The Hague University of Applied Sciences

Faculty of Management and Organization

**European Studies** 

# THE EFFECTS ON SOUTH ASIAN MINORITIES POST-BREXIT

A Case Study of the Experiences of Social and Economic factors of South Asians in Leicester



## Aradhna Changoer

Student number: 11070277

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1<sup>st</sup> supervisor: Ms. A. Grebner 2<sup>nd</sup> supervisor: Mr. P. Nixon

The Hague University of Applied Sciences – Faculty of Management and Organisation – European

**Studies** 

#### I. Acknowledgments

To complete my Bachelor studies of European Studies at The Hague University of Applied Sciences, this thesis on the effects of Brexit on South Asian minorities in Leicester was written. The aim of the thesis was developed after the media attention the Brexit referendum received and the immediate effects it resulted in.

Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the help of the interviewees. The vision, input and knowledge of the interviewees had helped me immensely and improved the quality of this thesis. I am extremely grateful for their assistance. I am especially grateful to my supervisor Ms Grebner, who has been a great mentor with her incredible knowledge and patience.

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#### II. Executive Summary

Issues of race and discrimination towards the ethnic minorities have always existed in the United Kingdom. With the initiation of the EU referendum and Brexit, these issues have increased. Following the referendum, the media published news of hate crimes against Indian and Pakistani citizens. During Brexit, there were concerns on what would happen and whom it would impact. Research shows that Black, Asian and Ethnic minorities have a more sensitive place in society than White British therefore, they would experience the most effects. With a South Asian background, the researcher focussed on the South Asian minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom.

it is necessary to understand what the justifications for Leicester are. In 1947, the commonwealth countries India, Pakistan and Bangladesh gained their independence. Many South Asians migrated for different reasons - for economic opportunities, to escape civil war or to join their families. As previously mentioned, issues of discrimination have always been a part of the UK and South Asians have encountered this the most. However, they also contributed to British society and Leicester is a great example of this. Research shows that Leicester is the first city in the UK with the majority of South Asians. It is also a diverse and multicultural city with a peaceful social cohesion and a strong economy. Yet, there have been reports, articles and journals on the increase of hate crimes due to Brexit. Besides the social factors, there are also several economic factors, for instance, EU immigration and economic uncertainty. To understand, why the South Asians are targeted and if Brexit has had an impact on South Asians, the following research question has been created: 'How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom?'

In order to provide a reliable answer to the main research question, qualitative research has been used in combination with primary data and secondary data. Several experts and academics on Brexit and ethnic migration have been interviewed, in order to gain comprehensive knowledge of this subject and to provide reliable recommendations.

Moreover, the primary research shows that South Asians contradict the secondary research regarding social factors. However, regarding the economic factors, similar responses are stated. South Asians acknowledged what Brexit means to them and what the future possibly holds. Firstly, an economic factor they want to improve is the control over EU immigration. Secondly, re-establishing the relationship between the commonwealth countries. And thirdly, to diminish the economic uncertainty and risks. Finally, the social factors did not affect as much as the economic factors did. However, it is too premature to determine the substantial effects on South Asians and to what extent.

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#### IV. List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BAME Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic

Brexit British Exit

CFA Council of Foreign Affairs

EC European Community

ECJ European Court of Justice

EEC European Economic Community

EHRC Equality and Human Rights Commission

EU European Union

FOI Freedom of Information

GDP Gross Domestic Product

MPs Members of Parliament

NGOs Non – governmental Organization

NHS National Health System

ROTA Race on the Agenda

TBA To be announced

TUC Trades Union Congress

UK United Kingdom

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#### Preface

A widely discussed topic nowadays is Brexit. Specifically, about what is going to happen to South Asians because of it. This paper attempts to find significance in the disturbances caused by the Brexit announcement starting from May 2015 till a year after the referendum. Furthermore, an extensive literature review is done on understanding Brexit, and how its social and economic factors may have affected the South Asian minorities in Leicester. A case study is conducted with interviews to collect data to recognize the effects of Brexit. Overall, the significant results indicate neither a positive or negative effect of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester.

#### 1. Introduction

In May 2015, Queen Elizabeth II gave a speech in which it was confirmed that the people of the United Kingdom would get a referendum on 23<sup>rd</sup> of June. The referendum would be about whether the United Kingdom should remain or leave the European Union (Gross & Winnig, 2015). The incentive to the EU referendum was the promise the British Prime Minister David Cameron made to the Anti-EU party (Gee, Trybus, & Rubini, 2016).

In addition, the insistence of the Anti-EU party and several MP's that the disillusionment with the EU was at an all-time high, made the decision on the referendum final (Payne, 2016). The Anti-EU party strived for 'Britain' to exit the EU and from there on the so-called 'Brexit' was established. According to Sir Stephen, a British diplomat (2013), "The United Kingdom, at heart, never wanted to join the European Community and, at heart, never stopped hankering after a world where it would be safe for it to leave " (p. 405-511). As a result of the referendum, it was on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2017 that the UK notified the EU of its intention to leave the EU. However, the question arises what would happen because of Brexit? Will there be consequences? The media, researchers, and the public could only speculate on it. Brexit has been a widely discussed topic for the past two years. For instance, Menon & Wager (2018) found that the decision to leave the EU has had an elemental effect in disclosing the existing divisions in British society, and possibly for new ones as well. The referendum suggested many of the social, economic and political divides in the UK that prior to it were disregarded and not recognized.

Furthermore, in the aftermath of the EU referendum, debates, reports and news articles on race and discrimination were suddenly being acknowledged. The Trades Union Congress (2017) pointed out that over 34% of Black, Asian or minority ethnic (BAME) people experienced or witnessed racial abuse following Brexit. The poll of over 1000 BAME working adults also found that 19% of BAME people have witnessed or suffered racial assault. Statistics showed that 41% have heard remarks or opinions that were racist, 38% have seen it online and 27% have seen racist leaflets, graffiti or posters. TUC General Secretary said "Brexit has given racism a new lease of life. Discrimination has never gone away, but since the referendum racism has been on the rise" (Trades Union Congress, 2017). Furthermore, Bulman (2017), reported that since the referendum and thereby Brexit, racial abuse and religious discrimination increased at an unprecedented rate. The Freedom of Information (FOI) requests obtained police figures that showed that racial incidents increased by 23% in 11 months since the referendum. Police forces all over England saw reports that indicated a 40% increase in faith and race-based hate crimes in almost every region.

These hate crimes were mostly against Muslims with incidents where a Muslim woman was dragged by her hijab, in another incident a Muslim man and women had been attacked with acid, leaving the man and women with severe burns. It is crimes like these that worry the BAME people and make them feel unwelcome and vulnerable (Bulman, 2017).

In addition, BAME people that had experienced racial and faith discrimination were subsequently concerned about the economic uncertainty. However, Dr Ehsan specializing in ethnic minority attitudes and behaviour in the UK stated that several jurisdictions with 25% and above South Asian population mostly voted to leave. This included Bradford (54.2%), Birmingham (50.4%), Luton (56.5%) and Leicester (48.9%). Therefore, it is important to consider that the high percentage of leave votes have reached a significant percentage due to Asian voters (Ehsan, 2017). For instance, Begum (2018), believed that it is important to understand the attitudes towards EU membership among the BAME group. She also remarked that white British were the largest group to support pro-Brexit, followed by British Asians with an Indian background. Although, the other part of the minority group such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis mostly voted to remain in the EU. It is essential to understand the reasons to remain or to leave knowing the social and economic consequences and how these consequences could affect the Asian minorities.

Issues of discrimination and lower economic standings have always been there for the South Asians. With the increase in racial abuse and the struggle for economic equality, the South Asians and the British Government have become aware of the need for change. In this thesis, it is attempted to determine the effects of Brexit on the South Asian minorities in Leicester. The period that is used in this report is 25<sup>th</sup> May 2015 till 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2017. Concerning the theoretical framework, this thesis has extensively researched factors that affected the South Asian minorities. In order to research the experiences of social and economic factors, a case study with interviews of South Asians in Leicester was conducted. The contribution of the interviewees extends the existing literature on this topic. As a result, the primary data findings assign the research with the evidence-based research.

This report aims to answer the central research question: *How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom?* 

The following three sub-questions have been formed to answer the research question:

- In what category are the South Asian minorities divided in Leicester? Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?
- How did the South Asian minorities experience Brexit?
- Which aspects of Brexit can possibly define the outlook for the South Asian minorities in Leicester?

This thesis is structured as followed: In section 2, previous theories and literature that is relevant for the thesis are discussed. In section 3, the methodology that is used to write and analyse the research is presented. In section 4, the results of the case study are presented. In section 5, the analysis of the research is discussed. Finally, in section 6, the conclusions, recommendations and limitations of this research are presented.

#### 2. The Theoretical Framework on Brexit and the Asian Minorities in Leicester

#### 2.1 Brexit and the Causes

Brexit has been dominating British politics for the last two years. The outcome of the advisory EU referendum was a revelation as several polls predicted a marginal victory for the remain voters. Although, the polls were wrong, and the marginal victory was for the leave voters (Shackle, 2017).

Figure. 1 The Results of the EU Advisory Referendum

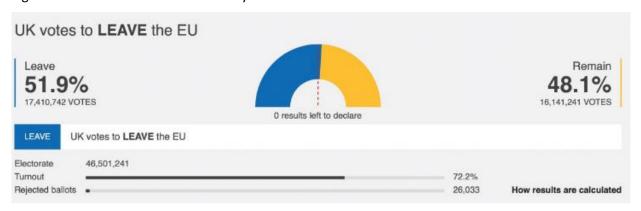


Figure 1. The UK votes of the advisory referendum on 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 2016. In figure 1, the 51.9% leave votes are indicated with a blue colour and the 48.1% remain votes are indicated with a yellow colour. Copyright 2016 by BBC EU Referendum Results.

Figure 2. The English Results of the EU Advisory Referendum



Counting complete Turnout: 73.0%

Figure 2. The English results of the advisory EU referendum on 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 2016. In figure 2, the blue colour indicates the leave votes with 53.4% and the yellow colour indicates the remain votes with 46.6%. Copyright 2016 by BBC EU Referendum Results.

As figure 1 and figure 2 show, the final decision of the UK was to leave the EU and therefore, Brexit emerged with a period of political, social and economic uncertainty.

However, it was after the referendum when the UK voters wondered what the implications of their choice would be. According to data from Google Trends, it was later that night when the searches for 'what is the EU?' and 'what is Brexit?' increased (Google Trends Compare, 2016). In a report of the EU Referendum Analysis (2016), it is stated that in the understanding of the public was a series of questionable assertations that concluded with pleas for data and facts. Furthermore, Dr Yuratich (2016), explained that referendums should have an educational purpose. The suitability of the referendums in resolving national questions should be decided by an informed public.

