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THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF HATRED AND HOSTILITY OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE UK

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Declaration

In submitting this thesis, I solemnly confirm that it is my own academic work and does not contain any unacknowledged material from any source, published or unpublished. This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a PhD degree. Please note the following conditions of use:

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Abstract

The following literature review examines the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. The 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol defines a refugee as a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality (UNHCR, 2010:3). An asylum seeker is someone who has applied for refugee's status, the outcome of which has yet to be determined (UK Parliament, 1999). This study investigated hate crime. The following questions was to answer: (1) What hate crime against refugees and asylum seekers? (2) How are asylum seekers and refugees perceived? (3) How the media portrays them? (4) How the government respond to the problem? (5) Who are the perpetrators? Through the review, hate crime has been investigated with more focus on the extent, the nature, the social political context, the media discourse, and the recording mechanisms. The key findings showed that the lack of disaggregated data make difficult to evaluate the extent of hate crimes; asylum seekers and refugees experience everyday racism but cannot distinguish it from other crimes; perpetrators belonged to the community. To conclude this thesis provides a platform for the 'hidden' voices of asylum seekers and refugees to be heard and acknowledged in all their complexity. It is an important tool to fill the gap of limited number of publications and contribute to a growing body of knowledge.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Asylum seekers and refugees leave their country of origin for several reasons such as genocide, war, conflict, torture, political imprisonment, persecution, sexual, economic, human rights violation, and other forms of violence. Once in the host country, asylum seekers and refugees are not always welcomed. They encounter various problems and are subjects of all kinds of abuse, hate, hostility, discrimination, and xenophobia. Therefore, their presence is considered as economic and security treat. Hate crimes are commonly understood as criminal activity directed towards groups of people, who are perceived to be socially stigmatised, and given an outsider status e.g., ethnic minorities, immigrants, refugees, and gay people (Hall, 2013; Lantz & Ruback, 2019; Mason-Bish & Zempi, 2019).

For decades, public opinion in the UK about the nature and the scale of immigration has been characterised by caution and concern (O'Nions,2010). Immigration has become one of the dominant topics in contemporary British politics and current affairs. It is often discussed in a manner that broadly reflects the narrative of the tabloid media which has even been linked to the incitement and occurrence of targeted harassment, hate, hostility, and violence against members of the minority groups they vilify (Refugee action, 2002; Baker, Madoc-Jones, Parry, Warren, Perry Roscoe & Mottershead, 2013).

Worldwide, hat crime has become a highly salient term in academic, social discourse in the last two decades, and a complex social problem which affect communities (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Garland, 2012; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2019; McKay, Lindquist & Misra, 2019), and a major concern for academics, policymakers, policing, and legal sectors (Burnett, 2013; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015).

Hate is an area of interest for academics from various social science fields such as Sociology, Criminology, and Psychology (Garland, 2012; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2019; McKay, Lindquist & Misra, 2019). Hate crime has been a highly salient term in academic, social, and political discourse in the last two decades and has become a major concern for academics, policymakers, policing, and legal sectors (Burnett, 2013; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015; Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Garland, 2012; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2019; McKay, Lindquist & Misra, 2019).

Therefore, hate is a topic which attracts the attention of specialists from various areas and has become the concern of different governments, departments, local public services, non-governmental organisations, policy makers, academics, policing, and public who work together to address this issue (Burnett, 2013; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015; HMICFRS, 2018: 2). Hate can be considered interdisciplinary (Chakraborti, 2010; Meyer 2010).

Despite this interest, there remains a dearth of research on hate crimes revealed that asylum seekers and refugee's distinct life experience, situation and vulnerabilities have received little attention in scholarship (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti & Garland, 2013: 503, 2015: 22; Athwal, Bourne & Wood, 2010: 17; Williams & Tregidga, 2013: 26; Hall, 2013: 67). The existing literature about asylum seekers and refugees suggests that the day to day lived experiences of these minorities' groups are deeply marginalised (Refugee Action, 2006; Crawley, Hemmings & Price, 2011). To date, however, most of this literature has originated from several small-scale studies from voluntary sector and charities (Bloom, 2015).

In the UK, media have fostered a general negative attitude towards asylum seekers within the British public (Lewis, 2005). As the content analysis of newspaper articles in 2006 showed

refugees and asylum seekers were represented negatively and portrayed in the media as bogus, villains, undesirable, liars, cheats, thieves, criminals, illegitimate, threatening as spongers (O'Nions, 2010; Lesinka, 2014). Media has become a favourable source of political communication which create pressure for politicians to act within its political mood and the prime example of cultural hate resulting in simplistic narratives being forwarded that conflate economic migrants with asylum, refugees and normalise extreme right-wing rhetoric to gain popularity (Krzyzanowski, 2018).

The association between asylum and criminality was regarded as emitting from the way media representations, as the mutually beneficial relationship between the government and media resulted in forwarding its negative and criminalising narrative. It has been suggested that the attitude of the UK mainstream media towards migrants and asylum seekers is one typified by outward hate, hostility and problematization (O'Nions 2010 & Lesinka, 2014). In a discursive analysis of forty media articles published between 2010 and 2014, Parker (2015) found a negative portrayal of refugees as 'unwanted invaders' with the focus of the articles urging the readers that these people needed to be removed from the country.

Used wrongly, the term refugee and asylum seeker has become a matter of confusion by policy makers, the public, the commentators, the press, and academics. UNHDR's Assistant High Commissioner for Protection has highlighted how this has been a long-standing challenge in dealings with not only the press but also academic and policy discourse (Turk,2016:138). Moreover, Turk (2016:138) stressed that misrepresentations can take attention away from the different experiences, needs and the protection owed to refugees as well as affect public attitudes. During the economic crisis, asylum seekers, refugees and even genuine migrants have been used as scapegoats by the political elite to deflect away from their own failings and incompetency (O'Nion ,2010). It has been suggested that civil society, political opinion, and

the media have often explained xenophobia through the narrow lens of far-right extremism and associated nationalistic ideologies (Iganski & Levin, 2015:15; Chakraborti, 2014:18).

In the UK, the shift in immigration policies initiated by government has contributed to the reinforcement of xenophobia, discrimination, hate, hostility, violence and prejudices against asylum seekers and refugees. In 2013 for example the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) made a proposal about using tougher immigration curbs policy which aimed to restrict asylum seekers. Politicians, the public and the media welcomed this initiative and responded positively. The harsh asylum policies implemented by the government resulted in constructions of asylum seekers as a 'threat,' which further leads to a sense of crisis and encourages hostility towards them (Mulvey, 2010). Asylum seekers are presented as being an economic burden to British taxpayers, which exacerbates the prevailing view that they are a burden and a drain to resources (Capdevila & Callaghan, 2008). In addition to harsh immigration policies implemented by the government, asylum seekers receive day-to-day prejudice and physical violence which has psychological negative implications on their well-being (Leudar et al., 2008; Kirkwood, 2012).

The national and pride of being British has been used extremism by far -right as justification for hate, hostility, violence crimes and related prejudices against asylum seekers and refugees (Ford & Goodwin, 2010; Treadwell & Garland, 2011). A claim made by a British national is a matter of concern about the scalation of public perception of asylum seekers and refugees. This is downplayed by the pushing forward of legitimate concerns;' I do not dislike the polish, but they come steal all our jobs' (Ford & Goodwin, 2010; Treadwell & Garland, 2011).

Politicians contribute to the spread of xenophobia, discrimination, hate and violence against asylum seekers and refugees who fled their countries in search of international and

humanitarian protection. In 2013, then Home Secretary, Teresa May, stated her government's desire to create a 'hostile environment' for 'illegal immigration (Travis, 2013), illustrating the creation of a binary between those conceptualised as genuine refugees and those as bogus or illegal migrants. This unwelcoming atmosphere of fear around 'immigration' is manifest in Britain's political policies, political parties, media outputs and, crucially, seeps into the everyday practices of the public and those making decisions on asylum applications (Subany, 2017). May incorrected called asylum seekers 'economic' or 'illegal migrants and described large groups of asylum seekers who came from Somalia and Nigeria as 'economic migrants 'who had paid criminal gangs to transport them across Africa (May asked to define…2015). Scholars have argued that British politicians and European political establishments are primary sources and facilitators of this apparent growth of xenophobic discourse within contemporary western discourse (Ford, Jennings & Sommerville, 2015).

Politicians and government official are among people who endorse derogatory language. This is the example of the claim made by David Cameron to the British news channel saying that "you have a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain because Britain has jobs (the Daily Mail, 2015). The use of the term "Swarm "is associated with the movement of insects. The language adopted by David Cameron which fundamentally dehumanized men, women and children who travelled across the Mediterranean to flee for their lives was inflammatory and received strong criticism by politicians such as the Labour 's interim leader, Harriet Harman who reminded Cameron that he should remember he is talking about people, not insects (BBC, 2015a).

Data recorded by police in England and Wales for 2019/2020(excludes Great Manchester Police) showed that during this period there were 105.090 hate crime offences committed which represent an increase of eight percent compared with year ending March 2019(97,446 offences).

This demonstrate that xenophobia against asylum seekers and refugees increased. Growing issue which affects law enforcement and communities, hate crime is any criminal offence which is perceived by the victim or any other person to be motivated by hostility or prejudice towards someone based on personal characteristic (Home Office Statistical Bulletin 2020).

The concept of 'hate crime was used to describe forms of identity-motivated persecution and was originally developed in the US following the various civil rights movements emerging throughout the 1950s up until the 1980s (Mason-Bish, 2015). Acts of violence and discrimination motivated by racial hatred, hate crime has a long history in England, Wales, and across the globe (Bowling, 1998; Iganski & Levin, 2015: 8; Turpin -Petrosino, 2015: 32-40). In the UK, hate crime has been recognized in 1993 with the murder of Stephen Lawrence an 18-year-old Black man stabbed in an unprovoked racist attack by a gang group of white youth at Eltham bus station, Southern East London, and the bombing campaign of David Copeland in London (Chakraborti, 2010; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 20; Hall, 2013: 33). After the murder of Stephen Lawrence, his parents launched a campaign in search of truth. Therefore, the police opened a public inquiry. Published years later, the Macpherson inquiry report (1999) had not only a profound impact upon the way racism was perceived and policed but gave hate crime as a term and concept a prominent place in societal, academic, and political settings (Hall 2013: 35).

The development of hate crime as a legal and criminal justice concept came several decades later, following the Macpherson Report in 1999 which highlighted the nature and extent of racially motivated and other prejudice-based victimisation (Hall 2013: 35; Chakraborty & Garland, 2015). The MacPherson Report gave rise to future discussion about racism and the extent of its embedment in private and institutional racism. It acknowledged that racism was a reality that many people face in the UK. In 1998, at the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, the Chief

Constable of Greater Manchester giving evidence, acknowledged that his police possessed a degree of institutional racism. He claimed "We have a society that has institutional racism. Greater Manchester Police therefore has institutional racism" (Cathcart, 1999). Today's anti-foreigner climate has seen institutional practices designed to control and criminalise asylum seekers, refugees, and all types of migrants with the deliberate aim of creating 'a really hostile environment,' especially those who arrive through 'irregular' means (Bowling & Westenra, 2018a).

The nail bombing by David Copeland in London attack against Asian, Black, and gay was similarly motivated by hate towards these minority communities. Stephen Lawrence and David Copeland cases highlighted the need in the UK to monitor in crimes motivated by the bias of the perpetrator as hate crimes.

Hate, hostility, racist and xenophobic attitudes against asylum seekers and refugees intensified during, and after the 2016 Referendum vote to leave the European Union. In 2017, the Eurozone was dominated by a mass exodus of asylum seekers from Eritrea, Iraq, Syria, and other African countries who fled human rights abuse, war, and ethnic conflicts in their countries. This situation created a huge immigration crisis in Europe which gave rise to an escalation of violence, intolerance and discrimination directed to refugees and asylum seekers (Iganski & Sweiry 2016: 10; European Network Against Racism, ENAR 2015-2016: 3). This escalation of violence, intolerance and discrimination has persevered against a backdrop of events like the Eurozone debt crisis, the EU Referendum in the United Kingdom, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2016), the European refugee crisis; the terrorist attacks in several European cities and the growing popularity of far rights parties (ENAR, 2015-2016), Anti-Defamation League and Human First, 2016).

In 2017, immigration became a key debate in the UK politic affaires with strong commitment of the conservative party to hold a referendum to leave EU. Former Prime minister David Cameron organised the referendum which cost him political career after losing. Boris Johnson and other conservative politicians led a strong campaign" with the message "Vote Leave campaign" (Ashcroft, 2016**)**. Central to the Leave campaign was that Brexit would allow more control over the flow of immigrants to the UK from Europe. The public were concerned that increased levels of immigration were a threat to their jobs and wages (Wadsworth et al., 2016; Dennison & Geddes, 2018). The decision for Britain to leave the European Union after over forty-five years was in part a response to the increased fears about immigration (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017; Jones et al., 2017; Dennison & Geddes, 2018; Outhwaite, 2018).

The campaign to leave increased undercurrents of xenophobia and racism which caused the treat of life to certain politicians and supporters of remain such as the brutal murder of Jo Cox the Labour MP who became the first victim of racist attack. Jo Cox was killed on 16 June 2016 in Birstall, West Yorkshire by Thomas Mair who belonged to far-Right (Chandler, Mark 15 November 2016, London Evening Standard). During Brexit campaign Leave EU, extremism has been increased with the used "of "Britain First "slogan by far -Rights party. A broader national rise in racially and religiously aggravated violence was observed aftermath of the vote. The referendum divided the British society; at one side politicians and supporters of Leave EU and at other supporters of remain.

Supporters of the Leave campaign engaged heavily with a brand of 'threat' politics that strongly 'othered' many marginalised groups, with immigrants and refugees often at the heart of these debates. As rhetoric intensified, nativist sentiment amongst some majority groups grew and this has been found to be one of the strongest motivating factors that led people to vote 'leave' (Iakhnis et al, 2018). In the months following the referendum, reported levels of hate crime

spiked dramatically with three-quarters of police forces recording record levels of incidents and ten forces reported an increase of over 50 per cent (BBC, 2017).

The political narrative of the Brexit Leave campaign developed an anti-immigration sentiment against migrants, asylum seekers and refugees (Manacorda et al, 2012) who were accused of being responsible for Britons declining wages. Therefore, with the impacts of the austerity already visible among poor people, negative sentiments against minority groups rose systematically (Manacorda et al, 2012). Through poster it was easier to read xenophobia and racism messages used by Leave campaigners such as lines of darker -skinned refugees (Dorling, 2016). The Essex Continuous Monitoring Surveys (ECMS) indicated that public concerns over immigration had resulted in people voting to leave the EU (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017).

Figures published by Home Office in the month after referendum showed that there was a rise of 41% in hate crimes towards minority groups (BBC News 2016). Eleven months after there was an increase showing that race and faith -based hate crime have risen by 23% during that period (Bulman, 2017) with an anti -Muslim hate crime according to the Islamophobic reporting service (Tell Mama, 2016).

Consequently, fear of asylum seekers, refugees, Muslim, Black and other minority groups coming to the UK was exploited and deliberately conflated with EU membership by Leave campaigners. During this period, Muslims arriving in Britain was routinely used as racist (and misplaced) justification for Brexit (Etehead, 2016). Since yes dominated in 2017 referendum with British determination to leave the EU, negotiations are still going on to conclude the Brexit Deal with the big question on its implications on EU migrants (Runnymede, 2016). It is now widely accepted that ‘Brexit’ was a catalyst event that provoked and encouraged a considerable

spike in hate crime offending through legitimising a brand of 'common-sense' racism and nativism (Allen, 2019; BBC, 2019; UNHCR, 2019c).

