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Whiteness, Blackness and Settlement: Leisure and the Integration of New Migrants

Abstract

At times of economic uncertainty the position of new migrants is subject to ever closer scrutiny. While the main focus of attention tends to be on the world of employment the research on which this paper is based started from the proposition that leisure and sport spaces can support processes of social inclusion yet may also serve to exclude certain groups. As such, these spaces may be seen as contested and racialised places that shape behaviour. The paper draws on interviews with White migrants from Poland and Black migrants from Africa to examine the normalising of whiteness. We use this paper not just to explore how leisure and sport spaces are encoded by new migrants, but how struggles over those spaces and the use of social and cultural capital are racialised.

Keywords: integration / leisure / migrants / othering / spaces / whiteness

Introduction

In the United Kingdom (UK) immigrants have been repeatedly challenged either to leave or fit in as growing challenges to multiculturalism have reaffirmed expectations that new migrants should adopt the norms of White Britain¹. The threat that immigrants are perceived as representing is both economic (removing ‘British jobs’ from ‘British workers’ and undermining rates of pay) and socio-cultural (making inadequate attempts to adopt ‘British ways’ and diluting ‘British culture’) (Behr, 2013). The policy response to new patterns of migration over the past decade has been framed in terms of the problems associated with segregation (critiqued by Finney and Simpson 2009), with ethnic groups living parallel lives (Cantle 2001) and a consequent need to promote community cohesion. This normative discourse belies the lived experience of plurality, becoming and belonging, and in a special issue of this journal on the interactions between integration and transnationalism, two case studies show the complexity of migrant lives and identities. While Binasisa (2013) argues that identities and experiences of Ugandan migrants in the UK are a product of a complex interaction of intersectionality and post-colonialism, Hammond (2013) shows how Somali transnational engagement is of benefit to the construction of community and identity in the UK.

In this paper, we explore the social processes involved in everyday leisure lives and the ways in which they may facilitate or frustrate efforts to negotiate the transitions of migration. New migrants are faced with the dilemma of whether they should demonstrate their Britishness, retain a distinct heritage or forge some hybrid identity. We examine ways in which people construct meanings of leisure spaces in response to the behaviours and constructions of others they encounter. Far from representing the trivial aspects of life, leisure is fundamental to the practice of identity and belonging: as Rojek (2000: 37) argues, ‘our participation in leisure activity is a way of demonstrating to others who we are and what we believe in’. Our particular interest is in how leisure and sport spaces facilitate processes of integration and inclusion. Leisure is arguably a space and activity that creates strong ties of bonding capital (Nichols, Tacon and Muir 2013) and it is certainly plausible that leisure can also provide the kind of weak ties (Granovetter 1973) that build the bridging capital (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Putnam, 2000) necessary for integration (see also van Ingen and van Eijk 2009). We

therefore examine the ability of migrants to generate more cultural and social capital through leisure activities.

Though leisure as a concept is open to interpretation, Chick (1998: 116) argues for a threefold typology: leisure as free or unobligated time; as activity apart from obligations; or an experience, state of mind, subjectively defined. Though the terms 'sport' and 'leisure' are often used interchangeably, sport and recreation are theoretically viewed as a subsection of the broader organisation of leisure. In this context the potential of leisure and sport to promote a positive social agenda has been recognised in policy circles. For example, the Institute for Community Cohesion (2007: 3) observed the:

“...hugely significant role that sport can play to promote community cohesion, whilst also taking forward the Government's other key targets in terms of increasing participation and performance in sport and improving health and well-being. Sport can change people's lives in so many ways, but it can also change the perspective of whole communities and develop their sense of belonging.”

In other words, these processes can operate not just to the benefit of the individual, but to the benefit of the community too (Hylton and Totten 2013). However, this kind of instrumental use of leisure sits uncomfortably with Chick's conceptualisation above of leisure characterised by freedom and autonomy. Spracklen (2009, 2011) shows that leisure has meaning and purpose for individuals and society only where it retains some vestiges of Habermasian communicative rationality: leisure makes sense only where activities are enjoyed for their own sake, and are not part of some constraining instrumentality. Trying to use leisure activities and spaces for some other purpose, however morally good, may well be counter-productive and lead, in this instance, to more exclusion and alienation. Moreover, some leisure researchers argue that we need to be cautious about promoting the use of people's free time to address deep-seated inequalities and issues of inclusion or integration (Vermeulen and Verweel 2009). Worse, we know that sporting spaces in particular may be sites of racism, sexism and other forms of exclusionary modes of behaviour (Sugden and Tomlinson 2002; Jarvie 2006). We need to question the naïve construction of sport as an unproblematic force for good (Long and Spracklen 2011).