Nonetheless, this was not the case for the EU referendum in 2016. During the Brexit campaign, there were political miscommunications on the issues between the EU and the UK. There were other issues that arose from the Leave campaign's constitutional vision and throughout the Brexit campaign statements were made that were half-truths or lies (Dr Yuratich, 2016). Moreover, the Leave campaign won due to the promises they made to the public on resolving issues. During the Brexit campaign, four issues were addressed that made the most impact on the British public. Firstly, immigration was one of the issue that was addressed by the Leave and Remain campaign. The EU is known for its free movement of EU citizens under EU law. The Remain campaign remarked that EU migrants are beneficial for the British economy as they pay more taxes than they take out. On the other hand, the Leave campaign argued that EU immigration has become complicated due to the free movement of EU citizens and consequently an increase in immigration, has decreased the wages for British employees. Secondly, another issue that was addressed was sovereignty. The Remain campaign acknowledged that a small minority of British law is derived from the EU and that the UK retains veto in many decisive areas. Additionally, it was also argued that the uniting of sovereignty was essential to permit fair trade across the EU. On the contrary, the Leave campaign believed the only way to reclaim the former sovereignty was by leaving the EU. Thirdly, another issue that was explained by the Remain campaign was that the Europol membership and sharing intelligence will aid in combating cross-border crime. However, the Leave campaign refuted this claim arguing that EU supremacy caused difficulty in deporting criminals. It also argued that post-Brexit the EU member states will cooperate with the UK in addressing terrorism.

Finally, the British economy was the last important issue discussed during the campaign. The Remain campaign stated that leaving the EU would cause a low economy and economic uncertainty. Moreover, to participate in the single market an application would still have to be filled in by the UK (Dr Simpson, 2016). That said, the various causes of immigration and economy resulted in a higher leave percentage than remain percentage. Additionally, causes create consequences.

#### 2.2 The Consequences of Brexit

The consequences were initiated by the repeated discriminating claims of politicians, media and law enforcers about a 'mugging' epidemic. For instance, the poster by the Leave campaign (2016), showed an image of South Asians invading the UK which counterargued the statement of an increase of EU migrants. It further caused an increase in racial and religious discrimination, and a rise in South Asians unemployment rates (Dr Morrison, 2016). Moreover, there could be other consequences such as an increase in poverty, an introverted sovereign state and the diminishing of political influence. However, the British Newspaper *the Economist* (2017), stated that the UK would survive if it were to leave the EU.



Nigel Farag, the UKIP leader launches in London 2016 a new EU referendum poster campaign. Picture by: Philip Toscano/ PA Wire/Press Association Images.

In addition, to social consequences, there are also economic consequences. Mallaby, a senior member of the Council of Foreign Affairs stated in an Expert Roundup (2016), that Brexit will create a recession which would result in the weakening of the UK cohesion. Co-director Stephen Booth from Open Europe (2016), added that reducing EU immigration would cause the UK to struggle with the increase of labour shortages due to the ageing population of the UK. According to the Booth, "openness to immigration is a fact of life for prosperous economies in the twenty-first century". Moreover, Kahn of the CFA (2016), explained the financial risks for the UK and more specifically London as it is the economic capital and headquarters of many business organizations. On the contrary, For Capital Economics' Chairman Roger Bootle, argued that it would be positive for the UK to leave the EU as it would give the UK more control over trade policies, immigration, its budget and will also prevent further EU decisions.

Although, another report acknowledged that the UK is more economically dependent on the EU than vice versa (The consequences of a British exit from the European Union, 2016). The report stated several consequences, however, these are not relevant for this research report. In another article, it is stated that if the UK would keep the Brexit deal it would not have the economic standings to negotiate a better deal (Amadeo, 2018) as the Leave bill is estimated to be £50 billion (Petroff & Kottasova, 2017). Leaving the EU with a no deal Brexit would be even more unfavourable than a 'hard Brexit'. There would be no trade agreements, airlines will be grounded, and ports will be closed. The no Brexit deal could be one of the consequences and therefore, many people are campaigning to have a second referendum. The new voters argued that during the last referendum they were not justly informed and did not understand the implications of Brexit. The ECJ ruled on 10<sup>th</sup> December 2018 that the UK without the approval of another EU body could revoke the applications for Brexit (Amadeo, 2018). Mallaby, agreed with this as he stated that nations needed to collaborate and compromise to come up with solutions and outcomes that would benefit them. In addition, Booth explained that if the UK decided to remain in the EU, it would not decrease its popularity for EU citizens for several reasons, English means no language barrier, a labour market that is flexible and a strong history of integrated immigrants from various cultures. However, the Brexit negotiations are still ongoing. Thus, the social and economic consequences of unemployment and financial risks can all change with the final decision of the negotiations.

#### 2.3 The South Asian Minorities in Leicester

#### 2.3.1 Leicester

The most vital part of this report is of the South Asian minorities in Leicester. To start with, Leicester is a friendly city with an abundance of heritage and culture. It has over 300.000 residents making it the largest city in the East Midlands. Since the foundation of Leicester, it has developed into a commercial and major manufacturing centre. Leicester is known for its diversity in trade but also for people of different cultural backgrounds. This diversity has created a unique and rich heritage that continues today (Leicester City Council, 2018). Furthermore, Leicester has the highest ethnic minority population in the UK with the largest South Asian community of almost 30%. It further has the highest number of young British Asians under the age of 21. It is important to research and compare between two or more generations as traditions and values can have a more essential part for older generations than younger generations. Mr Palmer, the City Mayor stated that the diverse population of Leicester represented strength and something that Leicester could be proud of (BBC News, 2012). Moreover, according to the UK Census 2011, Leicester is one of the first cities with the smallest white British population.

Therefore, Asians in Leicester should not be considered a minority in Leicester anymore as they are a majority (BBC Leicester, 2014).

#### 2.3.2 The South Asian Minorities Majority

In this report, South Asian minorities will refer to the Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis living in Leicester.

Since 2012, ethnic people are the majority of Leicester's population. Most of the residents of Leicester originate from over 50 countries across the world. According to researchers, more than 50% of the population is either foreign or from an ethnic minority. However, academics from the University of Manchester explained that ethnically diverse cities do not become less British even if white British are a minority. The reason for this is that the children from older generation immigrants identify themselves as British when they are British born (Doughty, 2013).

Currently, the northeast region of Leicester accounts for 55.3% of the population that are either Indian or Pakistani. Then, in the east of Leicester, Indians account for 46.9% of the Asian community (Ghosh, 2014). In addition, in an article by Llana (2016), it is stated that everyone in Leicester would agree that Britishness has not decreased or diminished by newcomers but has increased by absorbing it. For instance, the Leicester model was created by the peaceful co-existence of various religions and ethnic communities. Though Leicester has its own challenges, the communities are the ones to solve it in a peaceful matter. In particular, after the referendum, the Leicester model has increased in popularity as other cities are wanting to follow this example. However, the concept of the Leicester model is not easy to recreate. It takes time and dedication to make it work (Llana, 2016). A community that co-exists with Hindus, Jews, Anglicans, Muslims, and Sikh addresses problems together without differentiating, therefore they also addressed Brexit together.

#### 2.3.3 Asians, Pro Brexit or Anti Brexit?

Many politicians and analysists expected South Asian and other ethnic minorities to vote remain during the Brexit referendum. On the contrary, many South Asians voted to leave, and a slightly bigger part voted to remain. In a report by Neema Begum (2016), it was stated by Robert Peston in Leicester "I assumed it was a collective wind-up when almost every South Asian I met said to me that they would be voting for Brexit" (p. 9). Additionally, another article also mentioned, that it was rather surprising that Indians and Pakistanis voted for Brexit (Wood, 2016).

Dr Ehsan (2016), found that during the campaign ethnic minority voters were more positive about immigrants than white British voters. He also mentioned that survey data indicated that the votes of ethnic minorities could be the decisive factors in remaining. Then, Dr Ehsan (2017), described that older and less affluent people were more inclined to vote for Brexit and suggested that negative opinions about EU migrants were perhaps stronger in the South Asian community than anticipated. Furthermore, white British and most Indians were pro-Brexit. Whereas, most Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were anti- Brexit. Leicester that is described as the cultural diversity hub voted remain by only a 2% majority in the remain votes. The different ethnic attitudes towards the EU was the reason for choosing one of the options during the referendum.

Voting to leave or to remain depends on the reasons a person has. Dr Ehsan (2017), argued that there might be multiple reasons for why most of the South Asian diaspora voted to leave the EU rather than to remain. One of the reasons was that during the campaign it was expressed that leaving the EU would cause a loss of European identity. However, the South Asians in Leicester do not identify as Europeans. They rather identify themselves as British since first-generation migrants were encouraged to integrate into British society. On the contrary, the Leave campaign argued that the EU was implementing a 'racist' immigration system as EU migrants could enter with the free movement law and South Asian migrants were restricted to visa applications. Voting to leave would create a fair immigration system and better chances for South Asian migrants. Wood (2016), acknowledged that the reasons South Asians voted to leave was that they did not want EU migrants benefiting from their economy and saw Brexit as the incentive to reduce the number of EU migrants coming to the UK. Many South Asians believed that voting for Brexit was the proper thing to do. It was also remarked that the South Asians did not vote to leave against the EU bureaucrats but rather against the British politicians (Abbasi, 2016).

Moreover, the different attitudes of ethnic minorities might explain why and who voted what during the referendum. Many younger South Asians with qualified education and professional occupations supported the Remain campaign. Remain supporters also claimed that the Leave campaign felt like a direct attack on them as they came from a migrant background and to leave would be dismissing the diversity in Leicester. Even then, some BAME people were supporters of the Leave campaign as they expressed that the EU was controlling the UK (Begum, 2018). Dharmesh Lakhani is an example of an Indian that supported the Leave campaign. He is a restaurant owner, that was established by his family in 1976. He voted to leave to control EU immigration and not to stop it. He was strongly against Mr Farage's anti-immigrant statements and stated that there is no place for such statements here in Leicester.

South Asians that migrated to Leicester have successfully integrated themselves as entrepreneurs, running businesses such as goldsmiths, pharmacies, restaurants and spice shops. They have become the backbone of Leicester's increasing economy. So, when the far-right nationalist party came to Leicester during the Brexit campaign, they were told to leave by the mayor and the locals. However, it did not change the fact that many Indians voted leave during the Brexit referendum.

According to an article by Begum (2018), it was stated that many Indians were persuaded by the speech of the Prime Minister Theresa May in which she said: "It will no longer be the case that EU nationals, regardless of the skills or experience they have to offer, can jump the queue ahead of engineers from Sydney or software developers from Delhi". Despite various reports showing that Brexit will affect the South Asian minorities harder, May's speech appealed to them. They felt it was unfair that the EU migrants had an easy immigration policy than South Asian migrants. All in all, Brexit had its significant implications on South Asians whether they came from Leicester or any other place in the UK.