This PhD thesis will focus on the UK as this presents an interesting study in relation to hate and hostility lived experience of asylum seekers and refugees. Several reasons have motivated me to investigate this topic: firstly, the traumatic experience I had as an asylum seeker who arrived in the UK in May 2003. I was locked in detention centre, suffered depression and became homeless after the Home Office refused my claim ; secondly conducting this research will give voice to asylum seekers and refugees whose voices are rarely heard and allow them to share their views and opinions about their lived experiences of hate and hostility; thirdly the findings for this study will increase an understanding of the complexity of asylum-seeking and refugee experiences and may assist services dealing with asylum seekers and refugees to develop intervention and support strategies; and finally as studies directed to hate and hostility lived experiences of asylum seekers and refugees remain largely peripheral to British criminology (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti, 2014 : 14; Hall, 2013: 67; Athwal, Bourne & Wood, 2010: 17) and most of the empirical evidence are from the United States of America which showed the extent and nature of the problems (Perry, 2001; Barnes & Ephros(1994), Shiverly & Mulford, 2007; Philo, Briant & Donald, 2013), this current study seeks to develop a theoretical understanding and address the existing gap literature by undertaking a discursive analysis of interviews with refugees asylum seekers and refugees , those who live in the same areas where they tend to be housed and those who work to support them .Therefore, this study will open the door to further research to understand hate and hostility facing by asylum seekers and refugees .

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The central aim of this thesis is to explore the lived experiences of hate crimes and hostility of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. Conducting such research was important to understand the problem these minority groups face. The key question to be asked is about the reality of being refugees and asylum seekers and the government intervention to protect people who fled their home countries.

This study therefore seeks to address their motivation for action. An additional aim is to identify the consequences that mounting this minority population rhetoric from political and media discourse has on members of targeted asylum seekers and refugees' groups 'perception of hate crimes. Reviewing at the first stage the existing literature nationally and internationally will be an important starting point to understand and address the issue of hate crimes and related prejudices against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. Secondly assessing evidence from previous studies and official figures from police is useful to compare their validity and credibility.

The two broad aim of this study are:

- To gain an understanding of the experiences of hate and hostility of being a refugee or asylum seeker. This includes an understanding of the multiplicity of forms of hate and hostility within the asylum process.
- To understand the realities of migrant experiences and how they create home within the British society.

Considering the limited literature on the hate lived experiences of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, the following research questions will be answered.

- How can we understand the challenges asylum seekers and refugees face during their journey and while in the UK?
- How can we understand hate and hostility when looking at the experience of people seeking asylum and refuge?
- How do asylum seekers and refugees understand and make sense of their experiences of hate and hostility in the UK?
- What barriers exists in reporting hate crime and hostility incidents?
- How might these barriers be overcome?

To address these questions, interviews were conducted using qualitative approach with asylum seekers and refugees living in the UK. This was an opportunity to listen to the voices of the majority group rarely heard within dominant discourses on asylum.

1.3 Why this research is timely and necessary

Across the world, little studies on hate crimes against refugees and asylum seekers were conducted. This is also the case for the British context where research on hate crimes remain limited and rare. So far, no proper research has been made regarding this minority population. There is the lack of literature examining the significance of the minority group and thrill-seeking nature of racist offending directed specifically at refugees and asylum seekers. Nonetheless, this feature of offending can be found in several cases identified in the literature and reported in the media (Athwal et al, 2010). From this perspective, the question to be asked is about the reality of asylum seekers and refugees' life and the effectiveness of intervention to address issues related to hate crimes.

In the UK and in many European countries in general, there are lack of monitoring and collection data services on hate crimes. As (FRA, 2016: 3) notes "many European members

states don't have hate crimes collections and monitoring system a part Finland, Germany, Greece and the Netherlands". Civil organisations in the past have deployed efforts calling governments to have hate crimes data collection and monitoring services, unfortunately theses calls were unsuccessful. Therefore, the information on hate crimes against refugees and asylum seekers remains extremely limited (FRA, 2016: 8).

Like in many European countries, in England and Wales there is a lack of detailed information to measure the extent of hate crime involving asylum seekers and refugees. This situation renders the task hard to know the correct number of hate crime incidents. Researchers relied on figures published by civil organisations. The most recent data from Office for the Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR, 2015) showed that only twelve incidents of racism and xenophobia occurred. Among them, two only were related to refugees (the first for house vandalism and the second the sticker which was placed outside the hospital, insulting refugees).

The 62.831 incidents of hate crimes racism and xenophobia recorded as official data by the police in England and Wales were provided by ODIHR (n.d). Considering this enormous number, in this dissertation we will argue that the data provided, revealed little extent of the problem in relation to the victimisation of distinct groups like refugees and asylum seekers. Few studies published in the UK on refugees and asylum seekers were conducted outside England and Wales. Most of them were based on far-right extremism (Van Donselar & Wagennar, 2007; Burnar, 2007; Iganski 2008:15 cites Bjorgo, 1995).

The interest to engage in this research came from time spent with asylum seekers and refugees in UK. This engagement raised questions about hate crime and related prejudices they face. Therefore, this study will open the door to further research to understand hate crime issues facing by this minority group. Few research on hate crimes revealed that asylum seekers and

refugee's distinct life experience, situation and vulnerabilities have received little attention in scholarship (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012: 503, 2015: 22; Athwal, Bourne & Wood, 2010: 17, Williams & Tregidga, 2013: 26, Hall, 2013: 67).

1.4 Original Contributions to Knowledge

The interest to engage in this PhD research was intensified by my experience as an asylum seeker who arrived in the UK. Being an asylum seeker and refugee helped me to spent time with others, sharing conversations, lived experiences of hate, hostility, violence, uncertainty of life, grief, and lost future aspirations. Due to my positionality as a refugee, provides a unique opportunity to provide an inside deeper understanding of refugee's experiences of hate and hostility. While there has been some research on this issue, there is a gap in the existing literature. Therefore, this PhD study will push knowledge on this topic by providing new insights. Through this research, five important contributions will be made. Firstly, this study will increase understanding of the day-to-day lived experiences of hate and hostility of asylum seekers and refugees by gathering their accounts. Secondly, this research will expand an empirical understanding of hate and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees. Thirdly, this research will provide a rich qualitative understanding of the lived experiences of hate and hostility of asylum seekers and refugees , fourthly this study will be an important tool that the government and other private agencies may use to be aware and understand hate and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees, and finally this research will open the gate for future studies to take protective measures on how to protect these minority populations against hate , hostility and related prejudices.

This study is a valuable tool that the government and other private agencies can use to be aware and understand hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees. It will open the

gate for future studies to take protective measures on how to protect these minority populations against hate crime and related prejudices. Hate crime and hostility against these minority groups have not been given adequate attention. Most of existing research literature has been conducted outside the UK particularly in the USA, Australia, and Canada (Deacon & Sullivan, 2009).

In the UK, vulnerability is taken seriously and has become the priority of the government, the policy makers and practitioners who are concerned with addressing this issue. Politicians raised the voices to condemn hate crimes. This was the case of Hon Salij Javid MP, Secretary of State for Home Office and Hon James Brokenshire MP, Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local government who claimed in 2016" We set out a clear plan for tackling crimes motivated by hate, in recognition that such behaviour has no place in modern Britain. Over the past two years we have worked tirelessly across government, police and criminal agencies, civil society, partners, and international organisations to tackle in England and Wales, whether it has been on our streets or online" (HM Government, October 2018: 3).

1.5 Thesis Structure

The next chapter of this thesis, chapter two will focus on the review of existing range of literature relevant to the central objective of this research by providing an overview of immigration and asylum trends in the UK. This chapter will be divided into three sections. This will be followed by a discussion how hate became recognised as a problem. The third section will examine whether theories associated with socio-economic deprivation, emotions, culture, and extremism can explain the causes of hate, hostility and incidents directed towards asylum seekers and refugees.

Chapter Three will consider the methodological approach which will be based upon a structured review of previous academic studies. It will outline the methods used to conduct this research.

Google, internet, library, and journal databases research will be conducted. We will read reports from the media, the public, the government, and the civil society organisations.

Chapter Four will contain a summary of the key findings. It will outline the key issues relevant to this study such as the presentation, the interpretation of the key findings, the limitations, the implications of the current study and the possibilities for future research to be conducted regarding this topic. The chapter will make recommendations for policy in relation to hate and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. In this chapter, I will make a conclusion of research findings and position these within existing literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is to examine the existing range of literature relevant to the central objective of this study based on the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. The following issues will be covered: Hate crime, hostility, the socio-political context, the nature, and extent of the problem, reporting and recording hate crime, media discourse and discrimination. The purpose will be to develop an understanding of hate crime and hostility against refugees and asylum seekers.

Hate crime is associated to human history and has been present for decades. Scholars argue that racist hate crime societies across the world have experienced a long history of identity-motivated persecution. Due to the civil rights movements that arose throughout the 1960s and earlier legislation that aimed to curb the violent and extreme behaviour of the Ku Klux Klan, the US were forced to engage in meaningful discussions about the equal treatment and protection of its African American citizens (Hall, 2013; Levin, 2002).

2.1 Hate crime

Growing and exceptionally broad and complex social problem which affect communities and societies, in the 21st century hate crimes have not only become a major part of debate and legal framework but also the concern of different governments, departments, local public services, non-governmental organisations, policy makers and public who work together to address this issue (HMICFRS, 2018 ; Hall, 2017; Brax & Munthe, 2015; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Salter & McGuire, 2015; Chakraborti, 2012; Green et al., 2001; Iganski, 1999; Levin, 1999). Therefore, hate crime is a topic which attracts the attention of academic and specialists from various areas. Nevertheless, as will be discussed within the present chapter, there remains little evidence and

limited literature regarding the extent, the nature, and impacts of hate crime upon asylum seekers and refugees.

Studies directed to asylum seekers and refugees are still limited and peripheral to British criminology (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti, 2015: 1740; Hall, 2013: 67). Scholars argue that information on hate crime against these minority populations stays rare and extremely limited by not reaching "real "victims of these crimes (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Chakraborti, 2015; FRA 2016: 8). It has been suggested that distinct experiences, the situation and vulnerabilities of asylum seekers and refugees has received little attention in hate crime scholarship (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti, 2014:14; Hall, 2013: 67; Athwal, Bourne & Wood, 2010: 17).

Previous research showed that hate crimes in general and against asylum seekers and refugees should be examined based on the empirical attribute, as even if there is no association between the attributes outlined and hate-motivated crimes, it still provides a more concrete explanation of hate crimes. When considering hate crime literature, it is evident that racial minority groups are more susceptible to hate crime victimisation compared to the other protected groups, such as disability, gender-identity, and sexual orientation (Hanes & Machin, 2014; Perry, 2015; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Van Kesteren, 2016; Cuerden & Rogers, 2017).

Most of the empirical evidence on hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugees are from the United States of America which showed the extent and nature of the problems (Philo, Briant & Donald , 2013; Shiverly & Mulford,2007; Hereck, Cogan & Gillis,2002 ; Green, McFails & Smith, 2001; Perry, 2001; Ackah, 2000; Hereck et al, 1999 ; Barnes & Ephros, 1994; Ehrlich et al , 1994; Hamm,1994; Bjorgo & Witte, 1993; Berk & Hammer, 1992). Scholars argue that "racial hate crimes are typically from the US, and their generalisation to the UK is problematic

for two main reasons; firstly, given the history of Black people and American interrelation, there is invariably profound racism directed towards the Black community in the US. Secondly, the rise in terrorist groups, terrorist attacks, and the socio-political messages of terrorism, Islamic and Muslim individuals now find themselves at the forefront of discrimination and hate motivated violence "(Allen, 2015; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Dovidio, Gaertner & Pearson, 2005; Craig, 1999). Based on shortage of literature, this current study aims to fill the gap.

Petroniso (2004) defined hate crime as "the victim's groups 'affiliation (racial, cultural, or religious), the group in questions' lesser political and economic standing, and the manner in which the victim and their affiliated group represent a threat to the perpetrator's quality of life". This definition is more extensive. Though it Petroniso found three distinct characteristics that distinguished hate crime from other types. This showed that hate crime has a clear symbolic function intended to convey a message of the victim's entire group (Gerstenfeld, 2004). Hate crime has also an instrumental function, in that member of victims affiliated group may be inclined to change and adapt their normal routines to avoid becoming a victim themselves (Chongatera, 2013).

The UK government defined hate crime as any crime that is motivated by hostility on the grounds of race, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or transgender identity (HMICFRS, 2017: 3). Therefore, to meet the legal definition of hate crime it must be bias motivated. From the legal view, hate crime can be used to describe a range of criminal behaviour where the perpetrator is motivated by hostility or demonstrates hostility towards the victim's disability, race, religion, sexual orientation, or transgender identity (NPCC, 2017; CPS 2017-2018: 14). The legal definition provided by NPCC also included assault, harassment, verbal abuse, intimidation, bullying, and damage to property.

Difficult term to define by lack of international consensus which is due to contrasting and ever changing global, political, cultural, and religious norms among academics from various fields, the growing interest in hate crime has given rise to attempt to produce a definitive definition. As scholars argue the lack of consensus in what hate crimes entail, and variances in operational definitions from nation to nation, presents a major problem to hate crime research and practice (Garland, 2012; Garland & Chakraborti, 2012; Mason, 2012).

This unsuccessful attempt led to a conflict about what factors are important to our understanding (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015; Hall, 2013; Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Hall, 2005). The difficult of having a universal definition was due to numerous factors such as the complex nature of the word hate, the ever-changing face of prejudice, and social sentiment towards the expression of this (Hall, 2013).

For example, Sweden does not recognise the victimisation of an individual such as an asylum seeker or a refugee from a majority group as a victim of hate crime if they are victimised by a member of a minority group (Klingspor, 2008). In Sweden hate crime includes 'fear' as a motivating factor to intimidate victims and their group. In Russia and Germany, 'hate' must be identified as the primary motive for a crime to be noted as a hate crime (Klingspor, 2008; Glet, 2009).

Despite the difficulties to have a universal consensus definition, several academics have taken on this challenge (Sheffield, 1995; Perry, 2001; Craig, 2002; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015). It has been suggested that Perry (2001: 10) offered one of the most comprehensive definitions. Perry (2001) defined "hate crime as an act of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised and marginalised groups". Perry's definition has several keys

points to be considered. Therefore, it is important to make it stand apart from other existing definitions offered by hate crimes scholars who work in the area.

Previous research on hate crimes showed that victims can have more pronounced physical, psychological , and emotional trauma than victims of similar, non- hate related offenses (Perry, 2010; Gerstenfeld, 2004) and have reported various effects such as (1) physical symptoms e.g., difficulties in sleeping, weakness, substance use (Orth, Montada & Maercker, 2006; Waldron, 2012; Williams & Tregidga, 2014); (2) adverse emotional reactions e.g., nervousness, anger, despair, fear of repeat victimisation due to the fear and pain caused historical, systematic discriminative attacks on their identity groups (McDevitt et al, 2002; Perry & Alvi, 2012; Chakraborti et al, 2014;Walter, Brown & Wiedlitzka , 2016; Bell & Perry, 2015; Walters at all, 2019); (3) greater negative psychological consequences e.g. depression (Perry, 2001; Craig-Henderson ,2009 ; House, Van Horn, Coppeans and Stepleman, 2011; (4) interpersonal problems e.g. lack of trust in others (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Spalek, 2010; Willis, 2004), and greater emotional harm such as increased levels of anxiety (Williams & Tregidga, 2013; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Benier, 2017).

Asylum seekers and refugees who live in the UK came from various countries and have different nationalities. By the year ending June 2018, the Home Office received 27,044 asylum applications which showed a decrease of 1% compared to previous year (Home Office, June 2018). Out of this number, 14, 308 people were granted refugees' status which was lower compared to 2017 with 16, 215. Among 14,308 applicants who were granted the refugee' status, 6, 068 were children (under 18 years old) which represented 42%, an increase of 2% compared to previous year (Home Office, June 2018).

Among people who applied asylum in 2017, the majority came from the following 10 nationalities , Iran with 2,570 applicants (Males 75%, children 9% , 21% aged 25-29); Pakistan 2,495(Males 81%, children 1%, 30% aged 25-29) ; Irak 2,379(Males 69%, children 12%, 25% aged 25-29) ; Bangladesh 1,712(Males 91%, children 0%, 30% aged 25-29) ; Sudan 1,685(Males 93%, children 20%, 28% aged 25-29); Albania 1,430(Males 52%, children19%, 26% aged 25-29); India 1,327(Males 75%, children 0%, 29% aged 25-29) ; Afghanistan 1,326(Males 88%, children 20% , 18% aged 25-29) ; Eritrea 1,085(Males 81%, children 33%, 22% aged 25-29); Vietnam1, 070(Males 64%, children 28%, 15% aged 25-29) (Home Office , June 2018).