We position our current research at the intersection of a number of lacunae in UK research. For example, insofar as UK research in leisure has addressed minority ethnic groups it has tended to focus on Asian and African-Caribbean residents (Long et al. 2009) and the majority of studies have been of sport rather than leisure more generally. Where there has been research on the role of sport and leisure in integration in the UK it has focused on refugees rather than migrants; and more general research on new migrants is heavily dominated by the economic. In terms of the role of public space, government recognition is primarily in terms of regeneration rather than social cohesion (Rutter et al. 2007). Whereas policies for integration direct attention to structural-functional approaches, we are concerned with the elusiveness of the informality of everyday life that is so difficult for policy to address.

In this paper we show how capital formulation is constrained by differential processes of racialization through the relational construct 'whiteness'. We see whiteness as a social process that operates in such a way that being black is enough to be the 'other', but being white is not necessarily enough to prevent being the 'other' (Hage 1998; Datta 2009). We then consider the implications for the political project of integration and argue that to understand the part leisure might play in facilitating integration we need to appreciate the

different forms of capital at the disposal of migrants and how these may be affected by the processes of whiteness. This is achieved by assessing the experiences of a sample of ‘white’ and ‘black’ migrants (see below).

In examining processes of othering and normalisation of whiteness (Long and Hylton 2002; Watson and Scraton 2001), we are interested not just in how leisure and sport spaces may promote or frustrate integration and inclusion, but how that might vary depending upon whether migrants are racialised as white or black (for different claims about the success or otherwise of leisure and sport in this social project, see Burnett 2006; Lee and Funk 2011; Stodolska and Yi 2003; Theeboom, Schaillee and Nols 2012). Crucial to this is the extent to which white migrants have the privileges of whiteness extended to them or are still differently Othered or discriminated against as migrants (Fox, Morosanu and Szilassy 2012). We argue that in order to understand the processes of integration we need a framework that addresses the intersections of social and cultural capital (their possession, development, denial and use) with blackness, whiteness and the racialisation of public spaces (in our case, in people’s leisure lives).

On cultural and social capital

In Bourdieu’s conception a social field comprises different forms of capital: economic, social, cultural, symbolic. Table 1 suggests how these different forms of capital are evidenced (column 3) and the different policy areas they are most commonly aligned with (column 2). The different forms are not independent. In the current context this is not just a tale of individuals, but of individuals bearing the brand of the incomer and therefore assuming some of the characteristics wished upon all immigrants. Writing about neighbourhoods Bourdieu (1999: 129) observes that:

...the stigmatised area symbolically degrades its inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it. Since they don’t have all the cards necessary to participate in the various social games, the only thing they share is their common excommunication.

The same processes Bourdieu associates with the neighbourhood can readily be seen to apply to cultural labelling, like ‘immigrant’. This is not to deny that they may be treated extremely warmly by some people they encounter, but as new migrants they cannot entirely escape their collective identity.

<<Table 1 about here>>

Briefly, cultural capital is derived from understanding the codes and conventions of cultural forms and being able to demonstrate competence in using them. This is shaped by the social/economic/cultural position of an individual, extended in Bourdieu’s terms to their habitus. Thus, we might expect that after migration a person’s cultural capital is likely, though not necessarily, to be compromised (with the possible exception of some creative artists who are able to capitalise on a sense of the exotic). The significance of cultural capital is explained by Bourdieu (1984: 310):

The new logic of the economy rejects the ascetic ethic of production and accumulation, based on abstinence, sobriety, saving and calculation, in favour of a hedonistic morality of consumption, based on credit, spending and enjoyment. This economy demands a social world which judges people by their capacity for

consumption, their 'standard of living', their life-style, as much as their capacity for production.

This capacity for the consumption of leisure forms is severely curtailed by migration according to Kofman *et al.* (2009), whose observation of a clustering of migrants in lower paid sectors is significantly different from more established communities in the UK. As they observe, 'many migrants, although working in low-wage and low-status occupations, are in fact well-educated and/or experienced' (Kofman *et al.* 2009: 76). Job opportunities are often at odds with new migrants' education or experience. Lack of recognition of their educational capital and experience affects their ability to work to convert their efforts into economic capital. These related impacts are likely to affect leisure consumption for example through costs, available free time, or through status.

