



# THE GOVERNANCE AND LOCAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND EUROPE'S REFUGEES

## WORK PACKAGE 2: THE UK, SCOTLAND AND GLASGOW

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*The current 'migration crisis' presents openings and well as challenges. The aim of GLIMER is to generate research that will help European cities and regions facilitate the long term inclusion of displaced people in a way that remakes local spaces.*

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# 1. APPROACHES TO ASYLUM AND INTEGRATION IN THE UK

Integration is a concept with a long history that goes to the heart of how we understand the kinds of social relations that characterise modern societies, from rural to urban, from kinship to community. This dynamic has been recast in thinking about the integration of new groups, voluntary and involuntary migrations, and the UK as well as most European countries presently occupied with coming to terms with how this renews and/or unsettles established social and political configurations. Here integration starts to become a debate that describes not only processes of change that occur among groups, but what a principled position on that change should resemble.

What are the public philosophies of integration policy and discourse in the UK? From the postwar period onwards, the way in which integration has been mobilised is closely related to dominant political attitudes towards immigration, race and nationhood, and its frame of reference has evolved in parallel with political and social change. If integration is an historically inconstant concept, then neither UK Government integration programmes nor their governance have necessarily shared the same concerns or motivations. Over time, UK approaches to 'integration' have taken divergent approaches to who is 'eligible' for integration (asylum seekers, refugees, economic migrants?), how those eligible might integrate (assimilation, multiculturalism or other alternatives<sup>1</sup>) and how programmes of integration might be managed (by communities, through local government, by reserved or by devolved administrations). These approaches and their inconsistencies are contextualised and traced below.

Despite political and contextual differences, there are also some points of commonality in a 'UK-approach' to integration. UK Government policy has consistently relied upon the role of community and third sector organisations to provide support where policy provisions are limited. In the last two decades, this reliance has occurred alongside a turn towards deterrence, exclusion and border control. At the turn of the Millennium, influential legislation restricted asylum seekers' access to accommodation, employment, welfare and education, and placed them at the margins of state provision. As a result, in this period, third sector, grassroots and advocacy support networks have grown (Barclay et al., 2003). Glasgow is particularly well-known for its multi-agency networks and integration support (Darling 2016). Its networks have arisen in the additionally complex circumstances following the devolution of government in the UK in 1998 and from which a distinctly 'Scottish approach' to integration has emerged. Today, integration support in Glasgow involves coordination between community groups, third sector organisations, devolved, reserved and local government and privatised contractors. With so many stakeholders involved in the integration of displaced people, integration processes have the potential to be unwieldy and unsuccessful, yet Glasgow is seen to have responded well to these circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> See Meer and Modood, 2012

## 1.1 1945-LATE 1990

The UK claims a long history of accommodating displaced people (Hynes, 2011, Laachir, 2011, Hill, 2016). Prior to the twentieth century, the UK had historically offered groups of people with a shared ethnicity, religion or nationality safety from specific instances of persecution (Pirouet 2010). Whilst instances of this type of contained resettlement also continued in the twentieth century, in the latter half of the century, the patterns of, reception arrangements for and political responses to displaced people arriving in the UK increasingly changed (Griffiths et al., 2005). The change in matters relating to asylum and displaced people might be traced to several developments in the post-war period (Pirouette, 2010). Following the formation of the United Nations after the Second World War, the UK was party to the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations General Assembly, 1948), and three years later, a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2010). Under these agreements, which enshrined the reception of refugees in a human rights framework, the UK was obliged to make specific provision for people who claimed refuge or asylum. In the years immediately following the agreements, provision for displaced people initially remained informal, but throughout the 1960s and 70s, entry and settlement procedures came under ever-increasing scrutiny (Boswell, 2017).<sup>2</sup>