Asylum seekers who came from Asia continent represented 32%, following by Africa 29%, Middle East 26%, European countries 10% and less than 4% from America, Oceania, and other parts of the world (House of Common Library Asylum Seekers, 6 Mars 2019). In 2018, among nationalities who applied for asylum in the UK the considerable number came from Iran with 2,440 asylum seekers following by Pakistan 2, 313; Sudan 1,641; Albania 1, 537; Eritrea 1,526; Bangladesh 1,502; Afghanistan 1, 380, India 1,191; Vietnam 1,070 and Syria 712. Out of 8, 606 people who applied asylum by the year ending June 2018, children were 3, 251 which represented 38%.

Asylum seekers who came in UK to apply for asylum receive support from the government. By the end of December 2018, the Home Office under section 95 support received 44.258 applications. Out of this number 41, 309 were given dispersal accommodation. Northeast received a highest number relative to its population (for every 550 inhabitant, 1 asylum seeker supported by the government) following the Southeast province (14,670 inhabitants for 1 supported asylum seekers); Glasgow received the most asylum seekers (153 inhabitant for 1

supported asylum seeker, Stockton -on Tees (1/215) and Middlesbrough (1/216) (House of Common Library Asylum Statistics, 6 Mars 2019: 9).

In the UK, there are little amounts of data on hate crimes and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees provided by British Crime Survey 2000. This is due to the frequency of violence towards these minority groups and its severity is unknown, partly because hate crimes and hostility motivated by anti-immigrant sentiments are not recorded as an exclusive category, in other words, hate crime laws in the UK do not recognise immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and other respective groups under separate protected groups (Stacey et al., 2011). Earlier research showed that asylum seekers and refugees are victims of hate crimes and hostility due to their official status.

In the UK, data on victims' belief and experiences of hate crime is explored as part of the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW) (HMICFRS, 2018: 30). The documentation of racial aggravated offences committed started in 1985 with the recording of 4,383 offences by the police. In 1999 there were an increase of hate crime reported due to the changes in recording system (Philips & Bowling, 2002). In total 23,049 incidents were recorded. The official records in all hate crime strands started in 2009. Statistical data provided on hate crime in England and Wales showed that there were approximately 222,000 hate crime incidents each year (estimate averaged from years 2012/2015 (Corcoran et al, 2016). It has been suggested that over the same period the CSEW found that only 48 percent of hate crimes were brought to the attention of the police. This meant that a considerable proportion of hate crimes go unreported (HMICFRS, 2018: 2).

It has been suggested that the official numbers on the prevalence of hate crime in England and Wales are imprecise (Hall, 2013). For example, between 2016/2017 the figures from the police

showed that hate crime accounted for two percent of all crimes recorded which was a low proportion in terms of overall number of recorded crimes (HMICFRS, 2018: 8). Scholars argue that the lack of accurate information about hate crime, specifically in terms of crime recording and the identification of hate make it difficult for the government, police and crime commissioner, chiefs constables and victim support groups to have an information understanding of the nature and scale of hate crime, and how to respond effectively to it (HMICFRS, 2018: 2).

Research showed that in the UK, hate crime policing is influenced and affected by several individual and institutional factors. Individual factors such as (1) individual police officers influencing policing of hate crimes; (2) adequacy of training to deal with such cases; (3) what criteria are used when identifying hateful motives; (4) the willingness to enforce hate crime laws (Gerstenfeld, 2013; Hall, 2005; Macpherson, 1999; Bowling, 1999). Institutional factors such as (1) police structure; (2) official policing strategies; (3) police agenda priorities; (4) hate crime policies and procedures; (5) community resistance; (6) police culture (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Iganski, 2008; Hall, 2005). Police play a pivotal role in dealing with the treatment of hate crimes, not only by using hate crime legislations, but also collecting statistics data and information (Gerstenfeld, 2013). Hall (2013) points out that police departments are the primary source of liaison between victims, different communities and groups, and the legal system. However, evidence suggests that police officers are reluctant to enforce hate crime laws and legislation.

In 2016 /2017 there was an increase in all five of the monitored strands, race, sexuality, disability, religion, and transgender. 80, 393 incidents were recorded, with 62,685 racial hate motivating offences which stand for an increase of 27 % (Home Office ,2017: 4; O'Neil, 2017) compared to 2014/2015 where there were 42,862 victims of hate crimes. This was due to the

recording procedures' s improvement and the genuine increase in the wake of the 2016 UK Referendum on leaving the European Union (EU) (Devine, 2018; O'Neil, 2017). Considering all the five monitored strands, the number of crimes recorded by Home Office and the British Crime Survey showed that victim's race was the primary motivation for hate crime' offence. In 2016/2017 data from the police showed that racial hate crime has been the largest recorded, standing for 70 percent of all motivating factors followed by sexual orientation hate crimes with 11 percent (HMICFRS, 2018: 31).

While increases in hate crime over the last five years have been mainly driven by improvements in crime recording by the police, there has been spikes in hate crime following certain events such as the EU Referendum and the terrorist attacks in 2017.As in previous years, most hate crimes were race hate crimes, accounting for around three-quarters of offences (72%; 76,070 offences). These increased by six per cent between year ending March 2019 and year ending March 2020(Hate crime, England, and Wales, 2019 to 2020 - GOV.UK).

Previous research showed that the resurgence in anti-immigrant hostility and violence against asylum seekers and refugees in Western countries within the last decade demonstrates correlations between deteriorating economic conditions, austerity measures, liberal and socialist political policies. For example, during the 2015 refugee crisis, it has been observed an increased number of new arrivals. Therefore, this scalation increases an anti-immigrant sentiment (Arendt & Consiglio, 2016; Khosravinik, 2017; Henley, 2018; Valentova & Callens, 2018; Kaufmann, 2018).

Research also showed that hate and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees is due to detrimental policies , and economic scarcity over resource access competition or the distribution of goods which further leads to a sense of crisis and encourages grievances, tensions and hostility towards them (Canning 2020; Bhatia 2020 ; Savun and Gineste, 2019 ; Boochani

,2018; Da Costa ,2018 ; Koca 2016; Craig et al. 2015; Walia & Smith, 2014; Witte, 2014; Onoma, 2013 ; Kirkwood, 2012; Homer-Dixon ,2010 ; Mulvey, 2010). Previous studies also showed that hate and hostility increase if the local population feel that asylum seekers and refugees are depriving them of what is rightfully theirs(Zolberg, Suhrke & Aguayo , 1989).

Scholars argue that hate crimes involving harassment occurred much more frequently in socio-deprived and marginalised areas (Ray & Smith, 2001), which were also more likely to be designated asylum seeker dispersal areas. Previous studies showed that hostility was greatest in areas where resources such as housing and welfare were already limited, suggesting the perception of realistic threat was a motivating factor in the perpetration of hate crime (McBride, 2016; Chakraborti, Garland & Hardy, 2014; Awan, 2019).

Previous research showed that race and ethnicity have been the key determinants of hate crime experience, with individuals of African heritage who had the most pronounced experience and fear of experiencing hate crime, even when comparing them to other visible ethnic minorities. Black people were found four times more likely to hate-motivated attacks, compared to other ethnic groups (Chongatera, 2013; Hanes & Machin, 2014; Perry, 2015). The findings of these studies showed that a greater proportion of the victims identified their ethnicity or race to be the reason behind their victimisation, with Black Africans being the most targeted by race, followed by Indians, White British, and Chinese. Scholars argue that these crimes are often committed in open or public spaces including city centres, car parks, streets, main road, and around public transport infrastructures (Boeckmann & Turpin Petrosino, 2002; Chakraborti et al., 2014: 31).

Recent studies contradicted these observations. In 2015/2016 the figures published by Home Office showed that among Asian, Black in general and African Black in particular, Asians were

the most minority population to have a higher proportion of fear of crime. Data published for the same period showed that 1712 Asians which represented 27% were afraid of crime compared to 854 black (26%). Out of 854, Black Africans who were afraid of crime were 504(Gov. UK, 2017). Among Asians who showed fear of crime, third Bangladeshi had a fear of crime, a higher proportion compared to the rest (Gov. UK, 2017).

Hate crime has become a growing social problem and a more common experience for non-visible minorities such as asylum seekers and refugees (O'Nions, 2010). To tackle hate crime, it is important to coordinate response involving government department, policing, and many other agencies (HMICFRS, 2017: 3).

In his study on racial abuse and harassment, Bhatia (2017) found that most of the asylum seekers and refugees he interviewed and who shared their experience on hate crime's incidents recognized that they were threatened with knives, received physical beatings, shouted at, had burning objects or faeces forced through their letterboxes. It has been suggested that race has been the key element of hate crime against these minority populations. Leicester Project' survey showed for example that the considerable number of asylum seekers and refugees interviewed, reported being targeting because of their race. Among these participants the considerable number were Black Africans(n=86) which included Zimbabwean and Congolese, following by Indian (n=61), White British (n=38) and Chinese(n=29). Through this investigation it has been found that women were more likely to be victimised because of their appearance and dress (39% of women compared with 27% of men). Regarding the age, 40% of young men aged 16 to 24 years claimed they were targeted for their appearance and dress compared to 34% overall (The Leicester Hate crime project, p.22).

Among 63 Asylum seekers and refugees interviewed, 68% reported they were victimised because of their race, 40% for their gender, 22 % for their age, 22% their dress and 19% for their religion. Based on religion hate crime, Muslims showed a higher proportion (76%) of participants who were victimised because of their faith compared to others with 29% overall). Through the survey it has been found that more women (33%) reported being victimised on their ground of their religion compared to men 25% (The Leicester Hate crime project, p.22). Recorded numbers of religiously motivated hate crimes also have dramatically increased in recent years with more than half of these incidents being directed towards those with a perceived Muslim identity (Dearden, 2018). However, data also reveals that it is Jewish men and Muslim women who are being targeted most frequently, suggesting the 'visibility' of religious identity through a victim's dress and appearance played a significant role in their targeted victimisation (Home Office, 2019).

Research conducted by Iganski (2008) on hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugees showed that low-level hate crimes such as broken window, the excrement through the box, late night banging on doors, the pushes, kicks, and blows delivered to the passer by on sidewalk were common and sometimes neglected with huge consequences on the victims (Iganski, 2008: 23). Gaddy et al (2005) in their study conducted in North Staffordshire, region dominated by social and industrial 's decline examined the social context of racist offending considered both the views of members of the community, the perpetrators, and the victims experiences.

Their findings showed that 70% to 90% hate crimes against refugees and asylum seekers were perpetrated not only by racist perpetrators but also by members of the community who live close the victim's home or in their immediate neighbourhood (Bowling,1993, 1999; Brim combe, Ralphs, Sampson & Tsui, 2001; Harlow, 2005; Mason, 2005; Roberts, Innes, Williams,

Tregidga & Gadd, 2013). Previous research showed, 70% to 90% of hate crimes were committed outside the victim's home (Mason, 2005; Harlow, 2005; Bowling, 1993).

Research conducted by Berrill (1990) showed that approximately 60% of victims of homophobic hate crimes did not know their perpetrator. This was supported by McDevitt et al. (2002) 's study findings which showed that 85% of hate crimes are committed by perpetrators who were unknown to the victim. Mason (2005) 's findings were controversial to Berrill (1990) and McDevitt et al, (2002). Mason points out that it is virtually impossible for hate crime victims and perpetrators to remain strangers, as their daily encounter and interpersonal dealings on day-to-day basis, means there is physical proximity between them.

Racist perpetrators can be motivated by several reasons to commit crimes such as eradicating certain identity groups. This is the example of David Copeland who launched a bomb attack in London in 1999 against various minority groups (McLagan & Lowles, 2001 cited in Equality and Human Rights Commission Research report, July 2016: 17). Research by Chakraborti et al (2014) suggested that a considerable proportion (50%) of hate crime victims is targeted because of more than one of their identity characteristics. The research conducted in England by the Leicester Hate crime showed that 49% of hate crimes are committed by perpetrators who are unknown to their victim (Chakraborti et al., 2014 cited in Equality and Human Right Research Report July 2016: 20), thus emphasising the 'stranger-danger' overtone of hate crimes (Mason, 2005; Perry, 2001, 2012; McDevitt et al., 2002; Zaykowski, 2010).

Studies conducted showed that considerable proportion of hate crimes are committed by strangers, many other hate crime perpetrators are known to the victim such as local community members, neighbours, family members, friends, and work colleagues (Chakraborti et al., 2014: 58; Mason, 2005, Roxwell, 2011). The study conducted by the All Wales Hate Crime Project

showed that 43% of victims of hate crime reported that they knew their perpetrator, with almost one third being victimised in or immediately outside their home (Williams & Tregidga, 2013: 46).

Most of the time, people who perpetrate hate crime belong to the majority groups. Studies showed that racist offenders are young male than female who often express their prejudice towards members of a group perceived to be different from their own (Chakraborti et al, 2014: 56; Iganski, Smith, Dixon & Bargen, 2011: 14; Roberts, Innes, Williams, Tregida, Gadd, 2013: 3; Craig, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002; Perry & Alvi, 2012, Perry, 2001; Hall, 2013; Burnar , 2007: 172; Roberts et al , 2013). Literature into hate crime suggested that hate crimes are committed by youth male from poor families, low income, and economic status (Perry, 2001; McDevitt et al., 2002; Ray & Smith, 2004). However, Chakraborti and Garland (2015) warn that hate crimes should not be considered as 'wanton' crimes committed by bored fun-seeking youths, for they exhibit negative attitudes and stereotypes towards the victims they target.

Levin and Rabrenovic (2009: 42) also were interested on socio-economic theories. They suggested that it was important to align these studies with cultural explanation of racist offending against immigrants such as asylum seekers and refugees. Scholars argue that research based on culture of hate proved that racist offending is rarely committed by members of hate groups and does not occur in a vacuum. Consequently, Levin and Abramovic (2009: 42) drew attention to how "hate hardly depends for its existence on individual pathology or abnormal psychology "but instead is something far more collective and part of the culture, the way of life, of the society in which it exists". Research showed that hate violence is based on the following elements, stereotypes, cultures of prejudices and narratives about differences (Iganski & Levin, 2015: 58-63).

Cultural hate is spread through generations which meant that the elderly plays negative role and have a huge influence of imposing their feeling and attitude to younger members, young children, teenagers living with them to adopt racist attitudes towards minority groups such as asylum seekers and refugees (Robert et al, 2013: 5). It has been suggested that such behaviour or attitude occurred normally where community racism was already in existence. Scholars argue that those who sympathise with bigotry draw their hate from the culture, developing it from an early age (Robert et al, 2013: 5).

It has been suggested that racist younger offenders learn how to commit hate crimes from old people or old generations. Scholars argue the attitudes of younger racist offenders 'newcomers' and their flawed knowledge of different populations, immigration, asylum, and nationality, were commonly shared with their elders (Gadd et al, 2005: 6). People commit hate crime for several reasons such as when they perceive threat to dominant status. Some scholars consider hate crimes as symbolic acts directed towards people who are watching (Gerstenfeld & Grant, 2004; Awan & Zempi, 2016), whilst others hold that the real or perceived status of the victim becomes target of the perpetrator's bias (Hall, 2013; Salter & McGuire, 2015; Craig, 2002). Walters (2011) argues that the victim's identity instils prejudice and bias in the perpetrator, thus the perception of the victim's identity as 'different', is key contributor to hate crimes. Other researchers also point out that bias and prejudice towards a victim, is suggested to be equally important as hate (although hate is argued to be a synonym of prejudice (Jacobs & Potter, 1998).