While it may be open to some to derive cultural capital from the assertion of difference, this privilege is rarely extended to immigrants who are expected to reproduce established community norms and 'fit in'. The extent to which migrants are able to use their cultural capital to reproduce community norms is situated and context specific, as is their ability to develop new capital. Erel (2010: 643) resists seeing cultural capital as something new migrants arrive with that either facilitates or hinders their ability to adjust or succeed in new places. That 'rucksack' approach denies the potential for new migrants to use new opportunities, for example in their leisure time, to develop strategic or 'migration-specific' cultural or social capital as they respond to their new habitus.

The policy appeal of Putnam's (2000) conception of social capital lies in the proposition that connections between people serve to generate trust and establish shared values, leading to greater productivity. However, in their consideration of the social networks and social capital used by recent Polish migrants to London, Ryan *et al.* (2008) argued that Bourdieu (1986) is best placed to make sense of the opportunities and constraints offered to individuals by social and cultural capital. Bourdieu sees social and cultural capital in terms of positioning, operating like other forms of capital to be used by those who possess it to gain advantage over others. Hence, Galasińska (2010) shows the importance of leisure – as a contested form of social and cultural capital – for 'new' Polish migrants seeking identity and belonging using the networks and spaces of 'old' Polish migrants' social clubs. Datta (2008) reflects these tensions by emphasising the diversity within and across migrant groups and therefore the multiply inflected opportunities for liberation and constraint through leisure. As integration, 'otherness' and exclusion are negotiated, leisure presents moments for a range of interactions, consciously or otherwise, for networks to bridge social distances between new migrants and significant others.

Following Putnam's differentiation of social capital we might observe that migrants are typically berated for relying on bonding capital and not building bridging capital into more established communities. However, as Blackshaw and Long (2005: 245) observe:

The 'like us/unlike us' presumption that lies at the heart of the distinction between bonding and bridging is hard to appreciate given the multi-dimensionality of any individual (sex, age, class, occupation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, political belief, abilities, interests).

Moreover, Nichols, Tacon and Muir (2013) have suggested that in considering the matter of 'people like me' their interviewees made use of psychological rather than demographic

factors. Nonetheless, in the eyes of those pursuing an integrationist agenda the key considerations of interest relate to 'race', ethnicity and nationality. Do new migrants mix with the established (white) British population?

Putnam's focus on community associations and voluntary groups may be inappropriate for a study of new migrants who, as outsiders, may be viewed by such groups with mistrust and consequently denied access² (Ryan et al. 2008). Seeing this in a rather different light Putnam (2007) suggested that diversity leads people to retreat from collective life rather than integrate with other less familiar groups. We want to put this at the heart of our analysis. While retaining some of the elements of Putnam's approach, like Ryan et al. we adopt here a perspective more aligned with Bourdieu on two grounds. First, in our assessment it better captures the ways in which leisure is constrained by one's habitus and access to the most sought after and therefore efficacious cultural capital. Second, our reading of other researchers (e.g. Oliver and O'Reilly 2010) suggests that as we develop the project in the future this will offer us more scope to consider the way forms of capital are differentiated and mobilised in migrant groups (Erel 2010: 650) across class, ethnicity, gender, age and culture.

Because these capitals are the product of social relations within a system of exchange, those in positions of power can dictate what is authentic (hence it varies between fields). And in our case those in a position of power are deemed to be White and British, asserting the cultural norms of whiteness. Part of the capital that people attract is attributable to racialisation. The 'assumption' of whiteness, as Garner (2006) suggests, is one of the ways in which privilege and access to power is assumed and that, we argue, is associated with the formation of cultural capital.

Whiteness throughout this paper is used to represent a particular power relation that privileges (and normalises) the culture and position of white people (Daynes and Lee, 2008; Dyer 1997; Gilroy 2000; Long and Hylton 2002). Whiteness of course is not homogeneous. We agree with Satzewich (2000: 276) that:

'Whiteness is not regarded as a monolithic, permanent, and enduring racial category and identity, but rather as a category and identity that is historically, geographically, and socially contingent and made up of various gradations and meanings'.

A white body is a privilege, but to be granted full membership there are other ethnic, cultural and nationalistic practices which must be performed (Satzewich 2000). So there are centres and peripheries of whiteness, and in the UK Polishness, which we explore in this study, like several other white identities, is only peripherally white (Dyer 2003). The whiteness of white people can never be essentialised, partly because in scientific terms there is no such thing as a white or black race (Daynes and Lee 2008). In this study the lived reality of 'race' presents a different set of pressures, though even within these constructed groups heterogeneity must be acknowledged. However, blackness and whiteness, the agency of choosing to identify with one or the other, and the instrumentality of defining people as one or the other, are part of what Daynes and Lee (2008) call the 'racial ensemble', tools used in boundary work, the formation of cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) through communicative agency and instrumentalised consumption. Where whiteness differs from blackness is in its link to the dominant side in historical asymmetries of power and the useful instrumentality of universalising white cultural norms. Blackness in leisure is inevitably Othered as exotic, and the whiteness of everyday leisure forms is made invisible (Hylton 2009; Long and Hylton 2002; Long and Spracklen 2011).

