Moments in a Life on the Margin: migrant communities in Northern Ireland

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Introduction

With the arrival of the marching season in Northern Ireland, some might say that sectarian trouble on the streets is inevitable. Over the past ten years, however, trouble has been diminishing, and, despite the challenges faced by Republicans and Orangemen in Ardoyne, Belfast city centre mid-summer public activities are increasingly regarded as part of, rather than a threat to, local peace.[1] A publicly funded initiative supported by amongst others the Belfast Chamber of Trade and Commerce saw 'circus performers and rock 'n' roll replace(d) the banging of drums and shuttered shops' (Fionala Meredith, Irish Times, 14 July 2009).[2] But the early weeks of June this year saw trouble of a different kind as racist attacks drove at least one hundred Roma out of their South Belfast homes and away from Northern Ireland. While there were perhaps more complex dimensions to their decision to leave than local papers and politicians were able to fathom, these attacks spoke of persistent and dangerous levels of intolerance towards some of the most vulnerable living in Northern Ireland.

The response of the majority of people to these events has been a unified expression of horror and revulsion, with statements of support and solidarity pouring in from all sides.[3] Nevertheless, the episode gives policy makers, service providers, educators, voluntary workers and neighbours alike renewed cause to consider and engage with the challenges faced by migrants who arrive here with the hope of creating a new 'home away from home'.

This article draws on ethnographic research conducted with a small number of vulnerable migrants, including Roma, to highlight a number of those challenges and reflect on the resources and strategies which might enhance the

integration of both new and more long-established groups of migrants. It aims to build on the work in earlier volumes of *Shared Space* that has previously contributed insider and outsider perspectives on these themes[4], and recognizes that while there have been a number of projects funded by district and city councils aimed at supporting integration, there has been little deep ethnographic work carried out into the experiences of migrants to Northern Ireland. None has yet attempted to capture the way in which families and individuals recreate a sense of 'home', or the way in which traditional roles in families coming from patriarchal or matriarchal societies are agitated by the experiences of survival in diaspora.

Background and methodology

This article is based on a research project funded by the Community Relations Research Awards Programme of 2008. The final report pulled into focus the experiences of members of the Roma, sub-Saharan African and Chinese communities[5] in Northern Ireland to provide an overview in response to our key question **"How are the values of equality and interdependence between those living in diaspora and local communities being advanced?"** Starting with conversations in people's living environments, their houses and hostels, we began to explore how a sense of home in diaspora is established and the ways in which cultural heritage and values are kept alive while negotiating the challenges of integration.

We discussed and observed the importance of family and social networks, of the use of images and iconography and of carefully placed *objets d'art* which evoke places and events from the homeland when they are juxtaposed with valued objects acquired in the new home. We experienced the value placed on being able to eat, drink, dance, listen to music and pray together with a community or clan. We learnt how in some communities, gardening and growing traditional roots, herbs and vegetables from the 'old' home in the new provided a source of immense pride and pleasure for older people. And how children in other communities wanted to be able to demonstrate their worth to the family by proving their abilities as providers of economic and social support. In so doing, we encountered a daunting range of obstacles and problems mitigating against being able to integrate and create an equal sense of home, including a lack of access to certain statutory services, lack of understanding of 'the system', and failure to successfully communicate in everyday and emergency situations.

The research report was produced in the spirit of promoting better intercultural communication and understanding, informing policy development and service provision, and improving day-to-day relationships between migrant and local communities. The findings were presented at the Equality Commission's symposium for Roma Rights Day in 2009.

Immigration: the local context

It is now well rehearsed that data gathered for the 2001 census, which indicates that people from minority ethnic communities represent less than 1% of the total population[6], is now grossly out of date. NISRA's most recent estimates of net international migration indicates an increase in population at over 8,000 in the year between July 2006 and June 2007 and numerous other sources make a note of the recent increase in the numbers of new migrants to Northern Ireland.[7] The bulk of information relating to the backgrounds of migrant communities living in Northern Ireland has an economic focus and is often researched and written to highlight inequalities and to protect migrant workers' rights.[8] A recent review conducted by the Institute for Conflict Research[9] for the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland considers emerging developments and factors in relation to the growing local demographic diversity. Findings highlight that the challenges faced by economic and other migrants to Northern Ireland are not exclusively work-related, but include questions around how to achieve engagement, integration and cohesion among newcomers and local communities.