Asylum seekers are minority populations who face domination. Because of the status, their personality is sometimes undermined by people with more power. It has been suggested that the predominant motivating factors, aside from bias are frustration (Ryan& Leeson, 2011). For question of preference in search of appropriate definition, terms hostility and prejudice have

been used as official definitions of hate crime. For example, the police's operational guidance indicates that a racist incident or crime is one that is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person 's race or perceived race (College of Policing, 2014: 14). Race hate crime can include any group defined by race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origin, including countries within the UK, and Romani or Irish Travellers (2014: 30). It automatically includes a person who is targeted because they are an asylum seeker or refugee as this is intrinsically linked to their ethnicity and origins. Racist hate crimes refer to one or more people being targeted only because of their racial or ethnic group membership, or their national identity and origin (Philips & Webster, 2013).

The seminar work of Gordon Allport (1954) is useful to be considered as starting point when debating with the notion of prejudice. Through this seminary Allport provided clear and substantial explanation on how prejudices are rooted in people 's processes of stereotyping and in groups (Tyson & Hall, 2015). Prejudice can be manifested or seen in many ways such as through anti locution, negative remarks, avoidance, discrimination, extermination, and physical attack.

Apart this work, other theories have been developed to explain how prejudices develops, can be correlated with people 's social identity and grouping as well as intergroup conflicts (Hall, 2013: 88 cites Tajfel, 1982). Realistic conflict theory is one of central theories which provides a clear explanation of how prejudice and discrimination develops between in and out groups because of a perceived deprivation or competition for valued services and commodities. One of example of this could be where jobs, housing or access to social services are scare and conflict arises when an in-group blames an out group, like immigrants (Hall, 2013: 88).

When examining prejudices and other related causes of hate incidents and crimes, it is also important to consider the work of Jacobs and Potter (1993; 1998). Through this work, Jacob and Potter examined if hate crime as a concept and the enactment of hate crime laws should exist (Hall, 2013: 159-182). It has been suggested that many incidents and crimes are seldom a result of important levels of prejudice but instead triggered for other reasons, such as economic deprivation or impulsive behaviour and are ad hoc situational dispute ignited by short tempers and emotions. Hate crime is a serious crime like other existing types which can have an intense, enduring, devastating negative impacts on victims, communities, and families (Iganski ,2009). The Survey conducted by CSEW showed for example that between 2012/13 to 2014/15, 95 percent of hate crime victims recognised that they were emotionally affected compared with 81 percent overall crime victims (HMICFRS, 2018: 90).

In the UK, hate crime is considered as a serious crime which is an offence by the court of law. Social issue which has negative impact on the victims. Scholars argue that hate crime is pernicious which can have a profound lasting effect on victim and communities (HMICFRS, 2017: 2). To address this problem, strategies and plans have been initiated by the government. In 2012 for example the coalition government implemented a plan named “Challenge it, report it, stop it” (HM Government, 2012) which had three core missions, prevention, reporting and support. By implementing this plan, the government aimed to fight hate crime, highlights the importance of dealing with it appropriately, not only for the individuals and their families but also because of the negative impact these types of crime have on communities in relations to cohesion and integration (CJJI Report, 2013: 4).

With the introduction of this plan, the police, the criminal justice, the probation service, and the CPS were given the power to enforce the law (NOMS). Other important initiatives were taken by the government to improve victim’s experience of Criminal Justice System. Changes in

policing have also been introduced with the implementation of the Witness Charter (MOJ) and the Code of Practice for Victims (MOJ 2015). Among other strategies started by the government to tackle hate crimes were the government 'approach which is co-ordinated jointly between the Home Office and the Ministry of Housing, communities, and the local government; the national policing hate crime strategy, the policy and guidance (HMICFRS, 2018: 11).

2.2 Understanding Hate Crime

Hate crime is considered as a new concept in the field of social science and other sectors of life. In examining the hostility experienced historically in the UK (Panayi: :2014) states that racism and general xenophobia has remained endemic. He concludes that: '…all ethnic minorities have experienced a range of popular manifestations of hostility backed up by institutional racism, which operates in a variety of ways. While peaks of hostility have emerged especially during war time, but also at times of high immigration, a racist murmur has always characterized the recent history of Britain, both official and unofficial.

Associated to historical past events such as the Brixton urban riots in 1981 and the murder of Stephen Lawrence in Southeast London in 1993 by a gang of white youth, racist hate crime was official recognized in the UK in 1999 (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 20). After the tragic killing of Stephen Lawrence, an inquiry was launched and handled by the police (Hall, 2013: 13). Therefore, Lawrence's killing led to an increased recognition of crimes motivated by hate and prejudice (Hall, 2013; Chakraborti, 2014; Walters, 2014). Scholars argue that Lawrence 's case was fundamental in igniting discussion about the nature of racism and the extent of its embedment in government and private institutions (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015). It was pivotal for a good understanding of hate crime legislation and police practice in part because it brought to the fore a clear and serious example of targeted victimisation based purely on the

victim's identity, and this is still reflected in the victim-centred definition of hate crime (Home Office, 2018).

The impact of Stephen Lawrence 's murder was huge on the British society. Consequently, racism was taken seriously and became one area of prejudice like other existing forms. Religion, gender, and sexuality also were brought into debates around specific hate legislation being created (Hurd, 2001; Iganski, 2001). Prior to Lawrence 's killing, crimes motivated by prejudice and hostility had been discussed under differing banners by earlier governments, showed by the lack of acts which specifically targeted this type of issue before the Crime and Disorder Act (1998). Failure by Macpherson report to investigate and recognize that Stephen Lawrence's murder was racially motivated saw the police's power to interpret if certain incidents were racial or religious removed. It has been suggested that should a victim believe an offence was motivated by prejudice against their race or religion the police were now duty bound to investigate it as such (McLaughlin, 2012).

Hate crime has attracted the interest of academics of different social sciences areas and opened the way to alternative research in various subjects such as race and racism, sexual and religious identity, victimology, police, and ethnic minorities. Within each of these, crimes motivated by feelings towards; race, sexuality, or other characteristics, were considered alongside other areas of interest such as police culture (Bowling, 1999).

Crime and hate are relative and guided by historical, social, and cultural context (Perry, 2003). It has been suggested that hate crime is dynamic and in a state of constant movement, much as society is (Bowling, 1993: 238). Due to the change which occurred over time, racism is no longer associated with a traditional biological understanding of skin colour or some other visible trait which marks an individual as starkly 'different' from the observer but to one more

clearly linked with ethnicity and nationality; both of which are flexible, and a person can change. Therefore, this has led to a plethora of suitable enemies ‘s today who are subject to this new form of racism (Bowling, 1993: 238). It is the case of asylum seekers and refugees who are part of this category and who are exposed to prejudicial behaviour, attitudes and crimes motivated by prejudice (Feteke, 2009).

It has been suggested that hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK results from cultural norms (Poynting & Mason,2007). British people are proud of their values and beliefs. They consider themselves as superior, the most power to minority groups populations. Scholars argue that in Britain the cultural norms would be classed as white/anglicised values and beliefs. Others faith such as the Islamic are alien to the British way of life (Poynting & Mason, 2007). In the UK there is a believe that people should respect British values and norms. This is sometimes expressed through religious observance and dress. Any beliefs contrarily to British norms and values are considered as not trying to fit in.

Cultural norms, values and beliefs can lead to discrimination based on preconceived ideas about race or colour. In the UK, the presence of Muslims and their culture has been opposite to the British values of tolerance and diversity. Therefore, to avoid intolerance of different culture, values and norms, the government recognised that UK is a multiculturalism country with various cultural, ethnic diversity and identities. The recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity within a nation-state has been alleged to perpetuate feelings of separation and racial division (David Cameron cited in The Independent, February 4, 2011).

To guide all areas of their life, Muslims who live in the UK must obey to Sharia law which has been criticized as having barbaric character, incompatible to British way of life. Therefore, this incompatibility has been expressed by certain claims such as “Recent years have seen growing

concerns that Britain's Sharia courts are fostering extremism, undermining human rights and creating a parallel justice system whose basic principles conflict with the law of the land" (Adams, 2015). Sharia law in the UK has been controversy and identity has been attracted the interest of the public. Promoting an interrelationship between British and Muslims identity was important. Consequently, it was important for the government to make British identity and an allegiance to British values as hallmarks to help Muslims to understand what meant to be a British Muslim. Muslims living in the UK have the responsibilities to prioritise the British values and obey to the British law, failure to do so could be religious extremism. Therefore, they have like other British the same problems such as get married, legal, and non-legal issues, getting a job and so on. These issues should be dealt according to the English law but there is a problem when dealing with the affairs issue.

In the light of this situation, the former Home Secretary Theresa May promised a review of Sharia courts to ensure they support 'British values . During the launch of independent review of Sharia law, Theresa May supported the ideas of abnormality (Home Office, 2016). Her attitude towards Sharia law has been instrumental and had negatively contributed to developing an environment which cultivates hostility towards difference (Travis, 2013). Sharia law was considered as inferior and abnormal. Reviewing it was important to examine if its practices by Sharia councils were not misused, incompatible to the domestic law and not discriminatory to women who used its services on matters related to marriage and divorce. Therefore, the former Home Secretary's decision to review the Sharia law was an effective way for understanding the cultural practices within Muslim communities to avoid the rise of extremism. Reducing discrimination was the way to give Muslim women to gain confidence within the Muslim communities (Home Office Independent Review, February 2008).

Within this section it has been argued that hate crime has become recognised social problem. Initially issues related to the construction of the term hate crime, the limited studies, the imprecise demographic data, the problem related to ethnicity were discussed. This was followed by a discussion on the nature and the extent of hate crimes and who the perpetrators are. With regards to the following section, we will examine political and societal setting to understand how hate crime as a concept was established and recognised as a social phenomenon.

2.3 The socio -political context

To understand how hate crime is committed against asylum seekers and refugees, it is important to explore the way racial victimisation has been framed, outline the social context, and consider how victimisation of such minority populations became recognised as an issue of concern. Throughout this section we will critically investigate hate crime and related prejudices against asylum seekers and refugees.

2.3.1 The emergence of hate crime

Hate crime is a term with various interpretations and meanings. Its use depends on the place, the time, the type of the person you are and where you are; within certain people and countries giving recognition to distinct groups and categories of offending and others simply not recognising anything at all (Chakraborti, 2015: 1741; Chakraborti, 2014: 15).

In many countries all incidents committed against a person, an asylum seeker or refugee are not considered as hate crimes. In Hungary for example crimes committed against members of minority populations such as Jews, representatives of the LGBT, members of Gypsy and Roma communities are not considered as hate crimes, with racist or ideological motives in the committing of such offences (Institute for Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Relations Studies, 2017: 42). Crimes committed against LGBT and Gypsy communities compared to other vulnerable

minority populations who experienced hate crimes and have been victims, have received little attention and limited debates (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 22). Asylum seekers and refugees in the UK are subject to all types of racist abuses, hostility, harassment, and assault ranging from physical attacks, damage property, arson and racist name calling. Consequently, they live with fear and insecurity and have serious psychological problems. They face a greater risk of racially motivated victimisation.

2.3.2 Victims of race hate

Hate crime has been the topic of various academic research associated to human history which gave rise to different areas. Among all types of hates, traditional race has been the strand of hate crime that most people are familiar with, the most widely prioritised and researched (Williams & Tregida,2013: 126; Garland,2011: 27). Nationally and internationally, hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees have not been much investigated.

Scholars point out "that studies showed victims of race hate have received less attention in the scientific and academic debates" (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 22). This is the example of asylum seekers and refugees (Bhatia, 2017; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 89). In the UK, hate crime against these minority populations has been officially recognised under the monitored race or ethnicity strand of the operational police guidance (College of Policing, 2014: 30).

Measuring the extent of hate crimes committed against asylum seekers and refugees are still problematic due to the lack of large data as no proper study has been conducted. It has been suggested that whist trying to measure the extent of hate problem, diverse groups of people who were victims of hate races became themselves bracketed together as homogenous populations under the race or ethnicity strand of hate crime (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015: 21). Scholars argue that through the combining of very dissimilar groups, distinct experiences,

vulnerabilities, and situations are diluted, misinterpreted or in certain cases ignored altogether (Chakraborti, 2015: 1740).

Minority populations, asylum seekers and refugees do not have resources, progressive campaigning, political, social, or economic influence like other more visible victims (Chakraborti, 2015: 1744). Portrayed with negative stereotypes they have been considered as undesirables, criminogenic or less and worthy than more 'legitimate' victim groups (Chakraborti, 2015: 1744), any progressive population politicisation and recognition of their victimisation has undeniably been minimized. Therefore, there is the risk that asylum seekers and refugee's victims of hate crime to be more likely than victims of types of crime to be targeted repeatedly (HMICFRS, 2018: 83).

Though this section we discussed about victimisation of asylum seekers and refugees and how hate crime, hostility and related prejudices are committed against these minority populations. Several key issues were highlighted such as the interpretation and meaning of the concept, the role of identity on racial victimisation, the recognition of hate crime as a social problem. The next section will examine the socio-economic nature of hate crimes.

2.4 The socio -economic nature of hate

Perpetrator 's social and economic situations should be considered when debating on hate crime. Therefore, it is important to examine Allport 's realistic conflict theory (1954) which examined the associations between prejudiced people and their reactions to social and scapegoat out -groups for all these ills and woes (Sibbitt ,1997). Scholars argue that realistic conflict theory' consists of explaining how conflict between various groups a result of can be perceived or real socio-economic deprivation (Sheriff, 1996, cited by Hall, 2013: 88).

Racism, xenophobia and hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugees are associated to social and economic factors such as benefits, material, unemployment, emotional deprivation, and competition for resources (Dustman, Fabri & Preston, 2011: 703; Gadd et al, 2005; Ray et al, 2003; Falk & Zweinner, 2005). There are numerous studies and literature which support this argument. Hate crime's scholars opposed to the socio-economic theories by warning about reading too much these theories to explain race-hate offending (Hall, 2013: 105; Iganski, 2008: 70). It has been argued that although the scapegoating of immigrants for social and economic ills can create a climate from which hatred a bigotry, with struggles over resources being another part of racist offending, there is not a strong correlation between socio- economic deprivation and racist offending (Hall, 2013: 105; Iganski, 2008: 70).

To understand hate crime against minority populations such as asylum seekers and refugees it is important to examine their situation from human rights and equality perspective. Asylum seekers and refugees are considered as diverse groups of people who share one thing: they fled persecution from their countries of origin. Once in new country, they became subject to forced immigration control and face various problems such as inequalities. They also face discrimination due the socio-economic factors. In the UK, there have been a plethora of new laws, legislations, operational guidelines, plans, and policies initiated by the government in recent years which continue to be uncertain on how to tackle the problem of migration. The culture of mistrust from the public and authorities has become recurrent. Therefore, the legitimacy of genuine asylum seekers who fled their countries is undermined because of the confusion undocumented immigrant, economic migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and others.

Bowling and Westenra (2018) point out that migrants are perceived by institutions as 'suspicious' and 'untrustworthy' which has led to a significant increase in the targeted social control of new arrivals. Practices that involve the surveillance, regulation, investigation, and

exclusion of new migrants are observable within social policy, criminal justice, and wider policing agencies but they are also evident in more subtle ways within areas of housing, employment, education, and health care (Bowling & Westenra, 2018).

Social disorganisation, differentiation association, cultural, subcultural are useful to understand the roots of hate crime and criminality toward asylum seekers. Developed in the school of sociology in Chicago -USA, social disorganisation theory argued that the area which one lives can be criminogenic (Shaw & McKay, 1942; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927). Thomas and Znaniecki (1927: 1128) defined social disorganisation as a decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behaviour upon members of the groups. Social disorganisation of asylum seekers and refugees can cause social chaos (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927: 1470).

2.5 The extent and nature of the problem

To understand the situation, the vulnerabilities, the problems, and experience facing by the minority groups, it is important to explain the terminology "asylum seekers and refugees." This is the aim of this section. Based on the existing official data, we will critically investigate what people knows about the extent and nature of racism and xenophobia against immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in the UK.