The project

All participants in this project are now resident in Leeds, a city with a history of different forms of migration. (Kudenko and Phillips 2009; Stilwell and Phillips 2006). In line with the discussion of whiteness above, our research design required one sample of white migrants to explore how whiteness imbricated their leisure lives. For that purpose, Polish migrants were chosen as the largest such group in the city and were compared with another sample of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa who might be othered by their blackness. They were recruited via specialist ethnic food and household shops, encounters on the street, a community centre and referrals from other contacts. Experienced researchers interviewed 14 new migrants from Poland (6 females, 8 males) and 8 from sub-Saharan Africa (3 females, 5 males).

Influenced by Brubaker's (2004: 8) argument that we need to be more critical of the idea of 'groups' somehow reflecting 'substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed' we became more concerned with other factors that enabled the study to identify these groups in the vernacular, e.g. policy and media discourses. Hence when one of the African migrants suffered racist abuse in his drumming group it was being African or black rather than being Cameroonian that was salient. As a result, the constructed national boundaries that belie the diversity of their nationals were not viewed as a constraint to the study. It was clear that in our initial assessment the Polish participants were arriving with only their 'Polishness' and whiteness in common while the African migrants (from Cameroon, Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana and Zimbabwe) had their blackness and on the face of it little else in common. However, the whole sample had the experience of migration, settlement, racialisation, and leisure as common denominators. .

Trying to avoid the strictures of quantitative, survey-based approaches we used a combination of one-to-one interviews; mental maps; and photo-elicitation. Together they offer the prospect of a more migrant-centred process and the use of mixed methods eased language difficulties, allowing participants alternative forms of expression.

The intention was that both mental maps and photographs should represent those places participants went to outside the home and work. Clearly the home is an important leisure space, but we were interested in those spaces where people are subject to the gaze of others and able to intermingle with different ethnicities (there was, of course, some overlap as 'outside their home' could include being inside the homes of friends and relatives). Moreover, that formulation obviated the need to clarify conceptual confusion about what constituted leisure. Rather than trying to analyse the maps and photographs in their own right they were used to facilitate the interviews that are the basis of this paper.

Leisure life worlds

As this was not a survey we cannot state that our account is representative of what Polish and African migrants do and experience in their leisure life worlds, though we can point to some distinguishing features in our sample (Table 2). The presence of the Polish migrants in public leisure spaces (Long et al. 2011) seems more defined (e.g. pubs, countryside). Yet in these predominantly white spaces their 'invisibility' is perhaps what makes them less apprehensive than the Africans to enter them; this physiognomic factor appeared to have an impact on

leisure consumption across the two sets of migrants. As a result, we are concerned to explore how individuals make the links between their position as new migrants and their experiences in leisure spaces. To that we add our interpretation of the shifting forms of capital involved.

<<Table 2 about here>>

The choice of Polish (national group) and African (multinational/Continent) was a deliberate effort to include discernible participants with a similar set of constructed boundary markers. By this it is recognised that the migration histories of the two sub-samples were rather different. Crucially, the Polish migrants have a right to residence and are purposive in their migration having chosen to come to the UK variously to work, to travel, to visit, to make money, to stay permanently. They have not 'fled' extreme poverty or political oppression; for them it is a lifestyle choice within a broader, shared European public sphere fixed by modernity. They are transnationals/cosmopolitans comfortable with Poland, with the UK and with the transitions back and forth – cheap, more accessible transport and free movement within the EU helps them retain links (Datta 2009; Hage 1998). Regarding this, one of the Polish migrants remarked:

Aga: "I'm every three or four months [to Poland]. Usually Christmas, last time I went in May for my best friend's wedding. I combined this with a holiday in Poland with my parents and family. My parents are coming now for my graduation. I have to say that with my parents I speak twice, three times a day. On the internet as well."