The increased scrutiny of this period was a result of a growing hostile approach of the UK towards migration from Commonwealth countries (Meer and Modood, 2009, Hynes 2011, Griffiths et al., 2005). In 1948, the British Nationality Act had granted freedom of movement to all formerly or presently dependent, and now Commonwealth, territories by creating the status of 'Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies' (CUKC) (Meer and Modood, 2009). Legislation throughout the 1960s and 70s significantly curtailed this status, and in the Immigration Act 1971 'ended major, permanent, primary migration from Africa, the Indian subcontinent and the African-Caribbean' (Hynes 2011, p.9).<sup>3</sup>

The British Nationality Act 1981 withdrew a right to settlement to most Commonwealth citizens. Griffiths et al observe that this has meant that the roots of the UK's approach to asylum are grounded in the 'framework of racialised immigration control' (Griffiths et al. 2005, p.6). As a result, they note, when attention has been given to matters of asylum, it has focused upon border and ethnic control rather than settlement or integration (Ibid). Where issues of integration have been considered, Ager and Strang note, they have, 'since the first Race Relations Act (1965), been primarily considered in the context of race relations', whilst emphases on 'social inclusion' have only more recently emerged (Ager and Strang, 2008, p.179).

In this period, and outwith their remit of ethnic and bordered control, government provisions for integration have been defined as at best 'laissez faire' (Zetter et al., 2005, p.171) and 'ad hoc' (Wren, 2007, p.392). In particular, the government relied upon 'Refugee Community Organisations' (RCOs) to provide practical and pastoral support to new arrivals, and saw RCOs as 'unofficially fulfilling [government] duties under the 1951 Geneva Convention' (Zetter et al., 2005, p.171). Other responsibilities for asylum seekers and refugees – such as housing and healthcare – were outsourced away from central government to local authorities (Schuster and Bloch, 2005, p.3). Meanwhile,

2. Boswell (2017) notes that in the early 1960s, the UK was unconcerned with the entry of asylum seekers and operated a policy that if people were able to evade the attention of the state for 24 hours, they could stay. There was increasing discontent with this approach from the mid-60s onwards.

3. Hynes also observes: 'the Act came into force on 1 January 1973, the same day the UK joined the Common Market, so migration within Europe was opened at precisely the same time legislation excluded those from outside Europe' (Hynes 2011, p.9)

successive governments strongly emphasised the role of the 'local community' on managing refugee integration, an emphasis which was also seen as a cost-saving opportunity (Wren, 2007, p.392).

Sales (2002) notes that such was the emphasis on 'local provision' for displaced people, that the boundaries between statutory and voluntary provision became increasingly indistinct (Bloch and Schuster, 2002).

Until the 1980s, the UK had historically received refugees in markedly lower numbers to other European countries (Griffiths et al., 2005). However, from the 1980s to the mid-2000s, the UK developed from a marginal recipient of refugees and asylum seekers to one of the main European recipients. Asylum applications increased from the late-1980s and (excluding dependents) peaked at 84,100 in 2002 (Binder, 2016):