2.5.1 Terminology

It is fundamental to define asylum seekers and refugees to be able to distinguish the two categories as it is becoming increasingly common to see the terms used interchangeably. According to the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (UNHCR, 2010: 3), an asylum seeker is a person who claims to be a refugee but has not yet been evaluated or accepted as such by the host government. A refugee is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality,

membership of a social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such opinion fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

The terms asylum seekers and refugees have been used differently mistakenly and interchangeably by the police makers, the media, the public or academic (Stonewall, 2004: 12; Philo, Brian & Donald, 2013: 144; O'Nions, 2010). Using these terms has been challenging. As UNHCR's Assistant High Commission for Protection argued this has been a long-standing challenge in dealing with not only the press but also academic and policy discourse. It has been suggested that those mis- presentations can take attention away from distinct experience, needs and the protection owed to refugees as well as affect public attitudes and fuel intolerances against them (ENAR, 2015-2016: 3; Blinder & Allen, 2016: 23).

One of the examples of a politician portrayed incorrectly individuals in needs, in search a humanitarian and international protection as "economic or illegal migrants" was the former Home Secretary Theresa May who described large groups of Africans coming from Eritrea, Somalia, Nigeria as economic migrants who had paid criminal gangs to transport them across Africa (May asked to define…, 2015). Such claim is against the 1951 convention because these people qualified to be considered as refugees and be protected. Jones (2015) argued that the convenient scapegoating and demonising of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees has left asylum seekers and refugees particularly vulnerable because of relentless 'othering' and dehumanising.

Eritreans represents the biggest populations among asylum seekers who come in Europe from various countries in search of protection. This is due to the priority for resentment they have from the UNHCR because of the human rights 's violation in their home country and the danger

they face if they return to Eritrea. Eritrea is under international sanctions and condemned for human rights abuses (Refugee Council, 2012).

2.5.2 Hate Crime Official problem

Most of the data to measure the extent of racism hate crime in the UK are recorded by the police. With the improvement of reporting and recording systems made in recent years, many hate crimes incidents have been recorded. Consequently, an increase of the number has been seen. The latest Statistical Bulletin from the Home Office (2018: 7) showed how the figures for the hate crimes recorded has increased drastically compared to previous year. This situation has been in the past years stressed by Burnett (2013: 2) and the Home Office (Statistical Bulletin, 2017: 4) reflected the extent to which racism shaped the backdrop of many people ‘s lives in the UK.

Data progression published between 2017/2018 showed that 94,098 hate crime offences for England and Wales were recorded with an increase of 17% compared to previous year (HO Statistical Bulletin, 2018: 7). It has been suggested that the increased number of incidents recorded has been continually increasing over last years reflected the extent to which asylum seekers and refugees experienced hate crimes (Burnett, 2013: 2; Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 2017: 4). The higher increased number recorded was due to the improvement in recording system and the genuine increase in the wake of the 2016 UK Referendum on leaving the European Union (EU) (Devine 2018; O’Neil 2017).

The UK in 2016 was dominated by several events such as the EU referendum, the Westminster bridge’s attack in London and the bombing of Manchester Arena. These events have contributed to the increase of hate crime incidents reporting (Home Office, 2017: 5). Scholars argued events

of local, national, and international importance can trigger as well as influence the frequency and severity of hate incidents (Chakraborti & Garland 2017: 148).

To address hate crime and related prejudices, it was important for the government and other private agencies working in partnership to implement and improve reporting and recording mechanisms. Consequently, several local policing has developed their systems. This was the example of South Yorkshire police which developed a reporting and recording system (College of Policing, 2014: 31). Despite minor changes and recording improvement started in many local policing sectors, quantify the extent of hate crimes against refugees and asylum seekers has been a failure (Home Office, 2017). According to the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), there is a significant gap between police recorded hate crime and that experienced by victims (HMICFRS, 2018: 45). This can be explained by the fact that it is too difficult to know how much hate crime has been reported to the police but not recognised and recorded.

Tracking and quantifying hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugee's population has been hard as this can be seen from the Statistical Bulletin (Home Office, 2017). It is too difficult to show for example if the extent of the 62,685 hate crimes incidents recorded were motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a perceived refugees or asylum status.

2.6 Reporting Hate Crimes

Reporting hate crime remain problematic and there is considerable evidence that many incidents go unreported to the police (HMICFRS, 2017: 9). Therefore, improving the system to address the issue affecting victims or vulnerable minority populations such as asylum seekers and refugees has become a priority. In recent years, efforts have been made by agencies and the government to tackle this problem. Expensive interventions and approaches have been initiated such as vulnerable victims of crime were required special responses in the criminal justice

system and vulnerable adults have designated protections under British law (Roulstone et al 2011; Clough, 2014 cited by Brown et al, 2017: 1). New plans were also introduced such as the National Vulnerability Action Plan 2018-2021 which aimed to support police forces to deliver the following 7 actions : (1) Early intervention and prevention ; (2) protecting , supporting , safeguarding and managing risk; (3) information , intelligence, data collection and management ; (4) effective investigation ; (5) good leadership to manage effectively risk relating to vulnerability ; (6) supporting officers to have necessary skills and knowledge to respond to all forms of vulnerability ; (7) develop good communication techniques to help people understanding how to reduce potential risks (NPCC, January 2018: 2). Therefore, proper vulnerability training product, tool kit, investigated guides were designed which included learning modules able to supply good standard of training to agencies, COP and the police service nationally (NPCC, January 2018: 4).

Many victims of hate crimes are ignorant about the type of the crime they face and have serious difficulties to distinguish hate crime from other existing. Consequently, this situation makes hard the recording of the correct number. It has been suggested that bullying, harassment, and violence form an entrenched, routine part of their lives and something that they are resign themselves to and do not recognise or report as hate crime (Chakraborti, 2015: 1748). The claim made by asylum seekers from Syria, Sudan, Iraq, Pakistan, Somalia, Zimbabwe interviewed by the Leicester Hate Crime Project confirmed this “We were ignorant of our experience of victimisation as hate crimes but considered them as normal incidents “(Chakraborti et al, 2014: 46).

Scholars argue that reliable statistics will always be hard to come by and full reporting of hate crime can never be expected, as like crime more generally many individuals suffer victimisation without reporting it to the police (Giannasi, 2014: 114). This is the example of asylum seekers

and refugees which are considered as an isolated population. There are several reasons asylum seekers and refugees do not report hate crime. This is due to the lack of information, fear of retaliation, ignorance that a crime has been committed. For example, Hardy (2019) found that victims of hate crime did not report their experiences to the authorities because they had developed a level of personal 'resilience' that led them to deal with the incident themselves or with support from others.

Sometimes victims cannot identify threats and hostility have been committed against them, the lack of understanding about the term of hate crimes as a high number of them are not familiar with the term (FRA, 2016: 9). As Hardy (2019) points out "in a post-Brexit environment where incidents of targeted hostility remain high, it is important to explore the harms caused to particularly marginalised and 'hidden' communities who are much less likely to report their experiences or seek appropriate support for fear of negative consequences, or due to a lack of knowledge about their rights".

There are other reasons identified by the literature include: a lack of trust and confidence in criminal justice and the police or the failure of the police to respond positively to the complaint (Wong & Christ Mann 2008; Bowling 1999; Garland & Chakraborti 2007; Bowling & Phillips 2002; Clancy et al. 2001; Fitzgerald & Hale 1996) . The public has a negative perception of the police. They consider them as ineffective, untrustworthy, and unreliable. Scholars point out" that such situation can lead to victims of hate crimes not reporting their victimisation "(Rowe, 2012; Hall, 2013). To overcome the low levels of trust amongst victims of hate crimes, new strategies have been introduced by law enforcement agencies such as the special units, the dedicated phone lines to monitor and record hate crimes and the introduction of training to improve understanding of these crimes (Grattet & Jenness, 2005; Mulcahy, 2008). The research questionnaire conducted by McDevitt et al. (2000) on 2,657 law enforcement agencies to assess

their views on factors that encourage or impede hate crime reporting in the UK showed that 37.5% of the agencies had hate crime policies in place, with special unit comprising one to five officers; yet 67% reported having less than two hours of training on hate crimes. Gerstenfeld (2013) points out "that the few hours of hate crime training or setting-up of multiple police teams and units for hate crimes will not achieve the results, as basic training cannot address the complexities of hate crimes". Hate crime needs to be part of every policing policy, where there is an active encouragement and support of its reporting, identification, and investigation (McDevitt et al. 2000).

To investigate the reasons victims are not reporting hate crimes committed against them, different studies were conducted in various locations, environments and across different time frames by Hardy (2019) between the period of 2012 to 2017. Hardy suggested that they are barriers such as individual, structural, social, and structural which affect victims reporting crime.

Individual barriers like the lack of awareness of policies and practices on hate crimes can dictate whether a person conceives their victimisation as a criminal offence. If they do not perceive the incident to be a crime, then are less likely to report it. Alternatively, they may understand that a hate crime has been committed against them, however due to the lack of knowledge of practices, they may not know who to report to ; structural barriers reflect the state-level policies, practices, and narratives, whereby cut-down in police officers and economic constraints placed on policing, may mean that some people avoid reporting, as they feel they are unlikely to get a successful outcome ; social barriers reflect how people's decision to report hate crimes will be influenced by their family, as well as their wider community, as if there is evident of prior negative experience in reporting these crimes, then victimisation will not be

reported. Factors such as the location and frequency of victimisation, the relationship between the victims and the perpetrators; and situational barriers (many people not reporting as they see their victimisation as 'part and parcel' of their everyday existence (Hardy, 2019).

Scholars points out that given the difficulties faced in reporting, different operational definitions of hate crimes, and varied police procedure, the hate crime statistics in England and Wales may appear exaggerated, compared to other EU Countries (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012). In their review of ODIHR reports, Chakraborti and Garland reported significantly greater numbers of hate crimes in England and Wales (52, 102) compared to Germany (2, 583), Czech Republic (265), Italy (142) and Spain (23) in 2009, whilst 3, 960 hate crimes were recorded in France in 2008. However, the difference between the statistics reported in the UK and other EU country, perhaps reflects the UK having a more inconclusive definition and conceptualisation of hate crimes and is evidence of a more strident step to monitor and record hate-motivated crimes in the UK. This lead Chakraborti and Garland to conclude that the statistics on hate crimes in the UK only represent a 'tip of the iceberg' of the issue that hate crimes present.

Hambly et al (2018) point out that "victims are much less likely to report 'everyday' hate crimes or incidents when they do not feel that the police will take them seriously, when they do not think it's worth police time, and when this type of victimisation becomes a normalised "ordinary experience". This is consistent with Walters (2014) who argues that "this is also an issue in the UK as bias-motivated incidents are often not considered serious or particularly harmful to the victim. Walter argues that "many hates crime cases that resulted in mediation had escalated from anti-social behaviour and neighbourly disputes."

Apart these there are other reasons cited for not reporting hate crimes include: a belief that the incident is too minor to report or a concern that the police might take action against the victim

for example for immigration infringements(Wrong & Christ Mann 2008; Chahal & Julienne 1999; Gadd 2010: 212 ; Levin 1999), and the operation of cultural imperatives which discourage engagement with organisations beyond the victims' own community(Garland & Chakraborti 2006 - 2007; Spalek 2006 : 10). It has been suggested that victims are too afraid to report crimes and incidents and reluctant to testify in court or see victimization as too depressingly common for anyone to do anything about (Gadd 2010: 212). Scholar also reported that commonly the perpetrator cannot be found or that the police conclude that there is insufficient evidence to proceed (Gadd 2010: 212).

Asylum seekers who came in the UK in search of protection, fled their countries for varied reasons such as human rights violation, repression, and civil war. Consequently, for those the asylum applications failed, going back homes represent several risks. It has been suggested that they are afraid of any later negative impact on their asylum claims of being dispersed to prison like detention centres, or worse still being deported back to their country of origin (Bhatia, 2017).

Failed asylum seekers prefer not reporting hate crimes incidents by fear of being arrested. They do not trust the police and are resilient to report and send back. Scholars argued that asylum seekers and refugees perceived the police as an enforcer of a political regime, instead of an independent and trustworthy criminal justice agency mandated to investigate offences and uphold due process (Bhatia, 2017; Perry, 2010: 353; Fra, 2016: 9; Chahal, 2016: 4). Victims of negative propaganda from politicians and the media, being portrayed incorrectly make asylum seekers and refugees to become resilient. Consequently, they change their attitude of not reporting any hate crime. Scholars argued that the general hostile climate towards and negative stereotyping of refugees and asylum seekers in political and media discourse in England and

Wales (Burnett, 2017: 95) has, undoubtedly done little to dispel apprehension and further discouraged them from reporting hate crimes.

It has been suggested that several trigger events which took place in 2017 such as the Manchester arena bombings and the Westminster bridge in London contributed to the increase of hate crimes reporting and recording (Devine, 2018). Scholars argued that events of this kind can lead to retaliatory reactions, which are then known to subside shortly after the event, but in some cases, this can lead to a long-term increase in the levels of hate crime as seen in 2016 after the EU Referendum (O'Neil, 2017). Most hate crimes reported during this time were recorded as being motivated by race and this is still the case with over three-quarters of all hate crimes reported as racial incidents (Full-fact, 2019). The latest Home Office (2019) data on hate crimes in England and Wales shows that every year since the referendum the numbers of reported hate crimes have risen, and they remain at record levels. Consequently, reported hate crimes have more than doubled in just six years, from 42,255 in 2012/13 to 103,379 in 2018/19.

Joint figures published by CSEW for 2015/16 and 2017/18 showed that there were 184,000 incidents of hate crime committed a year which meant 40% lower than in previous years 2007/08 and 2008/09 where 307,000 incidents a year took place (HO Statistical Bulletin, 2018:7). Between 2017/2018, 94,098 hate crime offences were committed in England and Wales which showed an increase of 17% compared with previous year (HO Statistical Bulletin, 2018:7).

Figures recorded by the police for year ending 2018/19 showed that there were 103,379 hate crimes in England and Wales compared to 94,098 in 2017/18 (Home Office, 2019). Most of these cases were race hate crimes (Home Office, 2019). Between 2019/20, the police recorded 105,090 hate crimes in England and Wales (excludes Greater Manchester Police), an increase

of eight per cent compared with year ending March 2019 (97,446 offences). In year ending March 2022, there were 155,841 hate crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales, a 26 per cent increase compared with the previous year this was the biggest percentage increase in hate crimes since year ending March 2017, when there was a 29 per cent rise. The increase number of hate crime's cases reported are due to the improvements to reporting services (HM Government, 2018).

2.7 Media Discourse

Immigration has been the topic of intense debate among politicians, the press, and the public. In the past year, the UK was invaded by a huge wave of immigration which caused a disquiet in public opinion, bolstered by the media (Philo et al, 2013). Scholars argued that in the past 15 years, the rhetoric on migration towards asylum seekers and refugees has been toxic and problematic. The attitude of the media towards asylum seekers and refugees is one typified by outwards hostility and problematization (Lesinka, 2014; Frost, 2007; Human Rights First, 2008).

Previous years the massive exodus of asylum and refugees in the UK has caused anger and frustration from the public who perceived these minority groups as a big treat to the national security**,** economic security (by impinging on the rights of the native groups), cultural norm and security (by bringing in different norms, customs, languages, religious beliefs, and values) (Ibrahim, 2005; Stacey, Carpone-Lopez & Rosenfeld, 2011). Therefore, asylum seekers and refugees were portrayed with negative stereotype by both the policy makers and the media as a burden on the state, untrustworthy, and solely in search of economic benefit. Empirical studies showed that the resentments towards immigrants are a consequence of economic vulnerability and ethnic competition for scarce resources (Hain Mueller & Hopkins, 2014; Oliver & Wong, 2003).

Scholars argued that the media and politicians collaborated to colour public opinion for political gain. Arrocha (2019) argues that within Europe and the US, asylum seekers and refugees have been subjected to a dehumanising process as states have been seen to demonise and criminalise those escaping conflict and persecution. Furthermore, in the absence of any genuine compassion, there has been an overall departure from upholding human rights legislation in relation to irregular migrants (Mason-Bish & Trickett, 2019; Arrocha, 2019).