Coming from Africa, circumstances surrounding the migration and settlement of our other group are less straightforward. They arrived as refugees, students, through family reunion, and some were formerly here illegally. In any case they had less control than the migrants from Poland and their decision to travel and stay is less easily reversed: student visas do not carry the right to stay and work at the completion of studies; those who are asylum seekers are 'placed' in Leeds as they are dispersed in this country, unlikely to be able to return 'home' even for a holiday (those who are allowed to may be unable to afford it). Datta's (2009) observation of the consequences of the differential status of immigrants for their chances for 'openness and conviviality' supports the view that many of the social opportunities for African migrants in their initial years in the UK may have been prejudiced by these experiences. These kinds of complexity are illustrated by Lansana who has just arranged a visa for his son (20) in Cameroon to join his mother in the United States. Lansana had to have a paternity test to persuade the Home Office to award his son a visa for the UK. Now with right to remain in the UK, Lansana is free to apply to visit the US to see his family but is worried his original illegal entry to the UK may prevent entry to the US for him

The leisure literature suggests that greater leisure activity increases social connections (e.g. Blackshaw and Long 1998). Certainly Hage (1998) argues that leisure pursuits can be a catalyst for the development of language, accumulation of cultural practices and proximity to dominant groups to speed up the ability to fit in. However, for our respondents it seemed that the reverse relationship was more important in that the more connections they had the more leisure opportunities became available to them. At the same time, leisure spaces are apparently obvious places for integration and Lansana, for example, quite specifically identified the potential for the instrumental use of music through his drumming group to secure these connections with more established communities. Lansana's view contradicts others who argue that while the physical spaces may be shared often the social spaces are separate (cf. Peters' (2010) study of migrants' use of parks in the Netherlands). To reinforce

this, Freddie stated that while running or doing physical exercise in the park he does not interact with other people. He just concentrates on his own activities. Similarly, while attending the library, Morgan does not feel encouraged to interact with other people in the few chances that a library might manifest such opportunities. Like Putnam's bowling alleys there may be a lot of people there, but without necessarily interacting, never mind integrating. Nonetheless they can allow a feeling of inclusion through being places where new migrants can do the same activities as British residents, and alongside them; they participate in the leisure activities British society has to offer.

Even though the African migrants were not recruited through churches their most common leisure activities are associated with them. This helps to demonstrate the operational problems in utilising Putnam's distinction between bonding and bridging capital. That they might be bridging to people of other classes, genders and nationalities counts for nought in the political debate about integration between migrants and normalised white British society. The churches frequented are typically dominated by African migrants and Mercy recognises that church services in Ndebele and Tshona probably keep others (including many Africans) away. Churches, however, represent belonging and security as well as faith. Freddie observes that exclusion occurs simply through people keeping to their own groups, suggesting it is a matter of choice, but then notes that he does this when he does not 'feel welcome'. For Freddie, the very going to a place where he feels welcome as a reaction to rejecting places where he does not, is a further example of the tensions of leisure as it both liberates and constrains.

For both groups visiting family and friends was important, which might be represented as a retreat from encounters with established communities, but such arguments are rarely heard when talking about the leisure practices of White British people, either in the UK or as migrants abroad. Encounters with family and friends require a less sustained performance; there is a shared history through which reciprocal judgements have long been made and so the exchanges need less effort and fewer cultural resources.

Most of the migrants compare their current leisure lives unfavourably with their experiences before migration. Of course there are multiple reasons for this, not just a lack of social and cultural capital or un/conscious exclusion. First, new migrants typically lack money (clearly there are wealthy migrants, but they were not in our sample), because they have no or poorly paid employment and particularly in the case of African migrants because those in this group were expected to remit money 'home'. Consequently they lack time for leisure because they are spending it trying to earn more money. Kwame's example illustrates this,

I can say my leisure time in Ghana was more enjoyable to me than here in UK. Because at home even though I was working...I was working as a surveyor in the highways authority...so I worked but at the end of the day you have all the time to meet family, see friends, and you're under no pressure. I never saw or knew anybody working on the weekends except the medical doctors and nurse. But here am working on weekends including Sundays."

In sporting terms they complain of being older and no longer as fit as before (for example, injury for Freddie and Mercy had limited their sporting involvement). In addition, many who were previously 'free and single' now have partners and children that limit previous leisure choices and time. For example, Tomasz no longer goes clubbing and Freddie was forced to stop playing a sport due to the pressure of supporting his wife and children.

“Previously I used to be a member of YMCA table tennis club Division II; but unfortunately because of family pressure...you know wife and children, I could not cope because there was no help for us. We had to help ourselves. So I couldn't continue to play table tennis the way I wanted to”

That progression through the family life course has major implications for leisure practices irrespective of migration status. However, there were differences between the two groups. We found that the Polish group's closer proximity meant that family might visit the UK in times of stress and the familiarity many in their networks have with the UK provides a ready source of support and information. So although for them migration results in some fragmenting of family, and therefore loss of support, as we have already seen with Lansana, the different migration histories mean that some of the African migrants have experienced a fragmentation of their immediate, not just extended, family.