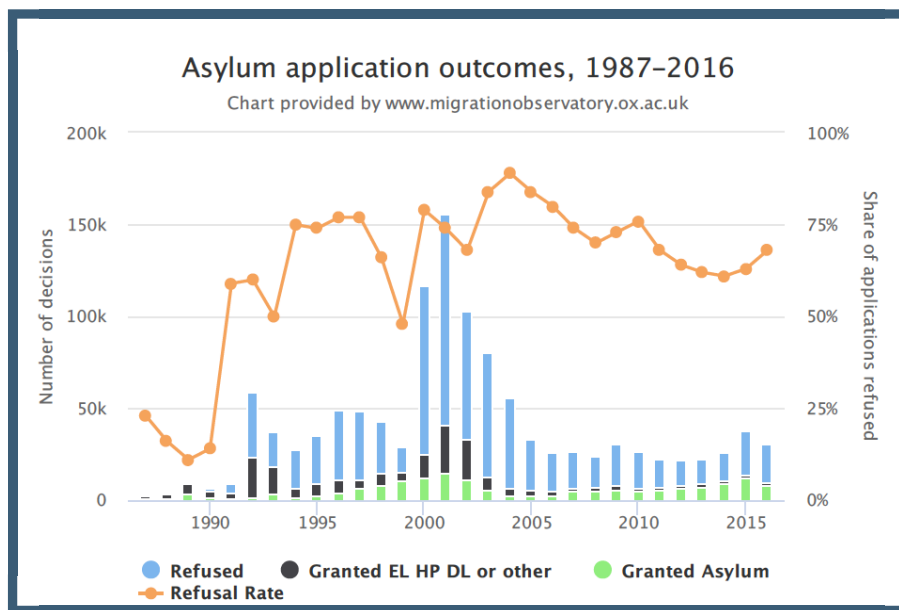


Figure 1: Asylum application outcomes, 1987-2016. Source: (Binder, 2016)

The increase in asylum-seeking arrivals between the late 1980s and early 2000s marked a noticeable change in government approaches to border control and integration, which increasingly began to target asylum seekers and refugees with policies of 'institutionalised exclusion' (Carter and El Hassan, 2003, pp.10-11) and 'deterrence' (Hynes, 2011, p.12), including detention, destitution, dispersal and deportation.

## 1.2 LATE 1990-2010

In 1997, a change of government led to a change in approach both towards 'integration' and towards asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. The Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (UK Government, 1999) (IAA) was instrumental to this change. Keen to fulfil the tenants of the government's 1998 Firmer, Faster Fairer White Paper (UK Government, 1998a; see also Darling 2016a, p.488), the Act sought to actively manage the settlement of and provision for displaced populations through a contradictory combination of deterrence measures and enhanced support for 'integration' activities (Mulvey, 2015, p.359). The government began this process by separating the categories of 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee'. Under this categorisation, refugee populations were understood as a group in specific need of integration support (Spencer, 2011, p.216; Mulvey, 2015, p.357). The government introduced programmes such as the Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration (SUNRISE) and the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) (Mulvey, 2015, p.359). In the meantime, the MacPherson Report (1999) and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) represented initial attempts to move away from approaches to community relations that were primarily concerned with bordered and ethnic control towards approaches in favour of social inclusion and institutional accountability. However, whilst these measures were designed to better support refugee integration, they also set limits on who was considered eligible to integrate. Under UK Immigration law, an asylum seeker is not considered a 'refugee' unless they have been granted status by the UNHCR, or they gained 'leave to remain' in the country. As a result, under New Labour policy, asylum seekers were not seen as eligible for integration support in the UK. This means that subsequent New Labour policies concerning asylum seekers could arguably not be framed in terms of 'integration'. However, the measures enacted upon asylum seekers have since impacted their subsequent experiences as refugees (Ager and Strang, 2008, p.179), and substantially shaped the broader immigration landscape in the UK. Furthermore, the starting-point of the integration 'process' remains disputed (APPGR, 2017), not least by the Scottish Government, which maintains that it begins from the point of arrival (Scottish Government 2017a) (more below). Measures enacted upon asylum seekers are therefore in need of consideration.

Outwith the provisions granted for refugees, the IAA placed enhanced restrictions on asylum seekers' access to education, accommodation and welfare. It established the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), which removed local government from service provision and placed responsibility for arrival, housing and welfare provision with central government (Schuster and Bloch, 2005, p.3). Under NASS, support provisions were restricted, and allowed asylum seekers access only to capped, cash-only support and access to no-choice accommodation in a NASS-designated location (Sim and Bowes, 2007). The introduction of no-choice accommodation for asylum seekers ran in parallel with policies that established dispersal as a key immigration policy.

The New Labour government saw dispersal as a solution to the (then) increasing number of people seeking asylum in the UK, and framed the policy in the 'ideologically problematic' (Wren, 2007, p. 392), terms of 'burden sharing' (2002). A scheme was introduced to 'redistribute' newly-arrived asylum seekers away from south-east England to other parts of the UK. With a surplus of social housing,

Glasgow City Council was one of the first local authorities to volunteer to host the Dispersal Scheme and has since received the largest number of 'Dispersed' people of all councils in the UK (de Lima, 2012, p.100).