Media is a powerful and potential mode of communication which can influence the public feeling (Miller & Philo, 1999). It plays a vital role in shaping and reflecting public opinions on a variety of topics including crime (Jewkes, 2015; Stromback, 2012). Freedman (2014) argues that "media can mobilise, construct, and tap into people's views and understanding on various social, political, and cultural issues". The media also has been attributed to a discourse by which people understand phenomena (Barnidge & Rojas, 2014; Guo & Vu, 2018; Scharrer & Rama Subramanian, 2015).

In the UK, media contributed to the negative feeling of asylum seekers and refugees by influencing the attitude of the public. It has been suggested that as a mode communication, the media has the potential to shape and influence its audiences, beliefs of local or world events, questions of causations and attribution of blame (Miller& Philo, 1999). Scholars argue that media in the UK fostered a negative attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers within the British public (Lewis, 2005).

The content analysis of several newspapers completed by Peace & Charman (2011) showed for example in the UK in 2006, asylum seekers and refugees were portrayed by media with negative stereotypes as criminals, undesirable, illegitimate, physically (in terms of terrorism) and economically (in terms of resources) threatening as spongers. The attitudes of most of these

newspapers towards asylum seekers were consistent with the public opinions of British residents in an area where they were a number of these minority populations.

When negatively portraying asylum seekers and refugees, the media does not distinguish them from another migrants. Consequently, this attitude increased the negative feeling of these minority populations among the local communities. Scholars argued that the distinction between asylum seekers, legitimate and illegitimate migrants has become lost during the media ‘s demonization of anyone who fits the mould of the “other,” a discourse that fits the template of a moral panic (O’Nions, 2010; Philo, Briant & Donald, 2013).

To attract a big public audience, the actions of the tabloid press intensified public concerns about immigration by using current affairs and hot subjects such as the foreign invasion, economic burden, employment competition and criminality, often exaggerating actual events and figures to gain artificial validity (Frost ,2007; Allen & Blinder, 2013; O’Nions, 2010). All these matters interested the public who were waiting for changes in immigration policy by cutting the number of asylum seekers and refugees.

Scholars argued that immigration and crime have been one of the key themes in public concern and both are sources of considerable public concern (Allen& Vicol, 2014; Banks,J, 2009). Immigrants were associated to crime and considered as criminals. Asylum seekers and refugees have been accused as perpetrators of criminal activities. To stop immigrants coming, the Home Office has reinforced restrictions. Therefore “crime and immigration” were two themes exploited by media for influencing the policy makers to lift restrictions on Bulgaria and Romanian citizen’ s rights to work. Scholars argued that the overwhelming majority of tabloid media coverage around imminent lifting of work restrictions focused on Bulgarian and

Romanian citizen's apparent propensity for criminal gang culture, anti-social behaviour, as well as theft and begging behaviour, among other forms of dishonesty (Allen & Vicol, 2014).

Media bad campaign against asylum seekers and refugees contributed to the rise of negative belief among the public. Therefore, these minority populations were delegitimised and hardened the public opinion. Research has demonstrated much interest in the real-world impact of media messages on public opinion and Gavin (2018) argues that consistently, anti-immigrant media discourse tends to align with prevailing public opinion. For example, Richardson (2008) found that anti-immigration discourse makes negative assumptions about the effects of immigration on the host country's resources, thus portraying them a realistic threat.

Scholars argued that media representations reflected pre-existing attitudes towards migrations, the volume of negatives stories, including many those claims were entirely baseless, certain reinforced this (Allen, 2016). Media contributed to the increase of the negative belief of asylum seekers and refugees among the British public who consider these minority groups as not coming in the UK in search of protection but for the state benefit, social services, and work. Portrayed as bogus, negative rhetoric on migration has been consistent (Philo et al, 2013).

Much of the media reporting on racist hate crime following the Brexit vote focused on the serious and violent incidents that occurred, there was less acknowledgement that incidents of verbal abuse had also increased significantly (Burnett, 2016). Overwhelmingly, hate crimes that are reported to the police tend to be more serious incidents of assault or property damage as opposed to other incidents that may be perceived of as 'minor' to the victim (Shively et al, 2014; Crown Prosecution Service, 2017; Hambly et al, 2018).

2.8 Discrimination and public attitude

When fleeing their countries, asylum seekers and refugees did not expect to become victims of racial violence, discriminatory practices, and multifaceted problems such as hate crimes or related prejudice. They are various existing studies and literature on discrimination and public attitude against asylum seekers and refugees. Feteke & Webber (2010); Athwal & Bourne (2007) for example in their studies made a call by suggesting how criminal justice should treat unfairly people in search of asylum and subject them to disproportionate penal policies and separate judicial systems characterised by harsher sentencing segregate and expulsion.

Asylum seekers and refugees in the UK are subjects to discriminatory and social practices. They are prohibited to work during the asylum process with the courts taking illegal working extremely seriously (Athwal& Bourne, 2007: 107). This situation makes their life hard because when fleeing their countries, they left behind all their belongings. On their arrival in the host countries, they find themselves in difficult and poor situation. It has been argued that as the asylum process take several months before the Home Office can take the decision about their claims, they find themselves living in hardship and unable to pay for the basics and for asylum seekers the claims have been refused their situation can be worse (Refugee Council, 2012: 31; Athwal& Bourne, 2007: 107).

Asylum seekers who have been granted refugees status also face the same situation. They live in hard condition with extreme poverty and are subjects of social exclusion, struggling to be accommodated with the risk of becoming homeless. Therefore, they are forced to work illegally and treat like slaves (Refugee Council, 2012: 31; McIntyre, 2017). Scholars argue that amongst EU countries, the UK is a worst place where asylum seekers and refugees live in harsh

conditions with the strictest restrictions on working and receive less financial support, poor social service, and accommodation.

It has been suggested that stricter asylum policies are resulting in larger numbers of claims being rejected despite their authenticity (Refugee Action, 2017; Refugee Council, 2012). Consequently because of the restrictions placed on these minority groups, the government has been accused of being exclusionary and hostile anti-asylum practice of reject first, ask question" (ENAR 2015-2016: 23).

2.9 The extreme nature of hate

Racism offending can be understood by its organised and extreme nature. People who commit crimes are sometimes involved in activities such as hate crime, racism, and xenophobia. There are several reasons why perpetrators commit offences. It has been suggested that scholar, the media, civil society, and political opinion often explained racism and xenophobia through the narrow lens of far-right extremism and associated nationalistic ideologies (Iganski& Levin, 2015: 15; Chakraborti, 2015: 1747; 2014: 18). In the UK for example the concept of 'nationalism' features heavily in right-wing politics and politicians like Boris Johnson have been accused of utilising a 'destructive, populist, nationalist ideology' whilst ignoring the harmful consequences to those it demonises (Lavelle, 2019). Aside from nationalism, scholars also found that racist and anti-immigrant political rhetoric often promotes welfare protectionism and identities; a need to safeguard the nation's economy against 'outsiders' who may take advantage, and an emphasis on in-group membership through shared values (Rubio-Carbonero & Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

In European countries, movements like far -right groups, nationalist and neo-Nazi Skinhead have contributed to hate crime against minority populations such as asylum seekers and

refugees (Iganski, 2008: 15 cited Bjprgo, 1995). Consequently, they became victims of organised violence and attacks. Past years research proved that Europe has been dominated by an apparent of far -right ideologies and nationalistic groups (Feteke, 2012; Treadwell & Garland, 2011).

Nagan and Manausa (2018) pointed out "Populist leaders are often opportunistic, and who capitalise on any sense of shifting public attitudes, periods of social, financial, and political uncertainty and growing inequality within society. Additionally, populist arguments are often framed ambiguously, appealing to a vague sense of majority identity whilst clearly identifying another." Consequently, the appeal of populist movements in Europe and the US is multifaceted and much less straight forward than it is typically depicted (Henley, 2018).

In relation to violence and racism harassment, theories have been developed which showed that "As for those responsible, it will not do to blame the organizations of the far rights, although it may be tempting to do so…But the responsibility for racist violence cannot be laid solely or even mainly with them (Gordon, 1994: 50). Data collected are limited and cannot justify the extent of hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees. Therefore, it is too difficult to know the exact numbers of hate crimes committed. People who commit racist violence against these minority populations are ordinary people, men. Young people, children and women are also concerned.

Asylum seekers face several difficulties with the Home Office 'staff such as the culture of refusal and disbelief, little acknowledgment of traumatisation, hostile and de-personalised treatment, inadequate quality of interpreters, lack of understanding about decisions, poor legal support, obstruction to work, limited financial support and poor-quality accommodation. From the hard life experience, they go through during the asylum process; asylum seekers have a

general sense of feeling the home office punish them. Therefore, to survive they are obliged to rely on donations from family, voluntary organisations, and friends.

To summarise, hate crime has become a common experience for minority populations. This has been confirmed by several studies. The literature showed the extent and nature of hate crime and how it became recognised as a social issue. The literature for this study also showed that race is a key determinant factor of hate crime against refugees and asylum seekers. It proved the powerful role played by the media in shaping and influencing the attitude and belief of the public opinion towards asylum seekers and refugees through the way it presents issues and events. It also showed how politicians and the medias portrayed and demonized these minority populations. These stereotypes contributed to promote bigotry, hostility, and fear.

Through literature review, studies showed that hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees has been caused by socio-economic factors. The literature also showed that Government policies and scapegoating of refugees and asylum seekers influenced resentment and immigration concerns. It considered how reporting and recording data stayed an issue due to the underreporting of incidents. Measuring hate crimes is still problematic as information on the incidents has not been reported, captured, and disaggregated appropriately. Societal and political setting have been examined to understand how hate crime in the UK has been recognised as a problem.

The literature showed that refugees and asylum seekers do not experience only everyday racial harassment, violence, and abuse but also exclusionary and discriminatory actions. Through literature, explanations about perpetrator's characteristics, their profile, age, and their motivation of offending have been proved. To prove a reliable profile of racist offender has been found to be too difficult. Research showed that hate crime responsibilities cannot only lay

exclusively to the perpetrator but can extend to the offender's community. Theories to explain the plausible reasons offenders commit hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees were also used. The following chapter for this study is focused on research method.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Aims and goals

The aim of this research was to investigate the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. Through this chapter I will describe the methodological approach I have used to understand hate crime and the rational for selecting interpretative epistemological and a constructivist approach. I will also outline different steps taken to meet the research quality criteria as outlined by several researchers such as validity, reliability, coherence, accessibility, and neutrality (Yardley, 2008).

3.2 Methodology

This section aims to introduce the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed for investigating hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. To understand the experiences of hate, hostility of asylum seekers and refugees, influential theories will be used such as Interpretative epistemological, Constructivist, Intergroup Threat, and Integrated Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan & Renfro, 2002), Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or Realistic Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965).

The interpretative epistemological position stresses that the social world and the interactions between social factors that reside within it are subjective in nature and that in order to be best develop an understanding of this world, phenomena and social actors, research must seek to view this world through the eyes, and by implication the subjective interpretations, of those subjects that reside within it(Matthews & Ross, 2010; Weinstern & Ford, 2006).

For this study, examining media, politicians, and British public belief and feelings towards asylum seekers and refugees were important to evaluate their implication. Therefore, using constructivist approach will help to understand the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of

refugees and asylum seekers at distinct stages in the asylum process. Guba and Lincoln (1989) pointed out that "constructivism is a research paradigm that denies the existence of an objective reality asserting instead that realities are social construction of the mind …although clearly many constructions will be shared". Constructivism theory acknowledges the existence of 'subjectivity' in the reality that they research (Creswell, 2014). This perspective proposes that individuals look to give meaning to their experiences to understand and interpret the world they live in. However, these experiences are not derived from their own actions alone, yet the meanings ascribed to their 'reality' are constructed from the social interactions that they have with other cohabiting individuals. Using constructivist epistemology approach is appropriated to this research as the terms asylum seekers and refugees are not given in the world but constructed, reformed, organized and negotiated by individuals to make sense of the world. Berger & Luckman (1966) argued that the adoption of a constructivist epistemology proposes that our understanding of reality is socially created.

As described in the earlier chapter, in the UK studies that directly engages with asylum seekers and refugees are rare. There is a lack of academic research that considers hate crimes, racism and incidents of targeted hostility experienced this minority group. Consequently, asylum seekers and refugees' voices are significantly under-represented in this regard. Therefore, it is important to explore more research based on hate crimes and others related prejudices against this minority group to better understand their everyday experiences and interactions with other members of the communities.

Originally termed by Campbell (1965) but most famously showed in Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif's (1954) 'Robbers Cave' experiments, Realistic Conflict Theory focuses on the idea that intergroup conflict stems from competition over power, economic benefit, and resources. According to Stephan and Renfro (2002), Realist threat refers to physical harm and

threats to the wellbeing of in-group members and/or loss to resources (e.g., torture, pain, death, financial disadvantage, and loss of resources. The threats occurs when resources are considered as being in limited supply such as education services, welfare, jobs, and health care. Sherif et al (1954)'s experiment showed that perceived rivalry between groups created feelings of hostility and prejudice towards the opposing group. The feelings of hostility escalated into violence against the opposing group when the competition for resources intensified. Duckitt (1992) argues that much of the original research that focuses on Realistic Conflict is based on competition between groups with equal status.

Campbell (1965) points out "the idea that competition for resources is a significant motivating factor in the development of in-group favouritism and outgroup prejudice has remained influential and forms the basis of Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Intergroup Threat Theory, now the most dominant theory in this field". However, the argument has been made that intergroup discrimination does not always occur because of a realistic conflict of interests and the social demographics of certain 'out-groups' are not always known ".

Stephan and Renfro (2002) argue that ITT addresses the ways in which individuals and groups develop prejudice, but it goes further to also incorporate how feelings of threat are developed structurally based on fear, stereotyping, and misinformation. They pointed out that" hostility and prejudice towards a minority out-group will arise due to perceived 'realistic' and/or 'symbolic' threats to the dominant in-group." Research into hate crimes showed that perpetrators who subordinate members of a minority groups such as asylum seekers and refugees are motivated by the perception of inequality in the treatment of their group compared to an out-group (Gadd, 2009). Similarly, Mackie and Smith (2002) pointed out "The othering of a perceived 'out-group' is often orchestrated by a dominant majority 'in-group' who are

successful in promoting prejudice attitudes towards the 'out-group' because of their political and socio-economic power ".

Meltzer et al (2018) argue that prejudice will develop when in-group members perceive themselves to be in competition with out-groups for these resources. For example, asylum seekers, refugees or economic migrants who work for a below-average wage are much more likely to be negatively perceived as a threat to native workers, especially to those in direct competition for similar jobs, as opposed to exploited victims. Additionally, ITT highlights that 'realistic' threats also include concerns that the out-group members pose a threat to the physical safety and security of in-group members, although this 'threat' is given little attention by the original theory.

So, symbolic individual threat is the fear that an individual's self-identity will be undermined by the presence of the out-group. Atwell, Ma, Chien and Mastro, 2018; Stephan et al., (2009) point out that "Symbolic threat is an attack on the integrity or validity of a group meaning systems e.g., ideology, religion and worldview ". Meltzer et al (2018) argue that immigration therefore causes conflict as it involves the introduction of 'new' symbols to the existing culture. The amount of conflict caused by immigration varies based on several variables including how symbolically distant new arrivals are from the host society. Scholars argue that symbolic threats can include the fear of being disrespected, dishonoured, or cheated by a member of the out-group (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

According to Social Identity Theory, the process of social identification is a more reliable predictor of bias and prejudice. Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that "intergroup conflicts are the result of promoting one's own self-image at the expense of those belonging to a differing group". Therefore, social identity is linked to a person's sense of who they are based on their

group affiliations. Thus, the groups that people belong to, whether it be based upon social class, nationality, ethnicity, or football team, are an important source of pride and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social Identity Theory also suggests that to depict our own group as superior, again increasing our own self-esteem, we tend to exaggerate intra-group similarities while also exaggerating inter-group differences, consequently, allowing for the construction of prejudice stereotypes about the out-group (Rubin & Hew stone, 1998). Social Identity theory also showed that the more strongly a person identifies with his group membership the more he is likely to hold prejudice attitudes towards out-groups. Conversely, Paterson, Brown, Walters and Fearn, H (2018)'s research showed that where individuals felt a powerful sense of group identification, they were more likely to feel a profound sense of empathy when another perceived group member was victimised based on their identity.