#### 2.4 The Factors Affecting the South Asians in Leicester

Since the Brexit referendum, the public has been anticipating what the implications and consequences of it will be. There have been speculations, reports, articles and opinions on what was to happen in the future. Therefore, this section of the theoretical framework will acknowledge the effects after the referendum and will shortly discuss the possible future outlooks.

#### 2.4.1 The Social Factors

Racism, discrimination and inequality have been societal issues since the first Immigration Act in 1962. However, there were community programmes and anti-discrimination policies to counterbalance the discrimination. The UK was an exemplar for a multicultural society although, this changed during the Leave campaign with the 'take back control' ideology. It was the period post referendum, when there was a significant increase in racial abuse and individualised hate crimes (Burnett, 2016). A review by the Equality and Human Rights Commission on pay, employment, housing and criminal justice acknowledged the combination of the increased hate crimes post-Brexit and the long-term systematic racial inequality. In addition, the EHRC stated that these statistics were worrying and wondered why the government had not spoken on behalf of its citizens. The Commission's chairman, David Isaac, requested the government to step in when the cases of racial abuse and hate crimes became uncontrollable. As a result, the government expressed its commitment to provide social reform (BBC, 2016).

In the report Racial Violence and the Brexit State (2016), it was stated that racial incidents started in the aftermath of the referendum and many of these incidents were shared on social media. Various online platforms collected this data and documented it. Moreover, organisations that advocated against racial abuse and discrimination noted an increase in the number of incidents and were contacted for support. An example of the increase in racial incidents and hate crimes can be seen in figure 3 below. People reported to be victims of hate crimes in four days after the EU referendum and after seven days, the National Police Chief's Council received 331 hate crime allegations compared with a weekly average of 63. Besides, the increasing rates of hate crime, an article by crime correspondent Fagan (2017), reported that the Leicestershire police forces recorded an increasing number of crimes committed against people of different colour, race, religion and sexual orientation. In 2015/2016, 1213 hate crimes or incidents were reported and the following year this increased by approximately 12% resulting in 1363 hate crimes or incidents.

Figure 3. Examples of Police Announcements on Referendum-related Hate Crime

#### Figure 1

#### Examples of police announcements on referendum-related hate crime

- In the first four days after the referendum, 85 hate crimes were reported to True Vision a police-funded online reporting mechanism compared to 57 in the same period four weeks earlier.
- In the seven days after the referendum, the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), which runs the True Vision online reporting mechanism, received 331 allegations of hate crimes, compared with a weekly average of 63.9
- > In the fortnight after the result, British Transport Police (BTP) received 119 allegations of racist abuse or violence taking place on British railways.<sup>10</sup>
- > Between 24 June and 2 July, 599 racist incidents were reported to Scotland Yard: an average of 67 per day, compared to 44 per day prior to the referendum.<sup>11</sup>
- > Between 16 June and 30 June, more than 3,000 hate crimes were reported to the police across the UK: a 42% increase on the same period in 2015.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 3. The examples of the police announcements on hate crimes after the referendum. Figure 3 describes statistics collected by data from True Vision, an online reporting mechanism. Copyright 2016 by Racial Violence and the Brexit State.

Not only police forces reported the increase of hate crimes or incidents in Leicester, but also experts in the study of hate crimes at the University of Leicester reported the increase in hate crimes post-Brexit. The experts also expressed that the toxic behaviour of politicians and the atmosphere surrounding the EU referendum has fuelled and emboldened people to express their hate and to target people who they regard as foreign and different. However, they also stated that this toxic atmosphere and hostility had always been there, however, resurfaced with the politicians and the EU referendum.

The focus of Brexit and the membership of the EU shifted to another issue in the UK, namely, 'Them'. Additionally, the academics from Leicester University's Department of Criminology stated that these incidents of hate crime were not new although, there has been an increase since the EU referendum.

The hate crimes were always an issue in the UK as research showed that hostility and hate-fuelled violence are an 'everyday' occurrence for many people in the UK (University of Leicester, 2016). Therefore, the police in Leicester and other organizations have put an effort into encouraging hate crime and hate-fuelled violence victims to report these crimes and to speak out. As a result, there was an increase in hate crimes and incidents being reported, however, research suggested that many crimes were not reported and therefore it could not be estimated to what extent the statistics reflected the actual increase in hate crimes and incidents (Fagan, 2017).

In addition, a report from (ROTA) Race on the Agenda (2018), stated that BAME communities would face the worse consequences of Brexit. They would have social and economic insecurities and therefore, would be targeted by hate crimes. The overall impact of Brexit on BAME communities would be more negative than positive both socially and economically.

There is no academic research on social factors affecting the South Asian minorities in Leicester. Therefore, data has been collected in the section results.

#### 2.4.2 The Economic Factors

As mentioned before, Brexit impacted the BAME communities harder, however, the economic factors are yet to be found out. It was a general fact that the damaged British economy was a consequence of the EU referendum. After the EU referendum, a period of economic uncertainty started due to a weaker British pound that impacted many households. Several financial models suggested that the economy was 1.2% smaller than it would have been without Brexit. This represented a £24bn hit to the British economy, amounting to a 'Brexit cost' of £450m a week which had increased by £100m from December 2017.

Many economists made estimates that reported a decrease in economy however, they also believed that comparing Brexit and the consequences to the British economy is a perilous task. Therefore, an exact number of how much Brexit would cost the UK could not be produced (Giles, 2018). In addition, Brexit will have negative consequences for people with a lower economic position and low-paid employment such as BAME families will have to spend more of their incomes on their rent rather than on savings. The consequences of a 'hard Brexit' would result in workers being cut off their jobs – mainly jobs in the producing and operating industrial machinery industry. Bangladeshi and Pakistani men are therefore more likely to lose their jobs as many of them work in these industries.

Then, the clothing industry has a major BAME workforce which is also at risk due to Brexit. On top of that, the plan of the British Government of austerity would have extreme consequences for BAME communities (McIntoch & Shehreen Ali, 2018).

Furthermore, in an article from *the Independent* (2018), Begum wrote about her interviews with 20 focus groups regarding ethnic minority Leave and Remain voters. From her participants, Bangladeshi restaurant owners blamed the EU and its free movement of people for the shortage of staff in the catering 'curry' industry. They expressed their difficulties in recruiting non-EU staff and felt that the inability to control the EU immigration was at fault for that. The consequences of this were that many restaurants closed due to a shortage of qualified staff and therefore, many South Asians lost their jobs and livelihood. However, many South Asians did not measure the economic consequences as research showed that the immigration policies were the most important issue they wanted to rectify. In addition, many South Asians believed that there will not be consequences of Brexit as it would be beneficial for former commonwealth countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This would eventually, mean that for instance, restaurant owners could recruit qualified staff from the former commonwealth countries (QMULOfficial, 2018). However, there is no academic research on economic factors affecting South Asian minorities in Leicester. Therefore, data has been collected in section 4, results.

#### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 The Methods – Desk Research, Qualitative Research and Interviews

This section covers the methods used for conducting the research. It also describes the justifications for the methods and how these methods are the most suitable for the completion of the research.

There were various mediums available to assess the main objective of this research and to integrate the separate components of the research in a coherent and methodological way, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. In order to get a theoretical overview of the topic, the method for background research was desk research, where a multitude of search engines, reports, articles, journals, libraries and more was consulted.

The first chapter presents the desk research on what Brexit entails but also the reason why Brexit was considered in the first place. It also explains the referendum, the Leave and Remain campaign leading up to it, and that during the campaign many half-truths were used to persuade the public. It then describes the position of the South Asians regarding Brexit and what their reasons are for their position. Lastly, it acknowledges the social and economic factors affecting South Asian minorities in Leicester because of Brexit. Although, there were no academic sources that could indicate a credible answer to this question.

The results in section 4, contain qualitative research as the research was conducted through the gathering of information from various sources and by interviewing South Asians from Leicester and asking their experiences and opinions. Furthermore, Primary research has been included in the research to gain a better understanding of South Asians and therefore, to strengthen the research findings. Through the conduction of the secondary research, the literature review was found on the topic whereas, the conduction of the primary research found the answers to the questions of this research by acquiring new knowledge.

Furthermore, the new knowledge was acquired through interviews. The reason for conducting interviews is that it provides unlimited information, it has sufficient responses and their focus is on the depth of the research rather than the scope. Moreover, the data of the interviews were used in the following sections: results, analyses and conclusions.

#### 3.2 The Participants of the Interviews

For the completion of the interviews, the method preferences and availability of the interviewees were taken into consideration. A few persons who have different expert and academic opinions on the researched topic were contacted via social media platforms and email.

The interviewees were provided with several options about the sort of way the interview could be conducted, for instance, email, phone, Skype, and in person. Most of the interviewees preferred the interviews to be conducted via email. However, with the exemption of Dr Ehsan, who preferred via phone and Mr Amersi and Naila Mir who I met in person.

Moreover, the questions of the interview were not adapted depending on the expertise of the interviewees. The questions were also open-ended to provide them the time to answer the question.

The participants who were interviewed include:

- Mr Mohamed Amersi is the founder and CEO of Emergent Telecom Ventures. He is also actively engaged in activities and organizations from non-profit to for-profit. Mr Amersi is also active in the philanthropic area as he is a Trustee and Member of the Board of Prince's Trust International, the chairman of the International Advisory Council of The British Asian Trust and much more. Mr Amersi provided answers to several questions concerning Pro Brexit and the impact of it on South Asian minorities in the UK.
- Dr Rakib Ehsan is a Doctoral Social Science Researcher, specialized in ethnic minority sociopolitical behaviour and attitudes in the UK, US and Germany. Dr Ehsan provided answers with the questions of the interview concerning Brexit and South Asian minorities in the UK and more specifically Leicester.
- Neema Begum is a political scientist doing research on ethnic minority voting, and political representation and participation. She is also a research associate at the Centre of the Dynamics of Ethnicity and is currently doing her PhD in race and identity in voting during the 2016 EU referendum. Ms Begum provided answers to the interview questions with the aid of academic sources.

The other participants are South Asians that live in Leicester. There is a diverse group of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis who responded to the interviews. Two participants are members of the Leicester City Council, one is a senior lecturer at the Montfort University in Leicester and some are entrepreneurs and others are students.

#### 3.3 Ethics

In the process of gathering knowledge, identifying the research steps and the attitudes of the interviewer and the interviewees, ethics played an important role. The data from the research has not been manipulated in order to benefit the researcher. In addition, the researcher has avoided being biased and selective during the interview process and in writing the research.