Bank of Capital

Everyone possesses social and cultural capital, but it may not be readily transferable between fields. The experience of respondents demonstrated how many of the everyday requirements of life which came naturally before migration because they were underpinned by years of accumulated capital became more complicated in the UK as a consequence of language difficulties, no longer recognised skills and qualifications, lack of knowledge of procedures and practices, disrupted social networks, fewer shared experiences, and the resentment of some British people. Among our respondents, the migrants from Poland came with cultural capital acquired through planning and preparation; they had links with existing migrants, access to information and friends returning to Poland from the UK (cf. Galasińska 2010). They also had access to money, but were constrained by language limitations that cause their whiteness to be recalibrated in established social networks so that they become repositioned as new migrants once the nature of their cultural capital is established. Conversely, the migrants from Africa had originally been part of the educated middle class, but their cultural as well as social capital (qualifications, cuisine, laws and procedures, rules of socialisation...) was diminished by migration. Typically they knew no one in the city when they arrived, but could communicate well through good spoken English.

Learning English and learning about the English

One of the challenges for migrants is to replenish that stock of capital, but as with economic capital, it is harder for them to acquire social and cultural capital than it is for those already possessing a plentiful supply. To address this many are involved in some form of education, whether studying for UK qualifications or, among the Polish migrants, improving their English language skills which Bourdieu (1984) would argue reduces further opportunities for leisure consumption. Knowledge is also gained through leisure time exploration. Socialising with British people is not just about extending social capital; it is necessary to increase cultural capital bestowed by language. In both sub samples there are some who visit friends and relatives in other cities. Beyond that though, those from Poland (generally younger than the Africans, more adaptive and more open to change) were less fixed in their lifestyles and more open to exploring/travelling (even locally): e.g., Piotr going out with his fixed gear cycling group, Rafa visiting heritage sites with his family or Liz and Kassia going to beauty spots.

Liz: Most of the time I like spending with friends: meeting with friends, going to the cinema, going to the countryside, sometimes gardening or just sit in the garden doing nothing... If we going, travelling somewhere with a few friends, a few cars, like last time we been in the Peak District.

Clearly economics constrains exploration. Certainly none of our respondents would be described as wealthy, but this was more evident for African migrants for whom poorly paid jobs and the expectation of remitting means longer working hours. Only Lansana visits the countryside (apart from Mercy sometimes going to restaurants outside Leeds) and that was part of his volunteering at the Refugee Education Training Advice Service. Some are so busy acquiring economic and cultural capital it is to the detriment of their social capital and other forms of cultural capital; to bank one form they often forego another.

The symbolic capital of whiteness

Although not so adept in their language skills the migrants from Poland enjoy the symbolic capital of whiteness (albeit peripheral, compromised by being immigrants). Their whiteness and their European appearance allows them to walk through and inhabit majority white British spaces (such as pubs and public streets) without being visible as a 'foreign' Other (which the African migrants suffer along with Black British ethnic groups). Hence in such spaces, perceptions of inclusion for the Polish migrants seemed qualitatively different from the African migrants. Amongst other things this makes it easier for them to intermingle and 'act' British outside the home. In the way that Datta's (2009: 362) Polish workers in London used their leisure time to pursue an 'English way of life' Rafal noted:

I say to my wife that we are in England and we need to try be like English...we can't be shouting out in the shop or the bus because people will not understand they will be confused if we shout out in Polish...we keep the Polish tradition at home. We try to look like an English...not a Polish people...*just normal* like the people who are living here...the locals.

Here Rafal is also implicitly referencing how his whiteness enables his family to integrate in a way that African migrants cannot, though his Polish accent makes him more apprehensive about being 'othered' and possibly derailing his attempt 'to be like [the] English' (Hage 1998). Similarly, Aga was able to stay with a family in Grimsby for a while and 'fit in' with little effort: "I was surrounded just by English people, no foreigners, no Polish (even though in Grimsby there are a lot). I was going shopping with them, Christmas, weddings, family... I felt like part of a family and part of Grimsby".

But still with some examples of racialised othering the question of the extent to which they are then afforded the benefits of whiteness is unresolved. Being and becoming white [British] is a work in progress for these migrants from Poland and is an emotionally draining activity (Harris 1993: 1711). However, in comparison, the African migrants are more obviously marked (cf. Binaiisa 2013). Certainly the extent of activity in public leisure spaces for African migrants was more limited than among the migrants from Poland. As Akos, from Ghana, said: "You have to be careful about what you do... How to do it so you don't get into trouble... Some people just stay at home".

