not only develop their skills and interests, and expand their networks, but also their personal confidence.

v) Expanding horizons

As identified by pupils/student participants, extracurricular activities can help bridge social and cultural divides. Where schools ensure that they provide extensive extracurricular or enrichment opportunities, young people are able to expand their networks, build their confidence and try new things, often related to life outside/after school or college. In addition to traditional clubs, such as chess and basketball, one sixth form college offers its students a session entitled 'A Guide to Becoming an Adult'.

vi) Motivation and reward

Participating schools use a range of strategies to reward appropriate behaviour and hard work through incentivisation, encouraging pupils/students to be the best they can be. This includes end of year activities, social events such as school trips, and sending a text to the parents of students who do well in lessons.

Building capacity in schools for integration

In his recent case study work Barnard (2020) highlights that work to support community cohesion in schools needs to take account of how non-white cultural capital is positioned and represented in all aspects of school life. This means, as stated by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) 'if we want to make sense of many social worlds, we ought to take account of how they are physically constituted' (p135) and involves taking meaningful account of pupils'/students' socio-economic context and valuing the cultural capital they bring. This may be related to their ethnicity, their social class/economic circumstances, their gender or their sexuality or their disability.

Central to this is ensuring that pupils/students have access to a diverse teaching workforce in their school, so they can see teachers who look like them and who can understand and represent their cultural frames of reference and give voice to and value community capital. This means ensuring better representation of teachers in the communities in which they teach.

Whilst all the examples provided from participating schools represent good practice and are making a difference to the operation of the school community, they are most successful where they connect directly with the cultural identities and diversity of all pupils/students. This ensures that a school's learning environment and cultural voice, for example through values statements, the website, newsletters, social structures and spaces and the networks that it is involved in, does not devalue the cultural capital of its ethnic minority pupils/students. In this way they operate interculturally with a decolonising mindset, rather than technocratically focusing on process and defined structures.

To take such an approach forward effectively, therefore, schools will need to consider how, in both the classroom and whole school space, they ensure that Bradford's diverse cultural heritage, and the pupils and teachers who represent it, are given agency and that non-white cultural capital is not inadvertently devalued by unconscious bias or the perpetuation of white norms.

Part 7:

Summary of findings and recommendations

Bradford is a city and district which is working hard to develop its economy and vitalise its communities, and where new opportunities are being created for regeneration, not least demonstrated by recent success in becoming the capital of culture 2025. It is, however, a city which still faces significant challenges in ensuring that all its citizens are able to be a part of and gain meaningful benefit from these opportunities.

Although this research has been delivered across individual strands of inquiry, they are intrinsically linked and intersectional. This reflects the fact that achieving social cohesion is a dynamic, multi-dimensional process. It is both social and economic, linked to income, housing, health, education, and individual and community experiences of discrimination, and integration/ segregation.

Whilst research findings are set out under each strand of inquiry, they reflect both the social and economic nature of the process of social cohesion and integration, their interdependence is recognised.

The dynamics of residential segregation in Bradford

For many Bradford citizens poverty remains a significant driver of their life trajectory and a barrier to social integration and cohesion, particularly for those from ethnic minority communities.

The separation and segregation of a large proportion of Bradford's ethnic minority communities, in particular the South Asian community is demonstrated in the way in which they lead parallel lives which have few points of overlap or opportunities for meaningful interaction. These parallel lives often result in a lack of social or community mixing which contributes to a lack of understanding and mistrust between communities, with those experiencing the greatest economic disadvantage becoming

isolated and left behind. This separation is characterised by residential segregation, where people who share particular characteristics chose to live in close proximity to each other. It is influenced by a range of variables that impact on the way in which people make choices or have their choices limited regarding where they live.