Therefore, social identity refers to the aspects of an individual's self-image that derives from the social categories to which he perceives himself belonging (Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 6).Scholars argue that SIT is effective in explaining how in-group bias and out-group prejudice is created and maintained through intergroup comparisons , it does not hold true in all situations that do not facilitate such comparisons , or in instances where these comparisons are benign (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel & Turner,1986; Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011). Nonetheless, SIT argues that minority groups (or out-groups) are more at risk of victimisation because of the underlying prejudice. This is the case of asylum seekers and refugees. They are victims of hate crimes because of their vulnerability, or perceived difference. Perpetrators identify them as an out - group due to the interplay of multiple identities such as being a certain race, being a certain religious etc (Chakraborti & Hardy, 2017).

Research showed that threat' narratives are overwhelmingly used in official and media discourses surrounding asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants and this has genuine

consequences for public attitudes, beliefs, and feelings towards new arrivals (Hogan & Halt inner, 2015; Dempster & Hargrave, 2017). In evaluating of threat' narrative, Tartakovsky & Walsh (2016) found that most of their sample engaged in a mediating process in relation to their beliefs of asylum seekers and refugees as both threatening and beneficial. Whilst for some, the perception of asylum seekers and refugees as a threat to the physical safety, economy, social cohesion, and a threat to modernity held true, the majority also considered new arrivals to be a benefit to the host society's economy, cultural diversity, and the humanitarian reputation of the receiving society (Tartakovsky & Walsh, 2016).

3.3 Methods

For this study, qualitative method was used to understand the experiences of hate, and hostility perpetrate against asylum seekers and refugees, the asylum process, how asylum seekers and refugees are treated, the denial of support they experience, and other prejudices they receive related to their status. Quraishi & Phil burn (2015) pointed out that "qualitative methods are best suited to researching race and racism because, unlike quantitative methods, they allow for more nuanced and meaningful interaction between researcher and participant ". Qualitative approaches enable the exploration of individual experiences and meaning of experiences for participants (Willig, 2008). Charmaz (2005) points out that "by drawing on multiple participant experiences, it is possible to obtain a richer understanding of the complexities of the asylum seeker experience across various aspects of their journeys". For this research based on lived experiences of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, qualitative method was selected because its focus on subjective meanings (Silverman, 2020: 3). Bryman (2012: 380) argues that qualitative research stresses the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants. By choosing qualitative methods, reference was made to the work of Perry (2003), Hammersley (2000), Hammersley & Atkinson (1995),

Jorgensen (1989) and Hamm (1994). Scholars argued that “research on hate crime should be completed by historical research, cases and other methods to try to get at some of the contextual clues surrounding hate crime, which include the role of family, community, and neighbourhood “(Perry, 2003: 14-15).

Using qualitative method helps the researcher to study phenomena in detail from the inside perspective of the social actors they affect (Bryman, 2012; David & Sutton, 2010). It has been suggested that choosing qualitative method as an approach can enhance existing research through facilitating an in-depth study of individual experiences, and it is also well suited for exploratory research (Baker, Pistrang & Elliott, 2002). A qualitative approach seemed best suited to explore the lived experiences of hate crime and hostility that asylum seekers and refugees faced in their everyday lives. According to Flick (2018) “qualitative method has the ability to describe and explain social phenomena ‘from the inside’, locating researchers in the natural setting in the worlds they are interested in, to understand the meanings people, attribute to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative approaches enable the exploration of individual experiences and are proper for studies where there is paucity in the research -base (Willig, 2008). Qualitative research does not regard the truth as objective, but as a subjective reality that is experienced differently by each individual and these methods try to explore individuals ‘experience (Vishnevsky & Bean lands, 2004). It has been suggested that when conducting research project into hate crime it is important to describe the events, their immediate aftermath, and the long -term consequences for those involved to include qualitative accounts of the subjectivity reality of each actor in particular instances (Hamm, 1994: 26). Qualitative methods enable the exploration of individual experiences and meaning of experiences (Willig, 2008). As this study focused on hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees, it was compatible to use as an

approach, qualitative research which is interested in people ‘s lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings (Strauss & Corbin; 1990: 11).

Noaks and Wincup (2004) argue that qualitative approaches are considered particularly proper when trying to engage with marginalised groups who experience ‘hidden’ crime. According to Jupp (2001), this approach also allows the researcher to develop an ‘appreciation’ of the social world from the point of view of victims, their opinions, feelings, and thoughts. In other words, it allows the researcher to develop an understanding of the social phenomenon that is provided by those on the ‘inside’ from within their natural environments (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

3.4 Data collection

3.4.1 Participants

Participants for this research were selected purposively amongst asylum seekers and refugees. They were accessed via several charitable organisations in Manchester area that work with refugees, and asylum seekers. Search to identify these organisations were conducted via internet using terms such as refugees, Asylum seeker support or Asylum drop-in centre Manchester. To have access to these organisations I contacted them by email to discuss the project, explaining a little about the nature of the research and myself.

Before interviewing participants, I met representatives from these organisations. Meeting representatives enabled me to get a better sense of the nature of the organisations and the work they do. I provided them more detailed information about the research and answered any questions they had.

Representatives were a focal point of access to participants and were able to offer advice on the suitability of potential participants for the research to ensure that no highly vulnerable individuals were put at risk by taking part in the study (Eide & Allen, 2005). Interviews were conducted and focused on participant’s hate crimes and hostility ‘s experiences, the effects of

their experiences, their experiences with the Home Office, and their experiences of living in the UK.

3.4.2 Data collections

For data collections, I started with preliminary research to investigate the experiences of hate that asylum seekers and refugees experience. Semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were conducted to understand asylum seekers and refugees ‘s actions and external influences actions. Scholars argue that semi-structured interviews are commonly used in qualitative research and include specific discussion themes that are decided prior to the interview (Bryman, 2012). Semi-structured interviews are particularly suited to research on race and racism because they allow for a flexible, collaborative, and interactive approach to generating data, that also has the potential to empower participants from marginalised minority groups (Moffatt, George, Lee & McGrath, 2005). Mizock, Harkins and Morant (2011) pointed out that semi-structured interview also allows the participant a relative amount of freedom to discuss the themes in their own words elaborating on various points and bringing up current information that may have not been thought of previously by the researcher.

Semi-structured interview helped to capture the refugees’ own voices, presenting their lives through their own stories (Plummer, 1995). Kvale (2007) points out that “semi-structured interview was beneficial to this research as it is a “uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects' everyday world”. Cassell (2005) argues that for qualitative researchers, the most popular tool for collecting information is interviews. In our real life it is important to know that as individuals, we mostly engage in a form of interview daily, either as interviewees or interviewers. Mason (2002) has offered a range of reasons for researchers choosing to employ qualitative interviews of which the

following are important for this study based on asylum seekers and refugees: ‘an interest in people’s perceptions, understandings, experiences, and interactions which can only be constructed or reconstructed in interviews’ (Mason, 2002: 64).

Keeping the qualitative nature of this study, most of the time were spent at the library reading books, newspapers articles, media and civil society reports, policy documents, publications from governmental and non-governmental organisations, journal articles and published statistics on hate crime. Data were collected searching engines such as Google and Google Scholar, the internet and accessing journal databases. Searches were done through media, government, and private agencies ’websites. Information and data were collected from Official and non-government’ reports published online by the Home Office, Office for National Statistics, HM Government, Fra, House of Common Affairs Committee, Asylum Info Database Country, National Police Chiefs ‘Council, Commission for Racial and Equality , British Crime Survey, Crime Survey for England and Wales(CSEW) , Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), ODIHR, UNHCR, the Anti -Defamation League and Human Rights First, the police operational guidance, the College of Policing ,CERD, the refugees Council, the Refugee Action and Leicester Hate Crime Project which is one of the Britain ‘s largest hate crime study.

Various academic books from scholars such as Chakraborti (2014), Athwal, H& Bourne, J. (2007), Bhatia, M, (2015, 2017), Burnett, J. (2017), Bowling., B (1998), Iganski, P. (2011) and many more were consulted. Most of these sources provided useful information. It has been found that these books provided sometimes inconsistency and contradictory information. This was the case of hate crime’ figures from CSEW and the police. Therefore, this imbalance made things hard in deciding the prevalence of hate crime in Britain. To avoid bias, information collected were critically examined.

3.4.3 Ethical considerations

As this research based on the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK is extremely sensitive, greater emphasis is placed on assuring this study is ethically conducted with total integrity (Macfarlane, 2009). As Machin and Shardlow (2018) argue "Researchers engaged in examining social issues relating to 'hidden groups' face many ethical challenges". Consequently, having an awareness of ethical issues is particularly important when dealing with sensitive issues such as race and victimisation (Quraishi & Phil burn, 2015).

For this study, the British Society of Criminology's code of ethical practice and standard was read (BSC, 2006) and understood. All documents, resources and materials consulted were acknowledged and always cited to avoid mis presentation. This research was conducted in a professional manner using a higher methodological standard. Participants were given informed consent form and detailed information sheet about the research (Walliman, 2016). Informed consent ensures that participants understand what is being done to them, the limits to their participation and awareness of any potential risks they incur (Social Research Association, 2003: 28).

Participants were also made aware that their participation to the research is voluntary and will be free to withdraw from interview any time they want and data about them remove before publishing. Information collected were critically examined to avoid misrepresentation. Sources from internet were checked for their reliability.

3.4.4 Limitations of research study

Conducting this research was not easier. We met several difficulties due to the shortage of publications. Participants interviewed came from refugees' charities, communities and

churches and went through the asylum process. They came from Burundi, Zambia, Rwanda, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Congo, Nigeria, Gambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Tchad, Ghana, and India. Most the participants when contacting interviews showed lack of interest, less attention and resiliency. They found the topic of this research to be sensitive and selective. Most of them were suspicious and did not want to be involved at the beginning and were afraid that their identities were going to be revealed. It was after giving a clear explanation about the central aim of this study that participants agreed to take part in the interviews. After reassuring them of the anonymity to avoid any identification they became more interested and cooperative.

Interviews were undertaken in English. Few participants were competent and had a formal education and an excellent English ability although many had poor English which made the interviews difficult. As many of the interviewees were not fluent in English, questions were often broken down into smaller parts or repeated using different or simpler language to make them easier to comprehend. As English was the only spoken language I used for interviews, an interpreter also was used to facilitate the interview process.

Temple and Edwards (2006) pointed out “the use of interpreters within social research has traditionally been seen as a ‘technical act’, with the interpreter conceived as an intermediary enabling researcher and participant to understand one another. They argue that to engage meaningfully with research participants whose first language is not English, discussions with interpreters about their own perspectives on the themes discussed in research interviews need to occur. Interpreters will have their own ‘social truths’ (Young, 1997). The use of interpreters with participants who are not fluent English speakers is suggested to be one way of doing this (Temple & Moran, 2006).

Not knowing or being fluent in English is one of the possible reasons why victims of hate crimes do not report their victimisation (Anderson et al., 2002; Culotta, 2005). Therefore, it will be useful for further discursive research in asylum seekers and refugees to be conducted in the first languages to allow them to speak and express themselves easily. However, this would raise contemporary issues.

When interviewing participants, I feel like a repetition of the home Office interview. Recalling memory was a traumatic experience of the interviewees who showed distress feelings. This was particularly clear with participant twenty-two who started to cry when talking about his experience. Participant became nervous and upset. Therefore, I asked to end the interview. Curtis and Curtis (2011) argue that "researchers should remain alert to participants' body language, demeanour, and changes in behaviour throughout the interviews for any signs of discomfort or distress".

For this study, qualitative approach opposed to quantitative or mixed methods was the most proper method to be used. Using qualitative approach has number of limitations and criticisms. One of them is the generalisability of any findings deduced. Seen the scope of this research study, the findings cannot be generalized and applied as being representative of the hate crime that asylum seekers and refugees experience in other European countries. This study only dealt with asylum seekers and refugees who live in the UK and tend to have greater means than the large numbers of people who are unable to flee their countries of origin (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002). Therefore, the discourses may not generalise.

Scholars argued that the findings of this study were never intended to be generalized and applied to the wide population, neither does it or the discipline of qualitative research claim to do so (Creswell, 2014). Despite the limitations of qualitative methods, it has been found that their

findings for this study would be a valuable tool that will fill the gap for limited number of publications and under researched area about hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees. A desired outcome of this study was to provide good understanding of different experiences of these minority populations. Other criticism or limitations for qualitative method has been found to be simply too subjective (Bryman, 2011).

The serious limitations are still the understanding of the experience of hate crime that asylum seekers and refugees face in the UK. The only way to tackle this social phenomenon, further research in this area should be done. Before conducting this study on hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees, I read the guidelines on criminology research, the expectations, and outcomes. To avoid plagiarism all the books the researcher read and came across as part of the literature review were acknowledged.

Conducting other studies on hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees will help the government, the policy makers and other agencies working in partnership to address the problems facing by these minority populations in the UK and improve the reporting and recording system. This research on hate crime intended to build on existing literature to enhance future research on asylum seekers and refugees. As no proper study has been conducted on hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, the researcher suggests that recent studies to be done by academic and scholars. Hate crime against asylum and refugees should become the focus of the future research. The following chapter for this study is focused on the discussion of findings.

Chapter 4: General Discussion and Findings

The focus of this thesis was to critically investigate the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. The findings presented in this chapter are intended to fill the literature gap about hate crime against these minority populations. This chapter is divided into six sub themes: (1) the extent and nature of the problem, (2) the role of the media and politicians, (3) the public perception, (4) the Government ‘s responses, (5) the profile of perpetrators, (6) the implication for future studies and the last point is the conclusion.

4.1 The extent and nature of the problem

In the past years, the EU and the UK were dominated by a huge immigration’s crisis due to the displacement of many people who fled their countries because of war, human rights violence, religious and ethnic conflicts. Consequently, following this crisis there were several different reactions depending on the country. Asylum seekers were not welcomed in many of these countries. Therefore, their presence was considered as economic and security treat. This immigration crisis influenced the attitude of media, politicians and public opinion toward asylum seekers and refugees. It increased hostility and intolerance vis a vis to these minority populations. Asylum seekers and refugees became subjects of all kinds of abuse, violence, discrimination, and xenophobia. The media, the politicians and the public were accused of spreading virulent anti sentiment message against these minority populations (O’Nions 2010; Lesinka, 2014).

To understand hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees in the British context, it was important to start with an overview of past historical events. The murder of Stephen Lawrence, an 18-year-old Black man killed in 1993 in London was a critically moment for the official recognition of hate crime as a problem that minority groups face in the UK. Through this study

we found that it was too difficult to measure the extent and nature of hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees. This is due to the lack of aggregated data. Crime incidents are not captured or reported by victims. Due to the possible consequences that asylum seekers and refugees might face if they report a crime to the police, attempts to get correct data towards them will be hard to collect. Consequently, it is too difficult to know the figures of hate crime incident, the extent and nature of it. Despite its limitations, police data and CSEW highlight that hate crimes in the UK are a significant problem, even when they do not highlight the actual numbers of race and religious hate crimes that have occurred.

The findings for this study showed that there was a huge problem for recording and reporting hate crime. Therefore, it was hard to measure or evaluate the nature of the hate crime experiencing by these minority groups. The findings for this research study also showed that asylum seekers and refugees did not report hate crime incidents by lack of knowledge, fear of retaliation and an acceptance of their victimisation. The truth is asylum seekers and refugees experience everyday all racial harassment, abuse, violence, discriminatory and exclusionary actions due to their social status.

After reading critically and listening different accounts of asylum seekers and refugees, victims of hate crime, the findings for this study showed that the nature and the extent of hate crime is low level. Racism and xenophobia against these minority populations were taking the form of verbal abuse, harassment, physical violence, and property crimes. Therefore, there is a need for further research studies to investigate distinct asylum seekers and refugees' experience.