Encountering racism

For all their whiteness we were initially surprised by protestations from our first few respondents from Poland that they had encountered no racism in their leisure lives until three of the last four interviewees reported what they understood to be racialised incidents. And of course there were some migrants from Africa who reported no racism, yet among most of the others there was a certain knowingness born of bitter experience. While there were places of residence or tourist destinations they had been only too pleased to leave behind, for the most part, with regard to discrimination, their experiences had been of low level racism rather than learning that particular leisure spaces were off-limits.

Overall the white migrants from Poland were less likely to report experiences of racism than migrants from Africa. The narratives of those Polish migrants who had experienced racism were able to place it elsewhere: a neighbourhood they had been determined to move from or somewhere they had visited away from home – place defined. The narratives of the African migrants were not only more likely to include racial incidents, they were also more likely to recur. Some were overt (like the abuse of the drumming group performing on the street in the city centre); more were less easy to pin down and attempts to articulate the complexity of what was going on were confused, sometimes apparently contradictory. Some of the seemingly ‘small’, more ambiguous incidents recounted – described by Sue et al. (2008; 2009) as micro-aggressions – suggest that it is recurrent low level prejudice that they encounter in the form of everyday hidden racism.

Akos: “There is too much racism in this country...they do it in a very sly way that if you’re not clever you’ll never know that you’re being discriminated against. I take that into account but I don’t mind it”.

Despite protesting that she does not mind it she later concluded, “So racism in this country is very petty, petty...but very annoying and humiliating”. Similarly,

Freddie: “It’s very discouraging when you walk into a place and, you know, people are not whole-heartedly smiling. They just smile with their lips but inside you don’t know. Then from that point you then start to think, and you start to segregate yourself...if you’re not fully determined you can start to do what I call voluntary segregation and start to look for where your own people are. It’s a big issue.”

And yet later he said

“You see, I was born and bred in Nigeria...for issues like racism and other things my perspective is quite different from those who were born here because they have lived all their lives here; whereas I have two societies to compare...so I can balance things. If someone does something to me I do not see it from a racial perspective, I see it from a human relations perspective”

This is not to argue that Freddie and other new migrants are not affected by racism but rather that some may interpret social relations in the UK with what could be described as a naive pragmatism that other more established black residents might read more cynically. Trying to evaluate the extent and consequences of racism, Kwame concluded, “Those people [who are aggressively racist] aren’t many, but they are destructive”. This highlights how performances and understandings of racism are complex, situated, culturally specific and may even appear contradictory as migrants grapple with articulating them.

Conclusions

Migrants experience multiple transitions; not only have they changed their country, but their legal status, employment and income, and this is added to the transitions in life stage that transcend place of residence. The complexities of migration are added to the complexities of life so it is not possible to attribute cause to individual factors whether they be related to inclusion or exclusion. In this kaleidoscope, leisure offers chances of increasing various forms of capital, but is also a field in which capital is denied. Findings like those reported here are helping to shape further investigation.

The African migrants in particular in this study felt that British reserve creates distance, a distance that can be hard to reach across:

Lansana: “Everybody wants peace...everybody wants togetherness in the community but it is really hard work...people are totally different. You might need to understand other people’s cultures...it is really hard work.”

That ‘reserve’ caused people to feel left out even if there was no antagonism. It may not be ‘reserve’, simply that with established networks white British ‘hosts’ feel less imperative to increase their social capital by connecting with others, migrants or not. In those circumstances what is perceived as reserve may be ambivalence. We suggest that African migrants are expected to ‘do’ whiteness, constantly trying to fit in while at the same time ‘waiting for the call’ to remind them of their differently racialised status (Ladson-Billings and Donnor 2008: 282), having to do the extra work of bridging. Nonetheless because bridging is ‘really hard work’ it is not surprising that migrants often seek relaxation among people with whom they share more of their cultural capital and who can provide support. The prize for doing so is to be accused of refusing to integrate. That criticism may even come from fellow migrants; certainly some of the well-educated, middle class Polish migrants who saw themselves as cosmopolitans were critical of others who sought perceived safety in the company of other Polish people. Yet Datta’s (2009) observation of new migrants’ association with others, including those with similar biographies, suggests that even these leisure choices might be the result of coerced survival strategies. Leisure as constraining in this case is manifest through instrumental self-preservation exercises of sharing cultural wealth in time free from work with those more likely to empathise more effectively.