Findings indicate:

- i) Bradford's housing stock is ageing with a large proportion in need of significant repair. Much of this housing is situated in the most deprived of Bradford's wards largely occupied by the District's Ethnic Minority communities. Although there are relatively high levels of home ownership in these wards, low levels of income impact on the ability of homeowners to keep their homes in good repair. Rented accommodation in these areas is also left in disrepair, consequently attracting lower rents making them more affordable for the worst off.
- ii) Similarly, where there is motivation to move home, low levels of income impact ability to access a mortgage. Homeowners also often have inadequate capital in their current home to facilitate a move with any increase in house price negated by proportionate increases across the market.
- iii) Work to improve social integration and cohesion, improving the economic circumstances of those living in deprived wards, therefore needs to take account the structural inequalities that result from separation of communities, in respect of access to quality housing and jobs as well as both direct and indirect discrimination based on identity.
- iv) Although, since the inception of Bradford's Stronger Communities Partnership, research indicates a shift towards cohesion, there remains a discourse of 'othering' built around the notion of 'us' and 'them' where negative

characteristics are attributed to people or groups differentiating them from the perceived normative White social group and where difference is regarded as threatening or undesirable. This can be observed in the continued racialisation of space across the Bradford District, with some areas regarded as 'White' or 'Asian' and resulting in exclusion and marginalisation based on identity, limiting social and spatial mobility.

- v) Residential segregation is therefore often driven by social bonding and drives conscious choice to remain resident in a particular area. Such social bonding enables people to feel a sense of belonging and security through living in a community with shared cultural capital which is understanding and supportive of each other. Social bonding capital is therefore a valuable asset in establishing cohesive communities. Therefore, bringing communities together to create social bonding across divides needs to be facilitated through the development of bridging capital.
- vi) However, although White communities clustering together is often a result of 'othering' and consequent 'white flight', this clustering is not problematised. Rather, it is areas where Ethnic Minority communities live in close proximity that are regarded as problematic.
- vii) Addressing spatial residential segregation will take time, and social bonding may mean continued physical separation between communities, at least in the immediate future. Therefore, consideration needs to be given as to how social separation can be overcome through facilitating connectedness and solidarity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Engagement with District-wide stakeholders in the delivery of Bradford's Housing Strategy 2020-2030 taking a co-creation approach to ensure housing solutions are appropriate and take account of community needs.
- Take account of the variables which impact on the way in which local people make choices or have their choices limited regarding where they live when developing housing solutions.
- Further work to build on the platform created by the Stronger Communities Partnership through Bradford for Everyone in facilitating communities to come together to build bridging capital to drive greater understanding and community cohesion.
- Develop new and positive approaches to describing social bonding and its community benefit to counter deficit language which problematises the clustering of ethnic minority residents.

Understanding factors in hate crime reporting

Hate crime continues to impact on the day to day lives of many Bradford residents as a result of their race, faith, gender, disability or sexuality. It often goes unreported, and the experience of hate crime is often minimised by the victim as just something to put up with. There is therefore a continuing need to challenge the beliefs and attitudes that underlie hate crime.

Bradford's Hate Crime Strategy 2021-24 and the Stronger Communities Partnership

have recognised that the promotion of the values of tolerance, understanding and respect, enabling citizens to get along is key to the prevention of hate crime, with some success. There is however more to do.

Findings indicate:

- i) Although the number of hate crimes across the District have been increasing, with a rise of 13.2% in 2020-21, this is at a lower rate than for other West Yorkshire authorities. Rising numbers of recorded hate incidents may be due to improved reporting and recording mechanisms.
- ii) The majority of recorded hate incidents in Bradford in 2021 were race related, with incidents motivated by sexual orientation being the second highest. Incidents relating to faith decreased, and there was no change for those in respect of Trans. It is likely that this is due to the way incidents are recorded by the police, indicating difficulties in identifying whether an incident is motivated by hate or religion, or in the case of sexuality/ Trans a lack of understanding on the part of the police around differences between sexual orientation and Trans identity resulting in mis-recording.
- iii) There are high levels of unknown data across recorded incidents, which is problematic in gaining a robust understanding of the hate crime landscape in Bradford. This absence of data may be due to the way in which the police approach and work with the victim, or as a result of a reluctance of the victim to disclose for fear of reprisal or further discrimination. Better recording of data will support better understandings of the profiles of both victims and suspects.
- iv) The arrest rate in Bradford has increased incrementally since 2018 but remains low in relation to the level of reported hate incidents, particularly in respect of race. This may be due to the

concentration of hate incidents among a small number of victims and offenders which means the possibility of repeat offences is high, as is the potential for repeat victimisation in respect of the same hate incident. However, findings indicate that low arrest rates are complex and intersectional.