This research provides clear evidence that supports the statements made in this report. Concerning the structured interviews, the researcher has signed an Ethics form from The Hague University. The Ethics form describes the important aspects of the involvement of human beings in the research (see Appendix 8.1).

All in all, the collection of the different methods gathered the acquired knowledge and information to adequately answer the main research questions. Besides, due to a limited period of time to conduct this research, recommendations for further research will be discussed in section 8, conclusions.

#### 4. The Research Results

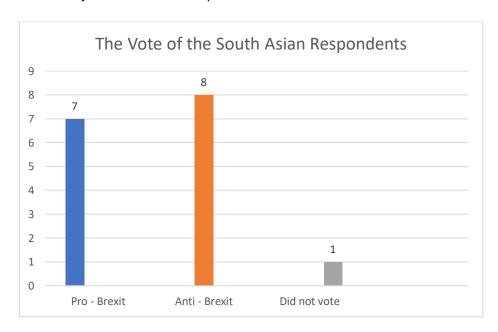
As previously stated in the section introduction and theoretical framework, there are certain gaps in the literature. The purpose of this section is to present the gathered primary data from interviews. To further provide the information to fill in the certain gaps in the researched literature. This section provides information on the various important outlooks mentioned earlier. Firstly, it presents the division of Pro - Brexit and Anti - Brexit positions of South Asian minorities in Leicester. Secondly, it informs on the experiences of the South Asians post-Brexit and what Brexit means. Lastly, and most importantly, it provides the information needed to fill in the gaps related to the social and economic factors of Brexit on the South Asian minorities in Leicester.

#### 4.1 Brexit and the South Asians in Leicester

The interviews provided an outlook of what most South Asians voted for, to leave the EU or to remain in the EU. It also provided the reasons to why they chose to leave the EU or to remain in the EU. According to the interviews, most British Indians voted to leave in the EU referendum. For instance, Mr Singh, Ms Mirza and Mr Amersi. Whereas, most Pakistanis and Bangladeshis voted to remain. For example, Dr Ehsan, Ms Mir and Mr Khan as seen in table 1.

Table 1.

The Vote of the South Asian Respondents



Note. Retrieved from Personal Interviews, 2018

Most of the respondents had specific reasons to why they voted to leave or to remain. Although, one respondent believed that remaining was the better and safer option out of the two and therefore voted to remain (Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview, 2018). Another respondent stated to be Anti-Brexit during the Brexit campaign and the EU referendum, however, after the referendum Mr Bhatia from the Leicester City Council changed his stance. He became Pro-Brexit because of issues regarding the open-door policies of Angela Merkel (Bhatia, Personal Interview, 2018). It was also mentioned by another respondent that voting to leave was easier and she thought that it would be better for the UK until she saw the aftermath of the referendum. She acknowledged that at the time of the EU referendum she did not know much about the EU. Additionally, she as many others believed the Leave campaigners and thought that they were telling the truth. However, in the aftermath of the EU referendum, she read many articles on how Brexit would impact the UK and what the relationship between the UK and EU meant. So, after the referendum, she required the right knowledge and changed her stance from Pro-Brexit to Anti-Brexit (Mirza, Personal Interview, 2018).

Furthermore, some of the respondents replied the same sort of reason for voting either to leave or to remain. For many immigration from the EU, was the most important reason for why they voted to leave. They felt that the EU migrants had easy access to the UK whereas, most South Asian migrants needed to pay lots of money to get a visa. It was also strongly stated that the EU migrants may take their jobs, housings and other economic benefits. Mr Khan stated that he felt that the UK was more accepting towards the EU migrants and therefore, felt less appreciated and losing out on his rights and benefits (Khan, Personal Interview, 2018). According to Dr Ehsan, South Asians feel that they have more rights to the UK than EU migrants because of their previous commonwealth relationship (Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview, 2018). On the contrary, Mr Amersi also voted to leave but for another reason. He stated that the UK was a great and powerful sovereign state. However, since joining the EEC it has lost a part of its sovereignty and has become less powerful. Mr Amersi expressed that by leaving the EU the UK would get the chance to regain their lost sovereignty and increase their political stance in the world (Amersi, Personal Interview, 2018).

According to Dr Ehsan, it is not clear what the exact numbers are for who voted to remain and who voted to leave. He believed that the South Asian minority is so diverse that it is difficult to identify each groups interest (Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview, 2018). On top of that, Ms Begum also stated that there were various attitudes towards the EU referendum. She claimed that national identity, religion, education, occupation and age are all factors to take into consideration for why the South Asians voted to leave or to remain during the referendum (Begum, Personal Interview, 2018). Moreover, Rita Patel, a councillor at the City Council in Leicester voted leave during the referendum.

Her objective was not specifically against the EU migrants, however, she believed that an increase of EU migrants would have consequences for the South Asians in Leicester. The Golden Mile, a street that is known for its Indian saree shops, restaurants, pharmacies, and supermarkets may benefit from the UK leaving the EU as many restaurants needed staff from India or Pakistan and by stopping EU migrants from entering it may hopefully open the doors to South Asian migrants. In addition, many Pakistanis and Bangladeshis would have it hard as many EU migrants were taking over their jobs and with Brexit, they would not have to worry about someone else taking their jobs. Ms Patel voted to leave for the benefits of the South Asians in Leicester (Patel, Personal Interview, 2018) however, she was not the only one who voted for the benefits of the South Asians in Leicester. A student at the Montfort University voted stay during the referendum. She expressed that according to her, leaving the EU would have more disadvantages than staying in the EU. If the EU migrants can easily travel to the UK, then we can easily travel to the EU as well. Having control over immigration is good but this is also a very internal problem of the UK that is now solely being blamed on the EU. There are other countries such as the Netherlands, Germany and France that have the same regulations of free movement of people and it has only strengthened their economies. Restricting migrants is not the solution for the UK or for the South Asians. Leicester is a very peaceful, diverse, and multicultural city. There is not a lot of European population in Leicester and therefore would not have affected us if they would not have been restricted. Although, after the referendum, it is difficult for anyone to travel to the UK or to travel from the UK to the EU. Therefore, fewer people would come to the UK for work or for their studies or even for a holiday. This could have an impact on the British economy (Sharma, Personal Interview, 2018). In addition, there also was one respondent who did not vote during the referendum (Acciari, Personal Interview, 2018).

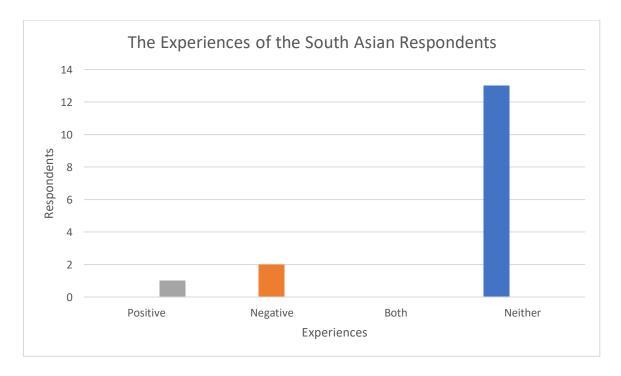
Thus, after conducting the interviews seven respondents voted to leave the EU, eight respondents voted to remain in the EU, and one respondent did not vote during the referendum. As the South Asians in Leicester are diverse it is difficult to clarify the reasons for why they voted to either remain or to leave. However, there are certain factors such as EU immigration, employment, housings and economic benefits that played an important role in their justifications. Furthermore, there were also respondents that stated the difficulties of leaving the EU and the possible consequences because of it. In addition, it is necessary to understand that there is no wrong or right vote. Neither is there a right or wrong reason for Brexit and that every one of the respondents has the right to express their opinions.

#### 4.2 The Post-Brexit Experience of the South Asians in Leicester

Brexit is a very complicated but at the same time interesting topic and when combined with South Asians in Leicester it becomes even more complex and intriguing. There are different stages of Brexit, Firstly, the Leave and Remain campaign. Secondly, the EU referendum and thirdly, after the referendum and lastly, the period of negotiations from 29<sup>th</sup> March 2017 to 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019. The interviews consist of questions about the experiences of the South Asians before the referendum and after the referendum. Then, there were questions regarding what Brexit means for them and the South Asians living in Leicester. That said, it is necessary to understand that every person is unique and experiences, life and certain situations differently than how others would experience it. Experiences can be anything, however, for the purpose of this report it will first be divided into two types of experience, a positive experience and a negative experience and two other groups, both a positive and negative experience and the other, neither a positive or negative experience.

Table 2.

The Experiences of the South Asian Respondents



Note. Retrieved from Personal interviews, 2018.

According to the interviews and table 2 above, one respondent experienced Brexit positively, two respondents experienced Brexit negatively and the remaining 13 respondents did not experience Brexit positively or negatively. However, the respondents did have their own experiences with voting during the referendum and with the aftermath of it.

Furthermore, a few of the respondents stated that they did not experience the increase of hate crimes and violence against South Asians in Leicester. Though, they did believe that European countries are less accepting towards Muslims and have a higher rate of xenophobia. For instance, the open-door policy of the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel raised a lot of attention on the news and many EU countries did not agree with the open-door policy for accepting Syrian refugees into their country. Additionally, Ms Begum experienced during her own research examples of the ban on the burkini and rise of xenophobia were also reasons that many South Asians felt unsafe of the EU (Begum & Miza, Personal Interview, 2018). On the contrary, Dr Ehsan stated that the South Asians did not identify themselves as European and therefore did not feel connected to them in any way. It did not matter to them what happened within the EU and how it may affect the EU citizens (Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview 2018).

Moreover, according to the experiences of Mr Dalal, the South Asians that voted to leave the UK did not know the consequences of Brexit and the benefits of the common market. Brexit brings a sense of insecurity, particularly when the rest of the world is concerned about what would happen with the UK. Being a part of the EU brought solidarity and economic certainty (Dalal, Personal interview, 2018). The Councillor of the City Council in Leicester, Ms Patel believed that leaving the EU would have been the best option for the UK and the South Asians in Leicester. However, she expressed her concern as she also started to feel uncertain and insecure about whether this is the right decision and if it would benefit everyone at the end (Patel, Personal Interview, 2018). On the other side, Ms Mir expressed that she did not have any negative or positive experience after the referendum and that the situation before the referendum and after it was the same. Brexit has become a hot topic, and everyone wants to express their opinions, however, it does not mean that everything will change (Mir, Personal Interview, 2018). Nonetheless, a few of the respondents want to experience a change in EU immigration and do not want to feel worried about EU migrants taking over their jobs and their housing (Khan & Mirza, Personal Interview, 2018).