Cooks and Simpson (2007: 6) note the different processes associated with being born and becoming white; Polish migrants have to work harder at the performativity of whiteness than do white British people – our research participants may be white, but are not yet ‘white’ in British society. It should be noted that, irrespective of class, these migrants from Poland retain much of their social capital in Poland, and are able to make it work for them. In contrast, the social capital those from Africa had accumulated in the country they originally came from was in large part lost to them because of the separation they experienced (cf. the Ugandans interviewed in Binaisa 2013). Yet, perhaps because of the age difference, they seemed to be finding it harder than those from Poland to replicate such links through leisure in the UK.

Cultural capital is associated with culturally valued taste (literally in the case of Polish or African barbecues) and consumption patterns, and varies between fields (which makes transferable capital associated with the Church an important part of migrants’ leisure lives).

Because the cultural and social capital they had accumulated prior to migration is less easily deployed in the UK, migrants find it difficult to accumulate economic capital. As a consequence, leisure is constrained further by lack of disposable time, lack of finance, lack of transport (all much more evident among those we interviewed from Africa) and limited social connections. Economic and cultural capital are important for developing social capital, but pursuit of their acquisition (e.g. the finance, time and effort spent studying for qualifications) may be to the detriment of social capital and other forms of cultural capital. Further, the approach to acquiring capital may be highly specific. For example Akos observed: “I don’t make friends”. She may be building her cultural capital through her PhD, but is not investing in building her social capital which has damaging consequences for other forms of cultural capital.

In some respects capital might be increased by personal effort, e.g. by learning English or leisure time associations with large numbers of longstanding British residents. Other elements can only accumulate if sanctioned by others; friendships may be denied and the value of non-British cultural knowledge rejected. As Noble (2013) states, migrants embody notions of orientation and disorientation and have to re-orientate themselves in their new communities as they accommodate old and new circumstances in their social fields. Alongside Putnam’s suggestion that social capital may compensate for lack of economic capital this invites future consideration of how different forms of capital might be traded. Are migrants able to exploit existing, or develop new, cultural capital and how does leisure facilitate this? Can that capital be translated into other forms of capital? Can it be transferred to other fields? Do the different forms of capital speak more directly to different social processes? In some respects capital might be increased by personal effort, e.g. by learning English and by associating with large numbers of longstanding British residents. Other elements can only accumulate if sanctioned by others; potential friendships may be denied and the value of non-British cultural knowledge rejected.

Given the superdiversity of the migrant population now in the UK (Vertovec 2006), the bridging capital migrants develop may be to other migrants, which does nothing to promote the integration so desired by the government and the Equality and Human Rights Commission. Nonetheless, our respondents from both Poland and Africa demonstrated how leisure spaces offer opportunities for acquiring social and cultural capital. We suggest that it might be useful to distinguish between integration and inclusion. Even when their leisure lives do not necessarily involve integration through intense connections between new migrants and established residents, they can facilitate inclusion as the new migrants establish a satisfying lifestyle and persuade themselves that this is a society they can participate in and appreciate, at ease in their new surroundings (Hammond 2013). In this paper we have recognised the diversity and complexity of new migrant groups and demonstrated the significance of intersectional constructions of leisure as new migrants address the challenge of performing whiteness in different ways. In line with Anthias (2012) and Binaisa (2013) the intersections with age, class and gender are to be examined in more detail in the next stage of this project.

Early in this paper we quoted Bourdieu’s observation that people are judged by their capacity for consumption and their lifestyle. New migrants in poorly paid jobs are not likely to do well in such assessments, especially if their lifestyles do not demonstrate the right kind of consumption. Bourdieu also develops the concept of ‘illusio’, a state or process of being caught up in and by the game such that one believes that playing the game is worth the effort. So maybe migrants whose social connections are largely with other migrants have rejected as

illusion the prospects of social inclusion held out by integrated leisure. Or they may just have got fed up with rejection. Others of course manage the integration more or less successfully.

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¹ We note that those other migrants who have assimilated may have similar expectations of new arrivals.

² Putnam (2000) did acknowledge the possibility of dark capital working in this negative way, but chose not to develop it.

Table 1: Forms of Capital

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<i>Capital</i>	<i>Policy interest</i>	<i>Representation</i>
Economic	The Economy	Employment
Social	Segregation Cohesion Inclusion	Connections
Cultural	Multiculturalism	Knowledge, competence...
Symbolic	Integration Assimilation	Prestige, status...

Table 2: Using Leisure Spaces

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<i>Migrants from Poland</i>	<i>Migrants from Africa</i>
More diverse range of leisure activities and spaces than Africans	Limited beyond home and work
Pubs/clubs – go with existing friends [Some like the Polish Centre in part because the church offers masses in Polish]	Church – nominally open but dominated by Black Africans
Countryside – deliberately among, but not with, White British	Parks and streets – nominally open, but dominated by White British
Homes of family / friends	