Over the last ten years, inquiries into equality, racial discrimination and racially-motivated crime have been emerging[10], and the development of the Racial Equality Strategy (2005)[11] reflected not only local government's acknowledgement of the increasing numbers of people from different backgrounds moving to Northern Ireland, but also its resolve to promote and protect the rights of the region's increasingly diverse populations.

Challenges to research with migrant communities in Northern Ireland

All of the available research demonstrates that tracking and quantifying the movements of migrants into Northern Ireland is not a straightforward process.[12] Factors which make gathering this data so complicated include the freedom of movement possible within the European Union, and the numbers of undocumented people, including certain EU migrant workers[13] as well as other non-Europeans who 'melt' into the local population often because of the tightening of immigration and employment controls. There is a risk of

duplicating numbers by comparing data sets in which the same people are being counted, and there is under-recording of those keen to remain under the radar of statutory agencies.

One of the more serious consequences of an unwillingness to be captured in government data and public records is that access and rights to services can be seriously hampered which in turn can impact negatively on health, well-being and opportunities to integrate successfully into a new home-land.

The emotional and psychological stressors associated with living 'on the margins' in this way are explored by Svašek and Skrbiš[14]. They emphasise that migrants' emotional needs, informed by cultural background and personal history, are increased in diaspora and by loss of status and feelings of alienation and marginalisation. Tilbury[15] notes a wide variety of negative emotions experienced by migrants, partly caused by the experience of displacement, including 'frustration, uncertainty, hopelessness, shame and embarrassment, loneliness, disempowerment, shock, anger, loss of control, betrayal'. The work of Baldassar[16] asserts that while communication technology allows for distance support, isolation experienced by many newly arrived migrants is a void that they are unable to fill with new and well-functioning supportive ties while waiting for decisions to be made about their immigrant status.

The research sample: backgrounds and preliminary observations

The choice of the participant communities was based on a number of factors. Firstly, coming from Europe, Asia and Africa, they are illustrative of the great breadth of new national and cultural identity groups currently moving to Northern Ireland.[17] Secondly, they were chosen as case studies of three different levels of 'visible integration', all of whom have a much more limited recourse to public funds and restricted access to the UK labour market than those from the A8 EU member states. The findings presented here are based on a small sample of interviews and focus groups (38 encounters) carried out over a three month period and are presented here as a feasible locus of investigation from which further questions relating to the diverse populations might be prompted to be asked by others.

Access to individuals and families was brokered by community groups and organisations working with refugees and asylum seekers funded by Government including NICRAS, ACSONI, the CWA[18], and through schools. Interviews were also carried out with representatives from those groups, with statutory service providers and with charity workers.

The Chinese community

The Chinese community has, in broad terms, a long history of living and working in Northern Ireland and has over that time established visible and active formal networks of community support and advocacy. The Chinese population in Northern Ireland stood at just over 4,000 in the 2001 census with the majority living in Belfast and other urban centres. Figures produced by the Chinese Welfare Association suggest that there are now closer to 6,000[19] people living here. The community is well serviced by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCC) and organisations including the Chinese Welfare Association in Belfast, Sai-Pak in Derry and Wah Hep in Craigavon. These groups take an active role in the work of the wider non-governmental organisation sector representing the community's needs in terms of policy development and good relations issues on a wide variety of statutory and voluntary forums and networks.

Whereas the more well-established population of Chinese people in Northern Ireland is Cantonese-speaking, increasingly new migrants are Mandarin speakers coming from a small number of provinces in mainland China. This research project corroborated undocumented observations that the more recently-arrived Mandarin speakers are less well integrated than the first wave of migrants who were Cantonese-speaking. They appear to have more limited financial resources than the earlier migrants now have and by choice have limited if any contact with existing community associations. The reasons for their reluctance to engage with established Chinese networks are neither clear cut nor evident to community development workers who are disconnected from the discrete networks and private connections which bring the new Chinese migrants and enable them to remain here.[20]

The Roma community

In contrast to the Chinese, the Roma community has only become a visible presence in Northern Ireland in the last three to four years, most noticeably since 2007 when Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU, and with the gradual access to the labour market that their mandatory self-employed status is able to allow. Their experience is doubly challenged in terms of settling and integrating into local communities by a reluctance to be captured in statutory data. Prevalent low levels of literacy in their mother tongue further complicate their opportunities and willingness to engage in English language acquisition. All of these factors are connected to their status as A2 EU citizens without recourse to public funds.