This study also showed that asylum seekers and refugees were victims of prejudicial actions. Although these actions are not considered as racial hate offence, exclusionary and

discriminatory practices they experience are part of the cycle that allowed for their criminalization.

4. 2 The role of the media, the politicians, and the public

The media, the politicians and the public have been accused of spreading negative message against asylum seekers and refugees. Lewis (2005) suggested that the UK media have fostered a negative attitude towards asylum seekers within the British public. The content analysis of newspaper articles completed by Peace and Charman (2011) throughout 2006 showed that the media presented asylum seekers and refugees as undesirable, illegitimate, criminals, physical (in term of terrorism) and economically (in terms of resources) threatening, and as "spongers".

Findings for this study showed that politicians, media, and the public have been instrumental by spreading negative message against asylum seekers and refugees. Monitoring race strand of hate crime against these minority populations has been neglected and ignored with little attention. This research has also shown that the press are the main sources of spreading cultural hate propaganda against minority populations. Scholars argue that the press and political discourse have not only used asylum seekers as the scapegoats for societal and economic ills but have dehumanised, vilified, and criminalised them using metaphors such as cheats, thieves, liars, bogus, villains, criminals and even, terrorists (Bhatia, 2015: 98; Hardy & Chakraborti, 2017: 22). Vestergaard (2020) points out that it is important to acknowledge the influence politicians have in media reporting, and they often diverge on their ideological orientation towards asylum seekers: the framing of asylum seekers, therefore, differs between media outlets, on the left-right political spectrum.

The findings of this study also indicated that the biased discourse and spreading of hate crime against refugees and asylum seekers by the British media and some politicians has been widely

acknowledged as well condemned (Hardy & Chakraborti, 2017: 22; Philo, Brant & Donald, 2013; CERD, 2016: 4) and even blamed for causing racist violence (Bhatia, 2017; Sibbitt, 1997: 51).

4.3 Public Perception

In the past years Immigration and asylum have been a hot topic which interested the media and attracted the public' interest. The media' presentation of asylum seekers and refugees as criminal, cheats, illegal and grabbers influenced public belief and affected its opinions towards this minority population. As Jewkes (2015) states" numerous writers have examined the proposition that the media present crime stories (both factual and fictional) in ways which selectively distort and manipulate public beliefs, creating a false picture of crime which promote stereotyping, bias, prejudice, and cross oversimplification of the facts".

Participants interviewed recognised the negative role that the press plays when covering immigration issues. Immigration has been portrayed as bad' has a later impact on public belief. One respondent interviewed by Goodfellow (2019) described immigration process as a 'political football' which outlines this transference of 'demonising' rhetoric's from policy making to public opinion (Goodfellow, 2019:2). Other participant described, 'this process as riding a wave of public opinion' which symbolises the fluctuating nature of attitudes towards immigration. As Blinder (2013) argues in Britain 'public preferences for less immigration have been among the drivers of British Immigration policy' which includes the restrictions aimed at reaching a 'numerical target for estimated annual net migration'.

The findings for this study also showed that hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees was the consequence of the mass media production and the exaggeration of crime stories. Therefore, exaggerating stories had substantial consequences on the public' belief of crime. The findings for this study showed that events such as the Eurozone debt crisis, terrorist

attacks in many European cities, the EU Referendum in the UK contributed to the increase of negative belief about asylum seekers and refugees. Another key finding was the media were hostile when covering reporting on migration issues. One of the examples was the Channel 4 programme named “Bloody Foreigners” in 2001 with Andrew Smith who investigated British attitudes towards asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. Through his investigation he found that these minority groups were daily abused verbally and physically due to pretence of xenophobia (Hard cash productions. com(nd). Broadcasting this programme reinforced the public attitude of hostility and antagonism.

4.4 Government ‘responses

Defined by the Home Office as any criminal offence committed against a person or property that is motivated by an offender ‘s hatred of someone because of their race, gender, sexual orientation and or their disability, in the UK hate crime is taken seriously.

The key findings for this study showed that the government works hard to address hate crime’ issues. Legislations and policies have been introduced. As Scholars argue that hate crime legislation is a crucial mechanism through which hate crimes can be effectively challenged and prosecuted against (Walters et al ,2018). To combat hate crimes against asylum seekers and refugees in the UK and protect their rights as vulnerable people, the government has introduced several legislations and policies.

Between 1990 and 2000, several legislations were introduced to tackle hate crime and protect certain victim characteristics including Protection from Harassment Act 1997; the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) ; the Race Relations (Amendment)Act 2000 ; Criminal Court sentencing Act 2000; Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act(2001) – Part V which deal with the problems related to religious hatred mainly for people who are victims because of their

membership or affiliation to a religious group; Race Relations(Amendment) Act 2002; Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006; Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001) and Criminal Justice Act 2003(Chakraborti & Garland, 2015).

The Race Relations Act (RRA) 1965 was the earliest policy introduced in England and Wales to address the 'incitement to commit racial hatred. Under section 6 this act, the incitement of racial hatred could be added to general offences, on the basis that they demonstrate a breach of peace (Lasson, 1987). While the RRA 1965 protected against verbal racial incitement, the Public Order Act 1986 (POA) furthered this, providing the grounds for the prosecution of 'stirring up hatred' through words, gestures, and behaviours (Lasson, 1987).

With the introduction of Crime and Disorder (1998), other offences were created such as the new offences aggravated by race, with religious aggravation added by the Anti-terrorism; the 2000's legislation which aimed to tackle hate crime and protect certain victim characteristics; the Crime and Security Act (2001) (Chakrabarti & Garland, 2015).

Crime and Disorder Act 1998 focused on strong work relationship between the local authorities and the police. They enforced positive obligation and work in partnership with community and other private agencies to monitor and adopt good strategies to tackle hate crime (Commission of Racial Equality, June 2007).

In 2000, the government introduced Race Relations (Amendment) Act which intended to combat racial discrimination, promote good relationship, equality, and opportunity among people from different race. A year later, the Antiterrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 -Part V was implemented which emphasised on issues related to religious hatred (Commission of Racial Equality, June 2007). With the Criminal Justice Act initiated in 2003, the court was given more power to impose tough sentences for offences aggravated and motivated by the

religion or race of the victim, by sexual orientation or by disability (Commission of Racial Equality, June 2007). The CJA 2003 was amended in 2012 by including sections 145 and 146 for transgender identity.

Following Royal Assent of the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 (RRHA) and the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008 (CJIA), new duties were imposed to prosecute stirring up hatred on the grounds of religion and sexual orientation (Home Office (2008).

The introduction of these different types of legislations brought serious disparity. Despite this, an increase was observed in awareness of crimes motivated towards a characteristic of the victim and in the recording of incidents. The establishment of an effective legislative response to hate crime not only supports the symbolic message that there is no place for criminalised expressions of hate, but that prejudice-incited hate in and of itself, is wrong (Mason, 2013).

Among key acts introduced, there was an Immigration Act 2014 and the 2016 Act. The purpose of the Immigration Act 2014 was to put in place effective measures to reduce illegal immigration and making it more difficult for illegal migrants to enter, live and work in the UK. These two acts intended to make the UK a less attractive place for illegal migrants and those who seek to exploit them (The Home Office/UK Visas and Immigration, 2016). As we can see the relevant immigration legislations had highly politicised immigration and have embedded a culture of hostility towards immigration into British society.

Action plans have also been designed to encourage people reporting crime incidents and supporting victims. Findings showed that in 2012 for example the government introduced hate crime action plan “Challenge it, report it, stop it” which had three core principles: preventing hate crime, increasing reporting, and improving the operational responses. Another key finding showed that after Brexit, the number of hate crime incidents increased. Consequently, a new

plan was introduced in 2016 named" Action Against Hate "which aimed to prevent and respond to hate crime incidents, improving support for victims.

4.5 The profile of perpetrators.

Scholars pointed out that when trying to build a profile it is important to note that anyone can commit a hate crime regardless of social class, age, and gender (Williams & Tregidga 2013: 13). Studies conducted in England on hate crime by the Leicester Hate Crime Project and the All Wales Hate Crime Project found that the profiles of perpetrators can also differ markedly depending on the type of hate-motivation, the location of the incident and the relationships that exist between victim and perpetrator (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Williams & Tregidga, 2013).

Earlier research showed similar traits between the perpetrators. They showed that perpetrators who commit hate crimes are usually young white men. This supports the assumption that hate crimes are committed by those in the majority group (Chakraborti et al, 2014: 56; Williams & Tregidga,2013: 46; Iganski & Smith, 2011). When looking at the Leicester hate crime project, the data showed that 37 percent of the perpetrators of hate crime were aged nineteen or younger and that 32 percent where between 20 and 30 years of age (Chakraborti et al, 2014). This was also the case of the study conducted in Sweden which showed that hate crime against immigrants such as asylum seekers and refugees were also committed by young males (Burnar, 2007).

Similarly, hate crime literature has reported that hate crimes are committed by young men, often acting as part of a group, yet not as a member of an organised hate group (Perry, 2009). Conversely, other research concluded that adolescents under 18 years of age are most likely to commit hate crimes than their older counter parts (Turpin-Petrosino, 2015; Craig, 2002). The

findings for this study also highlighted that most hate crimes are committed by young men which is consistent with past research (Herek et al., 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002).

Earlier hate crime' literature also showed that the chief protagonists of hate-motivated violence are men (Hall, 2013; Craig, 2002; Perry, 2001). Through this study we also found that racist hate 'perpetrators who committed crime against asylum seekers and refugees were also young males. These findings are consistent with the past research (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Williams & Tregidga, 2013; Iganski & Smith 2011). However, this does not mean that hate crimes are committed by young white men only.

Evidence suggested that perpetrators were ordinary people (Iganski, 2008), span all ages, from young children to old, aged pensioners and include both sex (Sibbitt, 1997). While plausible, it is nonetheless problematic to conclusively infer without further and focused study, that racist offenders targeting refugees and asylum seekers correspond with either Sibbit's (1997) or Iganski's (2008) racist offender profile.

The lack of understanding about the extent and type of perpetrators of hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees is one of the interesting findings for this study. Consequently, this make too hard to find who the perpetrators are. Earlier literature showed that the main reason a perpetrator's profile of hate crime is hard to set up is because many studies have been from a victim-based view and that is hard to research the offender's perspective from this type of research (Williams & Tregidga, 2013; Bowling & Phillips, 2002). As Chakraborti et al (2014) pointed out "this can be seen in the Leicester hate crime project as many victims believe that they are being targeted because of characteristics such as their age, race, appearance, or religion and not because of their asylum or refugee status". This shows that without further studies into

the offender's perspective, it is difficult to understand why they target someone and for what reason.

Lastly this research study found that the responsibility for race -hate does not lay exclusively with the racist offender but the extends to the perpetrator's community. The literature review for this study has helped to find several theories explaining what motivated people to commit hate crime. Apart this, culture theory also provided explanations why offenders commit racism and xenophobia acts toward asylum seekers and refugees. Cultural ideologies can legitimate, propagate, and fuel hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees. Scholars argued that the media, politics, the law with its enemy penology, but also different generations of a community have all played a role in the shaping of Levi and Rabrenovic's (2009) cultural hate crime against minority population such as asylum seekers and refugees.

To understand the different causes of prejudices, the findings for this study showed that it was important to consider social, situational, and emotional factors. This research was beneficial and valuable. It enriched my knowledge on hate crime and hostility and allowed me to find different problems related to limited publications and research gap. This research has also provided a big insight into the profile of perpetrators who commit hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees.

4.6 Implication for future studies

This research provided an understanding and insight into the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK in terms of its belief in the mind of the public, the media, and the government. Whilst the research supported earlier notions and attributes of hate crimes and hostility, it also provided nuances and added further insights into the body of knowledge (Messner et al., 2004). This research introduces potential solutions to

hate crime and hostility that asylum seeker and refugees experience. It contributes to the emerging field of research that aims to alleviate social problems by conducting research with the aim of advocating marginalised communities.

The awareness of hate crime and hostility, especially amongst those who are socially and economically marginalised within society is limited. This is the example of asylum seekers, immigrants, and refugees (Chakraborti & Hardy, 2014). Therefore, this thesis makes an original contribution by providing a rich qualitative understanding of the lived experiences of this minority groups and by filling the existing empirical gap in literature. Educate people about hate crime and provide the necessary support to them should be a priority. As Hardy (2019) points out "this would help alleviate some of the problems associated with the underreporting of these crimes, as providing information on who to contact can make victims feel supported".

Setting up a webpage can also help asylum seekers and refugees to share their stories and write about their experiences anonymously.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

This is a study on the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. It consisted of four chapters. Interviews were conducted with asylum seekers and refugees. Data were collected from various sources such as internet, google and google scholar's engine, library databases search, non-governmental and governmental official reports. The findings from these sources showed a variety of consistencies and inconstancies. The literature review for this study was valuable to develop knowledge and understanding of hate crime and hostility that asylum seekers and refugees experience. Reading previous studies was beneficial and helped to find several gaps within research.

The first objective for this study was to critically examine the nature and the extent of hate crime and hostility against asylum seekers and refugees. As mentioned, being hidden minority group make it difficult to prove, measure and evaluate the extent and the nature of this crime. State agencies working in partnership with non-governmental organisations do not have proper recording and reporting systems. Therefore capturing, providing, and disaggregating proper information remain a significant issue.

The findings for this study showed that it is hard to fully understand the extent and nature of racial and hostility crimes committed against asylum seekers and refugees as the data gathered by government agencies and crime victimisation surveys does not break it down solely to look at these minority groups but at racial hate crime in general. The findings for this study also showed that asylum seekers and refugees do not report crime and hostility committed against them for fear of retaliation, victimisation, the lack of confidence to express to oneself due to language barriers, and the lack of understanding about hate crime.

The second objective for this study was to understand the establishment of hate crime. It has been found that defining hate crime has been problematic due to the lack of consensus among scholars. Despite the attempt to have a universal definition, they are various definitions which make the studying of this social issue more difficult. Therefore, this situation has been the cause of inconsistency for the use of hate crime as a concept in real word.

The third and four objectives was to contextualise hate crime in the British social and political context. Hate crime in the UK has been recognised as a problem since the killing in racist attack of an 18-year-old Black man Stephen Lawrence in London in 1993. Findings of this study also revealed that media, commentators, and politicians have been instrumental in spreading messages against asylum seekers and refugees.

One of the most important aspects of the current research is the importance of collaborating with Asylum seekers and refugees and helping them access platforms where their voices can be heard. It was through in -depth and meaningful work with participants that this thesis offers new and comprehensive insights that reflect the lived realities of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK.

The findings of the current research show that asylum seekers and refugees in the UK face a nuanced myriad of victimisation experiences and suffer hate, hostility, racism, and discrimination. Therefore, prioritising the issues of hate and targeted hostility within the home office policy would mean a great focus on tackling the most significant barrier asylum seekers and refugees experience of not reporting their victimisation.

The findings of this study also showed that refugees and asylum seekers in the UK experience significant structural discrimination and racism that is underpinned by an increasingly toxic and worryingly normalised anti-immigrant sentiment. Perceptions of asylum seekers and refugees as 'good' or 'bad' also affects their lives which make them vulnerable to victimisation and undesirable. This study also showed that refugees and asylum seekers are victims of hate, repeat victimisation and targeted hostility because of their lack of language proficiency, the lack of knowledge about their rights, precarious legal status, and suspicion of authorities.

Throughout this study on the lived experiences of hatred and hostility of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, it has also been found that perpetrators committed crime due to the socio-economic situation (Iganski et al, 2011: 11; Ray & Smith,2002: 95). Similar findings have also been found in studies that have been conducted in England and Wales (Gadd et al, 2005).

To conclude, this research study found that hate crime against asylum seekers and refugees has attracted less attention of scholarship, policy makers and State agencies. We hope that this study will help other researchers to be involved in hate crime against this minority group. Further

research is highly recommended to investigate and understand the problem facing by asylum seekers and refugees.

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