As Brexit is in the process of negotiations it is difficult to say what it means or what it could mean. The respondents have answered the question 'what does Brexit mean for you and the Asian Community?' The answers are what the respondents want Brexit to mean for them according to their experiences. According to councillor Mr Bhatia (2018), it is an opportunity to take back certain controls, which had diminished in recent times and therefore, had given rise to law and order and criminal activities. If the South Asians in Leicester take back control the fear of identity matters and livelihood will improve. Furthermore, the changes that Brexit made will eventually get back to normal as the UK and the EU will have to irrespectively work together regarding large-scale trade. In addition, Brexit would hopefully mean fairer immigration policies, easier access to South Asian migrants and visas.

Besides, better jobs, cheaper rent and economic benefits could also be a positive result of Brexit (Khan et al., 2018). On the contrary, Brexit could have serious consequences and although a lot is still uncertain it makes the South Asians feel insecure but also afraid (Dalal, Personal Interview, 2018). According to an academic Brexit is a problem that affects the quality and quantity of collaborations to establish with other European Universities, it will also affect the European funding. This will result in a tremendous impact on the economy and all British citizens (Accersi, Personal Interview, 2018). Moreover, with Brexit, cases of ethnic discrimination have increased and therefore have triggered a series of xenophobia and anti-immigrant tactics on a political level. Consequently, it could affect the minorities that live in Leicester and the ones that want to come here (Patel et al., 2018). Yet, Brexit has been in the process and therefore it is possible that there will be no changes or it would not mean as much as people think (Mir & Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview, 2018). However, it would benefit the UK to strengthen their ties with the former commonwealth countries and to maintain their relationship with the EU (Neema & Dr Ehsan, Personal Interview, 2018).

Thus, according to the conducted interviews, one of the respondents had a positive experience regarding Brexit, two experienced Brexit negatively and the remaining 13 respondents did not experience anything positive or negative regarding Brexit. That said, there are certain issues that the respondents experienced during the referendum and afterwards. They also want to experience these issues change in the future. However, the uncertainty that Brexit has brought will lead to certain possible consequences and change that makes the respondents feel insecure. Brexit means a change in immigration policies, domestic policies and in the economy. Whether this will be positive or negative is something that is still to be determined.

#### 4.3 The Possible Factors of a Brexit Impact on the South Asians in Leicester

As specified by the Cambridge Dictionary, factors are facts or situations that can influence the result of something (Cambridge Dictionary, 2018). The voting habits can be influenced by social, economic and political factors. This research report aims to find out what factors influenced and affected South Asians in Leicester. It has mentioned before, that factors such as immigration and economic benefits have influenced the South Asians to vote during the referendum and in the aftermath of it. This part will focus on the social and economic factors that affected the South Asians in Leicester. The first part will focus on the social factors and the second part will focus on the economic factors.

The social factors that affected South Asians were xenophobia, racial abuse and discrimination. As previously mentioned, reports stated that there was an increase in xenophobia and hate crimes. A few of the respondents agreed with this and expressed to be afraid of the consequence due to this.

However, most of the respondents did not agree with the reports and articles that stated an increase in hate crimes. They stated that they have not witnessed, or experienced hate crimes, racial abuse and discrimination targeted towards them. They further stated that that the rise of xenophobia is not as great as in European countries, for instance, the ban on the burkini and the negative response to Syrian refugees. Being a part of the EU and following the strict EU policies did not allow many South Asians to feel comfortable with their identity, religion and culture (Mirza et al., 2018). Besides, factors can be combined without being clarified if it is a social or economic factor. However, most of the time both factors affect simultaneously.

The economic factors are more comprehensive and complex than social factors. The first and foremost factor was the EU immigration. There is a great need for economic benefits and support from the government and therefore it is necessary to control the EU immigration as the markets have become full with them (Khan, Personal Interview, 2018). Furthermore, by re-enforcing the border control the UK can control who is coming and going. The EU might apply the same for the UK and for a short period it will be difficult to travel and work across Europe and UK due to a lack of freedom. However, if the EU resolves the border issues regarding the Syrian refugees entering via the Mediterranean, Brexit could be in their favour (Bhatia, Personal Interview, 2018). Accordingly, migration works both ways and was economically beneficial for the UK. In addition, stricter border control and Immigration policies would mean that it would be difficult to come and stay in the UK. Eventually, this is fair as many South Asians had to go through very complex processes and had to pay lots of money to apply for a visa. Besides, the increase of EU migrants locating to the UK was impacting the economy and more specifically with housings and the rent prices. There was also the burden on the National Health System. Then, it was recently announced that high-skilled workers from the EU would be prioritized than workers from the rest of the world. This could financially affect many South Asians that are working in the low-skilled workforce in Leicester (Singh et al., 2018). Overall, leaving the EU will be economically beneficial for the UK and the South Asians in Leicester. They would be able to get betterpaying jobs in the market, it will also improve in terms of identity, British integration, and quality of life. Then, another benefit is that it would become easier to invite families from India, Pakistan or Bangladesh (Singh et al., 2018).

Contrary to the advantages are the disadvantages. According to other respondents, Brexit will not be beneficial for the economy of the UK and the South Asians in Leicester. One reason is that Brexit could trigger another recession, which could severely affect a person's ability to support their families and to send money back to India, Pakistan or Bangladesh (Patel K., Personal Interview, 2018).

Moreover, the commercial bonds with the EU were strong, which helped the British economy and therefore the South Asians who own small businesses (Ali, Personal Interview, 2018). Remaining in the EU would eventually mean an increase of jobs, Asian British citizens, and fair payments (Singh, Personal Interview, 2018). However, the risk of a recession is a fear that every South Asian has even more when they have their own businesses. It will be difficult to struggle with financial challenges due to the adjustment of a new economic situation (Ali, Personal Interview, 2018).

On top of that, senior lecturer and academic Dr Acciari stated that such changes are not yet visible. However, certain pilot schemes for EU nationals, are currently being set up across the country for specific categories. Even some bank and companies are moving from London and the UK is showing signs of insularism. It is difficult and premature to determine the actual effects on the South Asians in Leicester. They will certainly be affected by the economic and cultural changes due to Brexit. However, the dimension of these changes and effects are yet to be defined. Although, the respondents believe that the South Asians will overcome these challenges and will prosper. They will win back the trust of British society without any difficulties because of their strong mentality (Bhatia et al., 2018).

Thus, according to the interviews, there are no effects of social factors such as xenophobia, racial abuse and discrimination. However, the position on the effects of economic factors is divided. One part has expressed that the effects of the economic factors will benefit the South Asians. On the other hand, the other part expressed the disadvantages of the economic factors on the South Asians. Although, most of them agree that the effects are yet to be witnessed and experienced and only then, can it be determined on what factors affected the South Asians in Leicester.

#### 5. The Analysis

The purpose of this report is to determine the effects of the social and economic factors on the South Asian minority in Leicester due to Brexit. In addition, to provide relevant and credible information on this topic, interviews with South Asians from Leicester were conducted.

In this section, the results of the research are analysed. The comparisons and differences will clarify, the experiences of the South Asians in Leicester and the social and economic factors of Brexit. Furthermore, it will clarify each sub-question in order to answer the main research question: 'How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom?'

This section is dived in three parts. Each part represents the sub-question of this report to understand and analyse the results of it.

# 5.1 In What Category are the South Asian Minorities Divided in Leicester? Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge that the South Asians are no longer a minority in Leicester. Secondly, the South Asian community is a very comprehensive and diverse group of people, therefore, determining them in groups of pro-Brexit and anti-Brexit is a complex process. According to the interviews, the majority of the respondent were anti- Brexit and the remaining respondent were pro – Brexit with one exception of Ms Acciari who did not vote but claimed to be anti-Brexit. Furthermore, academic reports and news articles stated that most South Asians, specifically Pakistanis and Bangladeshis voted to remain and were therefore, pro-Brexit and most British Indians voted to leave and were therefore, Anti-Brexit. However, after conducting the interviews with the respondents, the reasons for their choice of their vote was not justified by their ethnic background, religion or culture. Whereas, it was previously mentioned that there were cultural attitudes toward the EU referendum. That is something complicated to determine whether the groups were pro-Brexit because they were Indian or if they were anti – Brexit because they were Pakistani and Bangladeshi. As a result of the interview seven respondents were pro-Brexit, eight respondents were anti-Brexit and one respondent did not vote during the EU referendum.

In addition, each respondent had their own reasons to why they voted either to leave the EU or to remain in the EU. Some of these reasons were similar and other reasons were the opposite. The foremost reason was the EU immigration and the free movement of people. Comparing the responses of the respondents with the evidence-based research, it can be said that both are similar. The South Asians from Leicester have openly expressed their opinion on EU migrants and that they understand what it feels like, however, they do not feel any sympathy towards the EU migrants.

Although, it was believed that South Asians would vote in favour of the EU and many have but that the difference between the leave votes and the remain votes would be this small is something that researchers did not foresee. According to Dr Ehsan (2017), the fear of xenophobia within the South Asian community may have been underestimated however, the interviews did not claim a fear of xenophobia within the South Asian minorities but in the European countries. That said, the reasons are connected to previous experiences with certain issues that compelled them to vote during the EU referendum.

#### 5.2 How Did the South Asian Minorities Experience Brexit?

The meaning of experiences can be understood by multiple definitions. It can mean a sort of practical contact with an event, fact or observation. It can also mean a specific type of knowledge or skill acquired by a certain period or it can mean an impression of an occurrence or event on someone (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). The Leave and Remain campaign did leave an impression on the South Asians and as did the EU referendum. The experiences of the Leave and Remain campaign have influenced the decision for the EU referendum. Then, following the changes in the situations after the referendum has led to a new set of experiences.

As a result of the Leave and Remain campaign, many South Asians experienced that it would be better if there was no more free movement of people, permitting EU migrants to move to the UK. Many South Asians stated that they and the generations before them had to go through various processes to be permissible for a visa. These various processes were complex and mentally and financially a struggle. These South Asians feel that the UK is biased towards the EU migrants, which is unfair towards the South Asian migrants. They expressed that they feel unwelcome and unnecessary due to the EU migrants. Most of the respondents would further claim that it is therefore, necessary to control the borders and the inflow of EU migrants, however, it should be easier for South Asian migrants to come to the UK.

Another experience is that South Asians feel connected as they have been a part of the UK since India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were a part of the commonwealth countries and under the rule of the British Monarch. Therefore, living and working in the UK brings the South Asians a sense of security and identity. They claim to have rights to the UK whereas, the EU migrants do not have that same sort of connection or right. Experts such as Abbasi, Ehsan, Menon and Begum agree with this statement and point out that this is one of the main reasons why South Asians voted leave during the referendum.