The sub-Saharan African community

The sub-Saharan African community can be considered to be located somewhere between these two sets of circumstances: there has been significant growth in the numbers and diversity of sub-Saharan Africans coming to Northern Ireland in the last ten years, and the community's support networks are now in the process of gaining confidence and accessing resources. It may seem hugely ambitious if not inappropriate to attempt to pull together the experiences of the hundreds of tribal, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups under one rubric of sub-Saharan African. Indeed it might appear that there is little to link the lives of a Muslim Somalian mother of three with refugee status to that of a successful Nigerian post-graduate male working in the financial sector. However organisations such as ACSONI are attempting find ways to forge Pan-African connections with meaningful links through the exploration of shared experiences in diaspora that can enable common ground to be found by those from sub-Saharan Africa living in Northern Ireland, irrespective of the different circumstances which bring or keep them here. While ACSONI is open to all people irrespective of their African heritage, circumstances determined that our focus in this instance was with Black Africans from sub-Saharan communities, tribes or countries.

Key findings: the problem of 'access'

The ethnographic experiences documented by the research give detailed accounts of individual immigrants' experiences in relation to key moments or themes. Conversations with the participants covered a variety of key points or issues in their lives that had occurred in Northern Ireland including giving birth (and raising a family); death (or bereavement, and the problem of relocating loved one's remains); accessing health services; housing concerns; integrating into the local education system; the intensely stressful experience of seeking asylum; the limbo which undocumented migrants find themselves in; and media representations of foreign people and cultures.

We spent time with young Roma girls whose successful command over the English language acquired in primary school saw them regularly called on to provide translation services for older women in accident and emergency and in maternity wards, but whose opportunities to access a secondary school education would be halted by their families at the onset of puberty. We spent time with destitute and homeless men whose thwarted attempts at self employment resulted in their seeking recourse from the International

Organisation for Migration to repatriate to mainland China. We spent time with women from East Africa being housed with strangers from different linguistic and ethnic groups in shared rooms less than 6'x 10' for up to several months in 'temporary' accommodation with no facilities to lock up their personal effects. We spent time with men who discussed their feelings of frustration and inadequacy as they attempt to raise their families in an environment where they experience overt racism as a daily occurrence. We spent time with committed individuals from both the statutory and voluntary sector whose attempts to address the lack of fit between need, rights and accessibility was foiled and failed by a system mitigating against those who were most vulnerable to exploitation.

The key challenges all our respondents faced as they attempted to make their home in Northern Ireland irrespective of the circumstances in which they found themselves, might be summed up as the problem of gaining access: access to information and communication, access to language, access to services and service delivery, access to education and employment, access to community networks.

Services and service delivery

A key issue for healthcare workers and social services staff with whom we spoke highlighted the lack of guidance and practice policy from regional authorities in terms of the legal status and attendant rights and restrictions of the different people with whom they come into contact. As one interviewee explained,

> "It would be great if there was some sort of inter-agency body to accompany social workers at initial assessments of families to give expert advice and advocacy in areas of health, housing, immigration, education. As a social worker, I have to research each new case I get myself. I use my initiative and I learn a great deal, but I always have a nagging feeling that I am overlooking something, or not recognising a key aspect of the family's situation."

The often ad hoc nature of responses that this resulted in was evident across a wide range of service providers including educators, healthcare and social service providers and voluntary and charitable workers. As one respondent indicated:

"There is no consistency in terms of practice and response to need across the different board and trust areas: whereas some departments would just send a [destitute] family home without asking further questions, others would assist the family as far as possible with their own petty cash system, looking for local solutions to the crises in which the family finds itself. The approach depends largely on the perspective of the individual workers and senior workers in each office. This in turn impacts on trust-building between the services and the families: if a family feels that another family is getting better options or opportunities than they are, they question the efficiency and credibility of the worker who deals with them."

It was repeatedly observed that, in the main, support currently being offered vulnerable migrant families in general (and Roma families in particular) often comes in the form of interim measures reliant on discretionary judgements made by individuals who also have considerable pressure on them to remain within very restrictive budgets. And while there are real tensions for those trying to seek support from within a system which mitigates against people based on their nationality and immigration status, numerous conversations also highlighted that working for those foreign nationals from within an inflexible system tended to 'close down' individual workers' determination and energy.

Translation and Interpretation

The research revealed multiple cases of unsatisfactory or 'patchy' interpretation provision. The diverse languages and dialects spoken by Chinese, sub-Saharan African and Roma migrants highlights the challenge to services in terms of providing rapid and professional translation and interpretation.