- v) Often, reported incidents are not necessarily a hate incident, for example voicing an opinion as free speech, rather than perpetrating an intentional attack on an individual or group motivated by hate. These therefore cannot be prosecuted. This is reflected in an observed lack of awareness and understanding of hate crime and hate incidents at community level.
- vi) A lack of evidence which enables the police to build a case also impacts arrest rates. This may be due to the fact that the victim is unable to provide such evidence, or that they are reluctant to do so for fear of reprisal. Such reluctance may also be driven by the approach of the police who may deal with incidents insensitively or without gravity.
- vii) Although findings indicate a high level of understanding of the importance of reporting hate crime, there is a lack of awareness of reporting centres and pathways other than the police for reporting. Therefore, the rate of reporting is low.
- viii) Whilst reporting centres are an important resource in ensuring that hate crime is understood and reported, draw backs were observed with regard to location. For some victims, a reporting centre within their community is problematic as they do not want to be identified as a victim or may not want to disclose particular aspects of their identity, for example their sexuality. Therefore, other mechanisms for reporting, such as BHCA's online reporting tool, are equally valuable.

- ix) There is a lack of confidence in local police to deal effectively and sensitively with hate crime, with findings indicating that police officers tend to be desensitised to the seriousness of the impact of a hate incident and how reporting is received - a reported hate crime is just another incident. There is therefore an identified need for the police to improve the way they deal with reports and how they relate to victims. This could be supported through increased development of cultural competence.
- x) Findings indicate that confidence in the police could also be enhanced through their demonstration of action through positive messages, demonstrating that convictions are increasing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Approaches to addressing the level of unknown data in hate crime recording should be developed in partnership with West Yorkshire Police. This includes more consistency in the recording of hate incidents.
- Supporting the development of cultural competence and improving the way that the police deal with reports and how they relate to victims should become a priority area for action, utilising already established partnerships between West Yorkshire Police and Bradford Hate Crime Alliance.
- Improving awareness and understanding across all communities will support both the prevention of hate crime and improving reporting.
- Review of arrests to identify where gaps in evidence occur in order to improve arrest and prosecution rates, taking into account who reports and who/how it is received.

- Improve awareness of reporting centres and alternative methods for reporting hate crime. BHCA can play a central role in addressing this lack of awareness, building on the achievements it has already made.

Integration in schools

- i) There is a need to increase the diversity of the workforce in schools to ensure that young people have access to teachers who look like them and who can understand and represent their cultural frames of reference and give voice to and value community capital. This means ensuring better representation of teachers in the communities in which they teach.
- ii) In dealing with bullying in schools, whilst sanctions against perpetrators are an important and essential action, it is equally important that they have an opportunity to develop their understanding of impact of their behaviours. This can be achieved both in school and as part of work with partners such as BHCA and Citizen UK.
- iii) The wellbeing of victims also needs to be addressed through specialist support which is overlaid with well-developed cultural competence amongst staff to ensure that appropriate support can be given to young people.
- iv) The development of cultural capital across the whole teaching workforce is critical in ensuring that non-White cultural capital is not inadvertently devalued by unconscious bias or the perpetuation of White norms.
- v) Integration strategies in schools are most successful where they connect directly with the cultural identities and diversity of all pupils/students, ensuring that a school's learning environment and cultural voice does not devalue the cultural capital of its ethnic minority pupils/students.

- vi) Extracurricular activities are helpful in bringing young people together. The principles which underpin these activities, including the way they are delivered, can inform how schools embed inclusion both in the classroom and the whole school space, giving agency to Bradford's diverse cultural heritage, and the pupils and teachers who represent it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Facilitation of leadership conversations across schools and relevant stakeholders about how to make schools diverse, working across schools, academy Trusts and with civic leadership to support the development of integration strategies in schools.
- Consideration of how the local school system can provide more opportunities for young people to mix, moving away from the limitations of a system which currently provides a lack of opportunity for young people to build bridging capital and make different friends as they move through school.
- Development activities for teachers and school staff to develop cultural competence to ensure that non-white cultural capital is not devalued.
- Consolidate the role of the school in the local community and vice versa to make meaningful connections with cultural identity in the school learning environment.

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