Then, another experience is fear. Whether it is fear of xenophobia, racial abuse or recession it is something that the South Asians have expressed in their interviews. The fear for xenophobia is not for the UK but more for the EU as there have been incidents that occurred due to xenophobia in European countries. For instance, the burkini ban in France makes Muslim women feel unwelcome and therefore, they would not want to travel to France. However, most of the respondents have expressed that they did not witness or experience xenophobia or racial abuse in Leicester. The reason for this is probably because Leicester is a very diverse and multicultural city where South Asians have become the majority of Leicester's population. Leicester also invests in the social cohesion and works together with all groups to improve and strengthen their relationships. This may be the reason to why South Asians did not witness or experience any of the social factors.

The fear of economic uncertainty and recession is mostly because of Brexit. From business owners to manual workers all fear the risks of losing their livelihood and the ability to support their families. Since the start of South Asian migration, the South Asians have worked hard to integrate themselves as much as possible in British society. As a result, they increased the economy of Leicester by using their business savvy minds and currently are the backbone of the Leicester economy. Now with Brexit, they fear that they may have to go through some loses before the situation becomes normal again and eventually, in the long run, could benefit them. Looking at the results could clarify this as a possibly consequence.

# 5.3 Which Aspects of Brexit Can Possibly Define the Outlook for the South Asian Minorities in Leicester?

Aspects are particular features, parts of something or a distinct method in which something may be considered (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). Certain aspects of the results may be considered regarding the problems that were raised due to Brexit. Other than the EU immigration and xenophobia, the economic and social uncertainty are aspects that can possibly define the outlook.

So, the first aspect is economic uncertainty, which has been a consequence of Brexit. It has been previously mentioned, that there is a concern for the British economy for several reasons. The first reason is the financial crisis combined with Brexit, have produced two of the weakest decades of economic growth in the UK. As a result, the employment rate remains low as do the inflation and wages but there is also a significant increase in market uncertainty. Another reason is the potential global trade war that consequently, would lower the GDP (Blanchflower & Sentance, 2018). The months following the referendum were the most crucial months as it would define what Brexit would look like in the long-run.

Although the period of economic imbalance has raised a lot of flags, the South Asians believe that the period of economic instability is for a short period.

Afterwards, the economic situation would turn in to the strong British economy it was before the EU referendum. Major entrepreneurs have fewer worries than small business owners and see the advantages of Brexit. This also may be because of their pro-Brexit stance that they do not take the disadvantages into consideration.

Then, there are the aspect of the National Health System and housings. Regarding the interviews and the respondents, a few of them showed their concern about the NHS as it must burden heavy costs due to the EU. The Leave campaign used the NHS as a strategy and told half-truths regarding the heavy costs, to persuade British citizens. Also, the housing issue is due to the housing crisis in the UK. It is stated in an article that there a several reasons for the housing crisis, however, the underlining issue is a shortage of affordable homes. Buying houses has become almost impossible to do and therefore, there has been an increase in the private rental market. As a result, housings in the private rental market raised their rents, which takes a higher proportion of a salary (Geraghty, 2018). South Asians such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have it harder as they are work in manual labour, which are the low-paid jobs. The consequences are that they will not be able to save money and risk living in poverty.

Lastly, the EU immigration and the increase in racial abuse and discrimination. Both aspects are issues that the UK has had for a long time. It did not suddenly appear but has been slowly unfolding due to the Leave campaign and Brexit. The EU immigration is a concern that has been reported in articles, reports, journals and in the interviews. Currently, the only solution is to leave the EU and to re-establish border control on all migrants. Many South Asians would not agree with this as they want easier access for South Asian migrants. However, regarding the position of the UK on immigration, this is highly unlikely. Then, the increase in racial abuse and discrimination has not been witnessed or experienced by South Asians in Leicester. One reason for this has previously been mentioned. Another reason is the media. According to the *Guardian* (2018), most of the time the media exaggerates the news. The media most often than not are not better informed and focus more on the crime than on the increase or decrease of that particular crime and therefore, they lose the valuable part of reality (Pinker, 2018).

However, it is difficult to analyse the experiences and aspects that could have affected South Asians in Leicester. The South Asian community is a very diverse community and not focussing on this diversity could potentially affect the results and analysis of this report. Furthermore, there were certain limitations to the report as there was a limited number of interviews even after approaching South Asian groups on Social Media and via email. Additionally, the responses in the interviews were similar and could perhaps strengthen the results if there was a higher number of interviews. Besides, this is a small weakness of the report.

The strengths of the report are the extensive literature review and the similar responses of the respondents that supported the literature review but also filled in the gaps of it. Resulting in a complete research report that supports and confirms the proposition of the thesis due to providing justifications for the statements and arguments in section 4, results. However, it is necessary to understand that the aspects such as economic uncertainty, the NHS, housing, and EU immigration could possibly define the outlook for South Asians in Leicester. Though, an outlook is a futuristic perspective that academically cannot be determined yet.

#### 6. Conclusions

In this section of the report, the section of results and analyses will be concluded in two parts. The first part will consist of the purpose of this report by focussing on the analyses of the three sub-questions then, it will draw conclusions to answer the main research question. The second part will consist of the recommendations for this research report.

The aim of the thesis was to determine if social and economic factors due to Brexit affected South Asians in Leicester. Three sub-questions were formed to study the aim of this report and therefore, acquiring valuable knowledge and credible information to answer the main research question: 'How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom?'

#### 6.1 The Social and Economic Effects of Brexit

First, the EU referendum and then Brexit has led to several repercussions. These repercussions can be divided into two categories with the first category being the social effect and the second category being the economic effect. The two categories are combined with certain political standings, experiences and aspects. However, it can be concluded that the political standing of pro-Brexit and anti-Brexit did not influence the social and economic effects although, it did influence the experiences, which in turn affected the social and economic effects. The experiences of the respondents, pre-referendum and post-referendum have guided to possible outlooks and consequences of Brexit.

Regarding the first category and according to the respondents, there were none or almost no effects of social factors. South Asians did not witness or experience an increase in racial abuse, hate crimes or discrimination. In addition, the statements of the respondents are in contradiction with the literature review for several reasons such as a multicultural society, peaceful social cohesion and the Leicester Model.

On top of that, the second category is what the South Asians are most worried about. They were focussed on two aspects of Brexit, the EU immigration and the economic uncertainty. The control over EU migrants is what South Asians want from Brexit. That said, they also want the UK to strengthen their relationship with the former commonwealth countries - India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to make immigration of South Asians easier and cheaper. South Asians also see Brexit and the EU migrants at fault for the economic uncertainty. They fear the risks due to it but are also convinced that after a short period the economy will be as strong as it was before the EU referendum.

#### 6.1.1 Did the Social and Economic Factors Affect the South Asians in Leicester?

Finally, the answer to the main research question: 'How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom?' is according to the research report, yes and no.

From the results and the analyses, it is comprehensible that there are no social factors affecting the South Asians in Leicester. On the contrary, there are economic factors, for instance, the EU immigration and economic uncertainty that could possibly affect the South Asian in Leicester. However, according to the literature review and the South Asian respondents, it is currently difficult to determine these factors and their effects. Moreover, at the moment it is also difficult to determine if these possible effects are positive or negative although, most of the South Asians believe that eventually, it will be a positive effect rather than a negative effect.

#### 6.2 Recommendations

In this part, the limitations of this research report will be discussed, and future recommendations will be given to improving the further investigation of this report. The recommendations have been developed through the awareness and importance of this research and can relate to understanding the social and economic effects after the negotiations of Brexit have been finalised.

#### 6.2.1 The Decision on the Brexit Negotiations TBA on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019

The first limitation was the period of Brexit. It was difficult to determine important influences, experiences and factors that would be most likely develop after the final decision on Brexit. As the negotiations are in process other options could be considered such as, a no Brexit, a 'soft' or 'hard' Brexit that could determine different results. Therefore, the first recommendation is to further investigate this research report after 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019 when the negotiations between the UK and the EU have come to a final decision.

# 6.2.2 The Interviews

The second recommendation is the conducting of the interviews and the number of interviews necessary to examine different perspectives. In this report, there was a limited number of interviews and of different perspectives on Brexit and South Asians. However, the value and credibility of the interviews are justified, and what could have been a weakness was overshadowed by the strength of repetitive answers from the respondents.

Thus, it is recommended to conduct more interviews however, this is not necessary when there are repetitive responses. There were certain limitations to this research report, however, with these two recommendations, these limitations will diminish and will improve the awareness and importance of this report. Additionally, it is important to follow these recommendations for further examination as it is important to understand how Brexit will affect the South Asians in Leicester. The South Asians have formed the majority of the population for the first time in Leicester furthermore, South Asians form the economic backbone of Leicester and anything that would impact them would impact Leicester and other parts of the UK as the number of South Asians are increasing in the UK.

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The Effects on South Asian Minorities Post-Brexit

Aradhna Changoer

Wood, P. (2016, June 24). *Britain's ethnic minorities and the Brexit vote*. Retrieved 10 05, 2018, from Integration Hub: https://www.integrationhub.net/britains-ethnic-minorities-and-the-brexit-vote/

- 8. Appendices
- 8.1 Student Ethnic Form European Studies

Your name: Aradhna Changoer

Supervisor: A. Grebner

#### Instructions/checklist

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code

(<a href="http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx">http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx</a>). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. [X] Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. [X] Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. [X] Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and sign the form.
- d. [X Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

### Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

- (i) Title of Project: How did Brexit socially and economically affect the South Asian Minorities in Leicester, United Kingdom? A case of the experiences of social and economic factors of South Asians in Leicester.
- (ii) Aims of project: This report aims to provide a clear overview of the various experiences of South Asians with social and economic factors as a result of Brexit. The report attempts to determine the effects of Brexit on the South Asian minorities in Leicester from 2015 to 2017. Furthermore, a number of interviews will be conducted to study the responses of South Asian respondents and to understand their experiences. Finally, on the basis of the analysis limitations will be discussed and recommendations will be provided for further research.
- (iii) Will you involve other people in your project e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)

<u>YES</u> / NO

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects . I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature	d	late
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If yes: you should complete the rest of this form.

Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.

(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):

The participants will be approached via email, social media or in person and will be requested for an interview. According to the medium of the interview the participant will be interviewed with structured interviews. After the completion of the interviews, the interviews will be observed in the section results and later on analysed.

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

A few participants in the interview will be professionals who have great expertise regarding this topic. Other participants will be individuals who will be approached via Facebook Groups and emails. Also, scholars who have done a similar research will be interviewed. All of the participants will be South Asians, from Leicester and/or are living and working in Leicester.

(iii) What sort stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to, tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below?

Questionnaires[]; Pictures[]; Sounds[]; Words[X]; Other[].

Questions will be asked to the participants in the form of interviews.