Cantonese, Mandarin and Haka speakers have historically had considerable support in accessing adequate interpretation in various circumstances from the Chinese Welfare Association. Currently, however, some new migrants coming from mainland China and arriving without adequate documentation seem unable or unwilling to access this support. There are growing numbers of people, many asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa whose languages are not catered for by local services. There is currently no provision for Roma interpretation and translation, and the lack of literacy in the mother-tongue languages as well as non-existent English language skills brings additional challenges in terms of successful communication, irrespective of dialectical differences. Service providers tend to have to communicate with Roma using Romanian speakers, and this can prove problematic because of both real and

perceived poor relations between Romanians and the Roma. And while the use of children as interpreters for families is understood by statutory service providers including Government Departments, NIHE and PSNI, to be in contravention of all ethical good practice, the reality is that it is sometimes the only option they have when seeking to communicate.

A number of private translation agencies and the statutory Regional Interpreting Service provide translators in myriad languages. However, the research indicated that there can be up to a three day wait for the service in 'normal' circumstances and longer in terms of lesser common dialects. Social Services and health care workers report having had to make alternative arrangements with private companies during emergency call outs. Furthermore the cultural tensions that can exist between individuals with a shared language but different ethnic, cultural and gender backgrounds have been problematic on a number of occasions.

Such tensions and gaps and the insufficient measures taken to address them have the potential to become serious violations of both adults' and children's rights. In the course of this research, this was shown to be the case particularly so for Roma children's access to education, health and in their participation in decision making that concerns them.

A frequent observation and a recommendation from the research was that, in addition to enhancing existing translation and interpretation services, it would be helpful to find ways of developing a pool of bilingual advocates to develop a holistic approach to families whose needs span a range of services.

Education and Employment

The arrival and establishment in local communities of families, as opposed to single migrant workers, of different nationalities, languages and customs represents significant immediate and long-term challenges both for the staff and student-body of individual primary and secondary schools and for education boards in terms of standard policy, communication, provision of places, recognition of foreign qualifications as well as enabling the integration of children into new peer groups.

It has long been recognised that formal educational achievement and access to education is highly valued and sought after by many children from the Chinese, and sub-Saharan African communities living in Northern Ireland. It

would appear that the Roma relationship with formal schooling is more problematic. This may be connected to a culture of nomadism coupled with a value placed on homemaking for girls at puberty and for boys that their status in the family and community is acquired through economic activity and entrepreneurship.

While all three communities have significant numbers who are not English speakers, for the Roma literacy levels in their mother tongue and other languages are considerably lower than the others. And for that community, their oral rather than literary culture is more of a key factor than it is for Africans from oral based traditions in determining how their culture remains a particularly discrete and bounded entity. In the case of the Roma, their traditional emphasis on oral approaches to education and life history can further impact on their willingness and readiness to engage in state education processes. It is also not a generalisation to suggest that the Roma tend to see education in its widest sense as the preserve of the family, while formal schooling is often subordinate to other community and familial processes of education[21]. With this in mind and with much to be drawn on with the experiences of organisations such as An Munia Tober, the Department of Education has announced its intention to extend the remit of its Task Force on Traveller Education to include Roma Gypsies.

Perhaps one of the most frequent frustrations of the migrant status is an inability to access employment commensurate with the skills, training and academic achievements acquired in their home countries. Restrictions to accessing work due to their A2 status impacts significantly on the work patterns and pressures experienced by Roma and can create significant pressures within family life. Good Relations Officers in City and District Councils recognise that, as the Armagh Good Relations Officers commented, "this results in a special kind of isolation where tight community and professional networks become inaccessible from the outside". In addition to the financial hardship so often faced by migrants, these circumstances have ramifications for social exclusion and mental well-being, impacting the individual's appetite to engage with or integrate into local society. This was found to be particularly true in relation to sub-Saharan African migrants in this project, and is evidenced in other recent empirical research.[22]

Racism

Growing community and racial tensions were evident throughout the period of research. Three frequently mentioned circumstances in which these tensions, expressed and felt by local people with regard to the immigrants, appear to come to the fore include:

- when local people feel that priority is being given to immigrants using healthcare services, such as GP services;
- when local people feel that undue or disproportionate attention is being given to accommodating the needs and vulnerabilities of migrant children in their local schools. This is seemingly perceived both as simply 'unfair', and as a threat to the standards of education which their child will receive at that school; and
- the provision of social housing into areas where minority identity (unionist or nationalist communities) are already in an enclave.