- (iv) Consent: <a href="Informed">Informed</a> consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in your project. Either verbally or by means of an informed consent form you should state what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual.
- (vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data? Personal data (name, addresses etc.) should not be stored in such a way that they can be associated with the participant's data. The participant's data and the Informed Consent Form will be uphold with the utmost confidentiality of the researcher and participant. The personal data will not be stored in such a way that they can be associated with the participants data. The interviewer and interviewees will not be placed into danger. The interviewees have the right to remain anonymous or to state their name. Personal details will not be used in the research unless permission has been granted. Prior to the interviews the interviewees will be informed about ethics and the their rights through the Informed Consent Form.

Student's signature:	date:		
Supervisor's signature (if satisfied with	the proposed procedures): date:		

#### 8.2 Interviews

# Interview – The effects on South Asians post – Brexit

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

## part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit?

# part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

## Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

Name participant:

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

### part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Yes. I voted for UK to leave the EU, because the more people enter the country, the less money is available for us who are already here.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  Fellow Asians are scared of how the government can help us if it has to support financially more and more people. There will be fewer jobs for us here. Also, other EU countries don't like Muslims.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the Asian minority?

  I think that when EU citizens stop entering Britain, it will be easier for our families from back home to come here. Also, rent will become cheaper, and this is something we really need.
- **4.** How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  Everybody asked for benefits and support from the government. The market became saturated with immigrants. I came here much earlier than all these new people, but I feel that I'm losing out on my rights and benefits with them being around.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  We won't have to pay the rest of EU countries again for things that happen outside the country, which is good for us.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the Asian community due to Brexit?

  I think we will be able to find more and better-paying jobs in the market easier.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Will Brexit be an advantage or disadvantage for the Asian community?

  We will have more opportunities in the society, more rights as British citizens, more respect.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the Asian community?

  For those of us who are already living in Britain for some time, it will be easier to get a visa, I think.

name participant: Awais Khan

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

  Yes, me and my husband both voted for England to stay in the European Union.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  I think that others are like my husband and me that they don't want to change the situation we have now. I don't see any problems with our current situation and that's why I voted to stay.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  Brexit is a very new and hot topic. It's also very unclear to what it means but as far as I have seen in the news it can cost us a lot of money and may also influence the British economy.
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  My husband and I believe that the situation before Brexit was good and that there was no need to change this. I think that this situation may have changed a bit but I don't know to what extent. If you follow the news you can get an indication of what has happened after the referendum.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  Yes, I think there have been little changes. I have seen that companies want to relocate to another European country. But in Leicester I have not seen many changes.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  No, not in Leicester. We live in a very peaceful neighborhood together with other nationalities and I don't think that this will be an issue. But the economy is something that both my husband and I think might be an issue if not now then maybe later.

## Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? Brexit will be a disadvantage. It may not seem like it now but this will definitely change later in the future.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?
  I only see disadvantages from Brexit. To what extent it may have an influence on South Asians is still unclear. Also if there any effects this will impact all age groups differently.

Name participant: Arshi Pervez

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework. I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

  Anti-Brexit
- What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?Most probably have not understood the consequences of leaving the common market.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  To me I feel a sense of insecurity. Particularly when the whole world seems to in some form an argument with concern. Being in Europe had some solidarity.
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit? The main concern for the people was migration as I understand. Not realising it works both ways and it was more of a benefit, economically I think.

# part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 3. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes? N/a
- 4. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit? What affects the community will affect all I think not any particular race.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 3. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? No difference
- 4. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community? Prosperity for certain either way. Because Asians tend to have a sustainable mentality

Name Participant: Bhavyesh Dalal

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Ans: Yes. I was pro-remain for economic reasons until I saw the impact of uncontrolled immigration through open door policy adopted by Angela Merkel. I changed my stance to pro-Brexit.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit? Ans: Over population growth through uncontrolled migration means is huge worry to many British Asians, mainly non-Muslims. They fear for identity and quality of life through mass migration.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority? Ans: It is an opportunity to establish back certain controls, which in recent times have diminished and therefore have given rise to law and order and criminal activities rising. By establishing those controls the fear of identity matters and livelihood will hopefully be tackled. There is also a belief that EU will have to work with the UK anyway irrespective as it relies of large scale service and trade on the UK too. So, eventually after a year or so, things will get back to normal.
- 4. How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?

Ans: Had Germany not adopted the open door immigration policy by overruling the Dublin Rule, majority of the voters would have remained anti-Brexit. The situation became heated up just because of that and therefore the country largely decided to become pro-Brexit.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

Ans: The border control and who can come and go would be changed. Other countries are also likely to apply the same. So for some time before it gets normal there will be lack of freedom to travel and work across Europe and UK. If Europe is able to resolve its open border issues in the Mediterranean then things will start to get back to normal.

2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

Ans: Some those who rely on trade with EU will be impacted temporarily. Others will feel safer.

# Part 3: future outlooks

1. Will Brexit be an advantage of disadvantage for the South Asian community?

HB: It will be advantageous in terms of identity and quality of life due to reduced inflow of uncontrolled migration from Europe. It will still be slightly disadvantageous until the trust of the past is re-established.

2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

Ans: They will continue to work hard as ever and prosper, and win back hearts. This applies mainly to those of Indian decent. Other Asians might struggle to win back trust due to religious mistrust that has now creeped in into the British and European societies in general.

Name Particiant: H. Bhatia

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

  I am pro-Brexit. These needed to change, the economy is suffering from all the things we have to pay to EU.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  The burden on the healthcare system (too many people to help) and benefit cuts are among the most important reasons, I think.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  Visa, better jobs and payment are the most important benefits from Britain leaving the UK, as I see it.
- **4.** How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  EU was putting a lot of pressure on the UK to pay extra money and follow their rules. Also, many Asians had to wait for years and pay a lot of money to get a visa, while East Europeans

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

could get one much faster and easier.

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  Now it will be more difficult for people to stay in UK, and that is fair, because we went through a lot to come here and find a job.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  UK border controls will become stricter, which means fewer new immigrants, and this is beneficial for our presence in the British market.

## Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Will Brexit be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? I think it is a good change. We will be able to integrate better in the society and feel more equal to other British citizens. Also, it will be easier for us to get a visa.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community? More jobs, more Asian British citizens, more fair payments.

Name participant: Kartik Singh

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Yes, and I voted Remain. Being an Indian born and raised in UK and have studied here, I strongly believe in the dynamics between Great Britain and the rest of the EU, especially when it comes to professional opportunities for both sides. I also believe that remaining in the EU will help Great Britain advance and improve its regulations regarding human rights and environmental protection.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit? I think people are afraid of massive migration waves and the extinction of job opportunities for themselves. They may also be afraid of other EU countries that are less friendly to Muslim groups.
- **3.** What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority? I believe it will trigger a series of xenophobic and anti-immigrant tactics on a political level. Being a non-white British citizen, I'm afraid of what this might mean for both the minorities who want to come to UK for a better future or already live here.
- **4. How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?** Well, to be honest, things were quite heavy in economy because of the huge migration, especially when it comes to rent prices and the burden on the health care system. However, the economy was still strong, as the country was working closely with the EU.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes? Recently it was announced that high-skilled workers would be prioritized with no preferential treatment for people from the EU compared with workers from the rest of the world.
  - This could affect financially the currently available low-skilled workforce in Britain. Also, the implementation of Brexit could mean that many international companies leave the UK, with substantial impact on Britain's economy.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit? If you're high-skilled and with a good job, you won't be affected so much. However, I cannot see further how things will change for me.

# Part 3: future outlooks

- 3. Will Brexit be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? I'm afraid it will be a disadvantage, especially when it comes to Asians living in Britain and sending money back home. Brexit could bring another recession, which could severely affect their ability to support their families.
- 4. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community? People will be strongly affected financially, I think, especially Asians in Britain with low skills.

Name participant: Kiran Patel

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? I voted for Britain to stay in the EU.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  It seems to me that people are afraid of workers from other EU countries coming to UK and taking their jobs and thus cutting their handits. Also, many Muslim Asians are afraid of the

taking their jobs and thus cutting their benefits. Also, many Muslim Asians are afraid of the increased threat of anti-terrorist attacks in Britain.

- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  I'm afraid that Brexit will scare away many companies, with tremendous (negative) impact on the economy. This, in turn, will affect all British citizens, including Asians.
- **4.** How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  Commercial bonds with the EU were strong, and that helped our economy a lot, especially those of us who run small businesses.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  The border changes are the most significant ones, in my opinion, because controlling the flow and quality of workforce in the country will have an immediate effect on the economy.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  As many other British Asian owners of small and medium businesses, we fear economic recession and what this could translate into for our financial status.

## Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Will Brexit be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?

  It depends. It will be a disadvantage for the highly-skilled workers, because of their limited ability to move inside the EU. However, I think it might benefit somehow the low-skilled workers, although I'm not sure yet (and I don't believe it).
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

  We will definitely struggle with financial challenges as we are called to adjust to a new economic frame that is still in process.

Name participant: Mohad Ali

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Yes, I did and I voted for the UK to leave the EU. I am Pro-Brexit.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  Brexit could be very beneficial for the UK. The UK has always been a power country that has ruled over many countries known as the commonwealth countries. Brexit could strengthen the ties with the commonwealth and therefore, strengthening our economic position. I believe that many British Indians want this to happen and believe that by stopping EU migrants there will be place for Asian migrants.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  For me Brexit means a sovereign and independent country free from the EU. It can relive its history as a monarch and gain a better and more powerful position in the world.

  For the Asian minorities it would mean more job opportunities, I believe.

# part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  I don't think there were significant changes post Brexit. Only that people started to know what the relationship between the EU and the UK was.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  I don't think that there will be any issues for me and the Asian community as well. It will eventually benefit everyone in the long run.

## Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?

  Brexit will definitely be an advantage for the Asian community. It will be an advantage for the whole of UK. The EU is only taking our sovereignty and not giving anything in return exempt the more immigrants.
- **2.** What do you see in the future for the South Asian community? *I see a country that was once great being great again.*

Name participant: Mohamed Amersi

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? No I did not
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit? Many voted due to lack of Information regarding what Brexit was. Many voted because they felt that Europeans national would jeopardise the possibility of getting jobs.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority? As a European and as an academic, Brexit is a problem that affects not only the quality (and quantity) of collaborations to establish with other European University, it will also affect the access to European funding too. At a human level, with Brexit the rampant cases of ethnic discrimination has raised, specifically towards some communities. This is thorough alarming.

# part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes? Such changes are not yet visible, but certainly pilot schemes for European nationals, that are currently being set up across the country for specific categories (such as academics for instance) are aimed at applications for semi-permanent of permanent status to remain in the UK; these are some of the tangible signs of what Brexit is bringing. Some of the major banks (and hence economies) are moving from London and the country is slowly showing signs of insularism.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit? This is still difficult to determine, it is too premature indeed.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?
- 2. What do you see in the future for the Asian community? To both question 1 and 2, as mentioned above it is difficult to determine if there will be a drastic change for the South Asian Communities. The country will be hit certainly by social, economic and cultural changes due to Brexit; however the dimension of such changes are currently difficult to determine. Similarly, it is difficult to define how South Asian communities will be affected.

Name Participant: Monia Acciari

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# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

  I did vote in the referendum. I am Anti-Brexit and voted to remain in the EU.
- 2 What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  I have read many articles on this and I would say that many British Indians voted to leave and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis voted to remain. The reasons for their vote could depend on their financial situation and on their educational level.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  Brexit will mean nothing special to me. It would happen when it happens however, there might be some consequences such as risk of losing jobs, or housing. However, my financial status is good so I don't think I need to worry.
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  There have always been social issues in the UK. However, I did read that there was an increase in hate crimes against Muslims but I have not experiences anything of that sorts. As far as the economic situation goes, Brexit did have an impact on the Pound although the pound is as strong as it was before.

#### part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  No, I don't think so. As I said before, there might have been incidents of hate crimes but I am not sure to what extent that is true.
- **2.** Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  There can be issues once the Brexit negotiations go through. But it is too soon to comment on that.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?

  I think that Brexit will neither be an advantage or disadvantage. But it can go either way as it is still a process.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

  I believe the situation will remain the same. There will be no significant changes in the Asian community.

Name participant: Naila mir

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? As a PhD student in politics it is necessary that I voted and tried to make a difference. So, I voted remain in the EU referendum.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit? According to my research there are different attitudes of South Asians towards Brexit. Age, education and occupation are factors that have influenced the EU referendum. As for the reason to why British Asians voted is because they wanted to see change. Many Asians believe that the EU immigration is unfair compared to South Asian immigration. (see articles from email)
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority? Currently, I am working on my PhD research, which is coincidently on Brexit and the different attitudes of BAME people towards it. I have conducted many interviews as well and for now Brexit means I can conduct these interviews and write my report. Then, to determine what it means for South Asians is a complicated explanation. South Asians are a large group that consist of different races, religions and cultures. Therefore, I cannot say what it would mean for all of them. However, according to my research many Indian voted to leave the EU and the opposite was voted by Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit? Not anything in particular has changed since the EU referendum and Brexit. People want there to be change and definitely those who voted want to see it. Many South Asians want to control the EU immigration so they can make South Asian immigration more accessible.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes? Yes, to a certain extent I do think there were some changes. There were changes in realisation of what Brexit would mean for the UK, it also changed the attitudes of people towards Brexit and perhaps even South Asians. Then, during my research a lot of people want to change their votes as they feel that Theresa May is not backing up on her promises.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit? For me personally, I do not think there will be any issues. Question 1 could also be an answer for this question.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 3. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?

  This needs to be researched from the moment Brexit has been finalized. For now I would say that there are more disadvantages than advantages and this will also be seen in the future.
- 4. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community? See Q1

Name participant: Neema Begum

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# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Yes, I voted remain. It was not a passionate decision but I felt it was the better and safer option. Also because the Leave campaign was only focusing on the EU however, domestic policies, education and the NHS would suffer due to leaving.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit? According to recent research it as because many first generation migrants were encouraged to come to the 'mother' of the empire. They felt a close and strong connection with the UK. During the British reign many of these first generation migrants worked for the British Monarch in the military, navy and police forces. Therefore, they believe that they have more rights to the UK than EU migrants. If there would be less EU migrants, the UK could focus more on South Asian migrants and make the immigration policies fare but also strengthen its ties with the former commonwealth countries. Another reason is that the South Asian minorities do not feel connected to the EU. They have a stronger national identity and religion is very important for them and there is no space for an EU identity and no sympathy. South Asians are not targeted with Brexit but the EU migrants are. Therefore, they do not find it important and will not be bothered by them unless they become the targets.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority? It is difficult the say what Brexit would mean for two reasons, 1. The South Asian minority is a very diverse group and every group has voted differently during the referendum. 2. For now Brexit has been announced and the negotiations are in the process however, I believe that it can still change. Nevertheless, I think that Brexit is a shame and by leaving the EU it would not gain more benefits. And I also think that the South Asian minority is wrong in thinking that immigration policies will make it easier for South Asian migrants. I do believe that the UK can strengthen its bond with the commonwealth countries but it also important to maintain their relationship with the EU.
- **4.** How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit? Regarding the economic situation, I believe that it is detached from Brexit and will not be massively effected by Brexit. However, regarding the social situation, I have seen a rise in xenophobia and hate crimes and most likely South Asian will be the target of it.

#### part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes? Yes and no. It is necessary to understand that these social tensions have been there all along. Although, Brexit has had no positive effect on this.
  - It also sort of legitimatized the hate and racial elements of white British population towards migrants. Many white British felt more confident after the referendum to express their opinion on race and religion.

2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

I think that race and xenophobia will be an issue for the South Asians.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? I think that it will neither be an advantage or disadvantage.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

  I can't predict that but I can give an insight of what people would like to see. The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis feel that by the UK restricting the EU migrants they will have more chances with their jobs as most of them have manual jobs and get paid less. Then, the British Indians are mostly well educated, have good professions and get better paid. They hope that the UK leaving the EU would make it easier for South Asians to come to the UK. I personally think that is not going to happen as the UK will have strict immigration policies for everyone.

  But as I said before, the South Asian minorities are very diverse and have different cultural attitudes towards Brexit.

Name participant: Dr Rakib Ehsan

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# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? I did and I am pro Brexit.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  Firstly, I did not think that the South Asians would not vote during the EU referendum. To my surprise they did. To my knowledge they voted because like me they thought leaving the EU would benefit the South Asians in the future. Or they voted stay because they believed this would be better option then to change everything all of a sudden.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  I hope that Brexit would mean more advantages for South Asians in Leicester. The Leicester economy is very strong and certain factors could make it even more stable and beneficial for the Leicester citizens.
- **4.** How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  Before the referendum many people did not know about the EU and after it they started learning more about.

## part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  There was the change as I mentioned at question 4. Other changes could be risks of losing jobs, higher rents, increase on unemployment etc.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit? No, not anything that I know of. At least not for now.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? I am pro Brexit and therefore I believe that Brexit will be an advantage for the South Asian community.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

The reason I voted for the UK to leave the European union is because I saw more benefits for South Asians if there would be less EU migrants. I think in the future this would clearly work out and will give South Asians a better chance at other occupations and a higher paid job. There also will be certainty that they will not lose their jobs to other migrants. In the end, I think it will make the Leicester economy stronger and will benefit all of us.

Name participant: R. Patel

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

## part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit?

  I voted for Brexit. Then changed to anti-Brexit.
- 2. What was the reason that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

We are afraid of the EU countries that don't want Muslims in their societies. Also, as more people come to UK, it becomes more difficult for us to find a job. The EU is not good for us. I believed this as well but later on discovered the truth.

- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?
  - We can find jobs and get a visa easier from now on. Also, for female Muslim Asians like me, it is better here, because in EU they don't allow hijab and burkini. However, it does not mean that the EU does not benefit us.
- 4. How was the situation before the referendum and Brexit?

Too many people coming to find a job in UK. Also, there are a lot of people who hate Muslims and attack to us, killing innocent people.

#### part 2: the situation post Brexit

- Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?
   Yes. Now it is more difficult for new people to come to UK and get a visa and/or benefits.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  Most people will feel more secure now, away from strict EU policies that don't allow us to be who we are, both in terms of religion and culture.

## Part 3: future outlooks

- Will Brexit be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community?
   I think we can find more jobs from now on. Also, because we live here for years, it will be easier for us to bring our families here.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?
  I see more opportunities and freedom from dependencies from rules that don't work in UK anymore.

Name participant: Sana Mirza

These questions are designed by I, Aradhna Changoer, a student at the Hague University in the Netherlands. I am currently writing my thesis, which is about the effects of Brexit on South Asians in Leicester. Therefore, I am conducting this interview to acquire knowledge and information for my research and to support the theoretical framework . I would like to thank you for your help in my research!

# part 1: The attitudes towards Brexit

- 1. Did you vote in the referendum? If yes, were you Pro-Brexit or Anti-Brexit? Yes, I voted to remain in the EU. I am anti- Brexit.
- 2. What was the reason according to you that many British Asians voted for Brexit?

  I voted because everyone in my family voted and encouraged me to vote as well. My father is extremely into politics and knew that we all were benefitting from the EU.
- 3. What does Brexit mean for you and the South Asian minority?

  At the moment, I can't say much but for now I can say that Brexit might result in some serious economic changes. It also restricts us from traveling to Europe but also from studying and working.
- 4. How was the social and economic situation before the referendum and Brexit?

  The social situation before Brexit is the same after Brexit. I don't think there have been changes with the social situation. And the economic situation before Brexit was a strong economy with the a valuable pound but this did change after Brexit. The value of the pound decreased.

# part 2: the situation post Brexit

- 1. Were there significant changes post Brexit? If yes, what sort of changes?

  As I said before, there was a change in economy. And I have not noticed anything further.
- 2. Are there any issues for you and the South Asian community due to Brexit?

  I think that voting was an issue as many South Asians did not think it was important to vote and that their vote would not mean anything. I think maybe things will get more expensive such as clothes, beauty and skin care products. We also can't travel without a visa to the EU or the Erasmus exchange is something that would be more difficult now.

#### Part 3: future outlooks

- 1. Do you think Brexit will be an advantage or disadvantage for the South Asian community? It will be a disadvantage. The EU had many benefits for European citizens and now that will no longer apply to us.
- 2. What do you see in the future for the South Asian community?

  For now I can't see anything that would be different from what the situation is now. Except for things becoming more expensive. But after a certain period this also will become a normal occurrence.

Name participant: Simran Sharma

#### Informed Consent Form

- 1) The Effects on Asian Minorities Post-Brexit
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)

If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.

# I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

**Signed:** A. Khan **Date**: 19-10-2018

- 1) The Effects on Asian Minorities Post-Brexit
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)

If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.

I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

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Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

Signed: Arshi Pervez	Date: 01-11-2018
JIRIICU. AISIII FEIVEZ	<b>Date.</b> 01-11-2010

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Signed:	BDalal		Date:	050119
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Signed: Date: Oct 2018

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Signed: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date: 10-10-2018

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Signed: M. Wi	Date: 17 17 18

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Signed:	Monia Acciari	<b>Date:</b> 4 <sup>th</sup> Dec 2018
signea.	IVIOTIIA ACCIAIT	Date: 4 Dec 201

The Effects on South Asian Minorities Post-Brexit

Aradhna Changoer

#### **Informed Consent Form**

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Signed: Sana Mirza Date: 15 October 2018