Respondents considered that a range of obvious and implicit attitudes of racial intolerance was often exhibited towards them by staff of certain statutory services. Interviews with both service users and service providers revealed that high levels of impatience, frustration with language difficulties and misplaced cultural expectations frequently characterise their encounters. It is worth noting that for those who wish to remain outside the attention of the PSNI for a variety of reasons including immigration, incidents of racism and other criminal offences are currently going unreported and falling under the radar of the agents who monitor these activities.

One not atypical example of this which emerged in the research concerned a sub-Saharan African woman seeking asylum and her young family. She reported that teenagers living in the vicinity of her home had been upsetting her family by beating on their front door late at night and urinating on the door or in drink cans which they would leave on the doorstep. It was only after several months when this had become "too much to bear" that she and her husband reported the matter to the police: until that time, they had been reluctant to speak out because they were afraid that they might be perceived by the authorities as complaining or as trouble-makers which in turn might impact on the decision to approve or reject their application for asylum. This finding corroborates earlier research[23] which highlights the under-reporting of racist incidents and further demonstrates that, in many cases, the PSNI is effectively powerless to prevent such racist attitudes and actions.

**Enabling access: the role of faith-based responses to migrants in isolation
and distress**

During the course of the research we spent time with refugees whose asylum
status was based on religious persecution within their countries of origin. We
spent time in a hostel with one young Eritrean woman who had travelled only
with her bible, some photographs and a change of clothes. She spoke no
English and when we met had not spoken to a woman in her own language for
six months.

Religion and culture are intertwined for many and, for some individuals and
communities, religious affiliation is a highly significant articulation of their
identities impacting greatly on the ways in which they are able to engage with
wider society in terms of diet, dress, daily routines and gendered expectations.
It is at key points during the life cycle, and when people are at their most
vulnerable and isolated, that religious affiliation and identity can be called on
to strengthen and nourish a sense of identity, and to affirm and justify the
individual's roles, actions and ethos in relation to the wider community. The
2007 Interim Statement of the British Commission on Integration and Social
Cohesion (paragraph 56)[24] identifies that 'Faith Communities…have a key role
to play in providing locally delivered, responsive, flexible services that respond
to local need.' In Northern Ireland, faith-based communities are increasingly
involved in brokering relationships between statutory services and members of
minority ethnic communities. Consequently, religious organisations are often
the first port of call for individuals seeking welfare as well as spiritual support
when they do not otherwise have recourse to public funds or access to statutory
services.[25]

In Northern Ireland a number of places of worship have been established to
cater specifically for particular ethnic and faith-based groups. This is more
evident in Belfast than in other areas; for example, the city now hosts a number
of places of worship and community centres for Muslim men and women. Such
availability is less evident outside Belfast, and the failure some years ago to
establish a mosque in Craigavon for the Muslim community is of note. The
Chinese Christian Church in Lorne Street, established in 1975, has a vibrant
congregation of residents and students and maintains relationships with several
different denominations across the region[26]. The Roma community's
Pentecostal congregation meet on a relatively regular basis on Sunday
afternoons to worship in a hall at the City Church, University Street, and the
Antrim Road is host to the Antiochan Church. And in addition to the
mainstream Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical congregations they form part

of, a growing number of sub-Saharan Africans are communing in different venues for prayer and worship gatherings in their home languages. This process offers opportunities for local community halls and venues to develop relationships of various kinds with the migrant groups resident in their vicinity. A good example is the arrangement whereby the Ballynafeigh Community Development Association allows a number of Zimbabweans belonging to an Apostolic Faith congregation to meet regularly on their premises.

In addition to these 'specialist' religious networks, a variety of other Christian and non-Christian groups provide support in both welfare as well as spiritual ways. Ecumenical Groups such as Embrace and the Corrymeela Community play a significant part in the provision of both welfare and spiritual support to some individuals through the formal and non-formal 'church'. And in addition to signposting statutory services, the South Belfast Roundtable on Racism takes an active role in brokering relationships between individuals and communities at risk of social exclusion and offers sources of support from within a wide and ecumenical network of faith and charitable bodies.

The research corroborated earlier findings which highlight that churches and faith-based charities play a crucial role in catering for the needs and extending local hospitality to newcomers to Northern Ireland.[27] This outreach includes practical measures, such as providing food and shelter for destitute migrants, and free English classes for refugees and people seeking asylum, as well as companionship and integration-focused activities, such as befriending for all ages. A number have begun to provide specially designed services such as those set up to provide summer schemes, and the Salvation Army's music lessons for Roma children are valued by families.

Conclusion

> "You need to belong in order to be successful in life. You need to know where you stand."
>
> - Participant, 'Home away from Home' research.

The reality of life for many families aiming to make their 'home away from home' in Northern Ireland is complex. The lack of not just data and information but of knowledge of the cultures of some new migrants can result in a violation of their rights, as well as restrict their opportunities to engage with wider society. This raises societal challenges that require societal responses. It is

perhaps pertinent that the Minister for Social Development, whose remit resulted in a vocal response to the racism faced by the Roma earlier this year, is to hold a series of public meetings throughout Northern Ireland over the next months to seek community responses to how housing segregation can be addressed to reduce racism and sectarianism. We cannot just count those who need houses, we must also take into consideration the wider needs and way of life of neighbours.

Examples of good practice that can inform the development of strategies and more joined-up support networks at both statutory and non-governmental levels do exist and should be drawn upon going forward. The work and experience of NICRAS constitutes one such good example and the development of such organisations which are user-led and have experience in accompanying those most vulnerable should be supported to include the opportunity for them to record, capture and share the unique learning from their services.

Engaging successfully over a period of time with those who do not feel safe when confronted by the bureaucracy of officialdom is necessarily a slow and complicated process. To shine a bright light in their faces and to hasten legalistic responses to their situations can jeopardise the trust beginning to enable the work of voluntary and community organisations, faith-based initiatives and certain statutory bodies reaching out to the more vulnerable groups. As we begin to understand better the complex relationships and concepts which appear to be closely linked to perceptions of trafficking and exploitation from within communities, so too are we better able to find appropriate ways to help support those new migrants who appear to be most vulnerable within Northern Irish society.

Notes

1. 'City centre shops to open on Twelfth', Belfast Telegraph, 8 April 2009.

2.   Fionala Meredith, Irish Times, 14 July 2009.

3. 'Racists told: you won't win battle for the soul of Northern Ireland', Belfast Telegraph, 22 June 2009; 'Leaders unite to condemn racism', Belfast Telegraph, 19 June 2009.

4. See Shared Space Issue 5, March 2008, which includes Delargy, 2008; Odhiambo, 2008. See also: Hamilton & Camplisson, 2007.

5. A note on the use of the term 'community' in this project: the term is used loosely to designate people who identify broadly with and come from Chinese, Roma(nian) and sub-Saharan backgrounds and who live and work in Northern Ireland at this time. The authors acknowledge that in many cases, individuals and families do not feel themselves to be part of the support network that the term 'community' implies – many are isolated, many speak different dialects or indeed different languages, and others come from vastly different regions with different cultural and other norms.

6. NISRA, 2002.

7. ICR, 2008; Fegan & Marshall, 2008; Radford, Betts & Ostermeyer, 2006; Jarman, 2005; OFMDFM, 2005.

8. Bell, Jarman & Lefebvre, 2004; Concordia Partnership (nd), Jarman, 2005, OFMDFM, 2005, Fegan and Marshall, 2008.

9.   ICR, 2008.

10. See Jarman &Monaghan, 2004; Connolly & Keenan, 2001, 2000.

11. OFMDFM, 2005.

12. Fegan & Marshall, 2008.

13. See Jarman, 2005; Bell, Jarman & Lefebvre, 2004.

14. Svašek & Skrbiš, 2007.

15. Tilbury, 2007: 451.

16. Baldassar , 2007.

17. ICR, 2008.

18. NICRAS is the Northern Ireland Council for Refugees and Asylum Seekers; ACSONI is the Afro-Community Support Organisation for Northern Ireland; and the CWA is the Chinese Welfare Association.

19. See www.cwa-ni.org.

20. The CWA has recently begun to work with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which seeks to support those individuals whose time in Northern Ireland has come to an end and who are seeking repatriation. As this relationship develops, a more nuanced understanding of the tensions the new Chinese migrants have faced in coming to and remaining in Northern Ireland may come to light.

21. Lesovitch, 2005; see also European Commission, 2004.

22. NicCraith, Odhiambo & Moyo, 2008.

23. See Radford, Betts & Ostermeyer, 2006 and Connolly & Keenan, 2000.

24. Sourced at http://www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk/~/ accessed 05 October 2008.

25. Radford, 2007.

26. For more, see the Belfast Chinese Christian Church website, http://www.bccc.co.uk.

27. See Delargy, 2008.

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