The constitutional settlement that is enshrined in the Scotland Act (1998) officially 'reserves' migration policy to the Westminster government. So Scotland cannot initiate macro migration policy. Given the distinctiveness of Scottish conditions, including population dynamics and civil society, there is nonetheless an acceptance that a multi-level logic will feature in the incorporation of migrants and refugees in Scotland. This is accompanied with the acceptance that societies have grown so complex, dynamic and differentiated that no single public policy approach commands hierarchical control (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012). In our case, this also required an understanding that the governance of migration needs to grasp the role of networks that blur boundaries between state and civil society, and which rely on organisations and NGOs at various levels of consultation and partnership. Though the NASS system is administrated by the UK Government, accommodation provision has been outsourced to a combination of local authorities, private landlords and housing associations. Other support services (i.e. health and education) remain the responsibility of devolved and local government (Wren, 2004, p.393); however, Kelly suggests that the creation of NASS has reduced the capability of local authorities to prepare these services for dispersal (Blinder, 2016). In Scotland, devolved infrastructure and differences in English and Scots Law made integration provision even more complex (Cairney, 2006, p.431).



Figure 2: Devolved and reserved dynamics between the UK and Scottish Governments.  
Source: Scottish Parliament (2018)

Since the 2000s, the infrastructural complexity of the Dispersal Scheme has run alongside UK Government policies more overtly orientated towards exclusion and deterrence. Throughout the 2000s, the IAA and other legislation<sup>4</sup> were mobilised to restrict access to welfare provision and exclude asylum seekers from civic and social aspects of the state (Griffiths et al. 2003, p.3; see also Pirouet 2010, Bloch and Schuster 2000s, p. 395, Geddes 2003, Rosenberg, 2008, p.16). In 2002, legislation (UK Government, 2002a) was passed that restricted asylum applicants from working or undertaking vocational training until they gained leave to remain. Legislation in 2005 (UK Government, 2005) replaced Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) with a limited five year Refugee Leave, a decision which, Rosenberg comments, 'undermine[d] the Government's commitment to refugee integration by extending the uncertainty of immigration status' (Rosenberg, 2008, p.78).

Despite ostensible support for multiculturalism, integration approaches under the New Labour government were critiqued as closer to 'assimilationist' models (Back et al., 2002), which placed the burden on displaced people to adapt to dominant 'British values' (Home Office 2005) even as it increasingly restricted their access to the state, statutory support and participation in civic society.<sup>5</sup> Alongside the diffuse and incomplete infrastructure of the new dispersal programme, and the complex needs of multiple stakeholders, local agencies and new arrivals alike were also faced therefore with the consequences of increasing erosion of welfare rights. In many cases, local communities and third sector organisations stepped in to fill the gaps in the Dispersal infrastructure, or to account for the more deliberate exclusions of government welfare policy (Barclay et al. 2003).

Over the following decade, many dispersal sites developed multi-agency networks that worked across government, the third sector and civil society to support the integration of asylum seeking and refugee populations.

The political situation altered again after the election of a Conservative/Liberal Democrat UK Government in 2010. Funding for government-led refugee integration programmes was withdrawn, and though the perceived 'failure' of minority groups to 'integrate' remained a favoured complaint of political and media elites (Mulvey, 2010, p.452), 'integration' has remained conspicuously absent from policy since 2010. The UK's current lack of integration strategy has been critiqued by the UNHCR and internal government inquiries (UNHCR, 2017b, APPGR 2017, p.12) In the absence of integration-specific approach, other policy and legislation have instead set a precedent for statutory provisions for refugees. Though asylum seekers do not qualify for many of the welfare provisions targeted by austerity measures, austerity has nonetheless negatively impacted many of the service-providers (such as local authorities, health and educational services, and NGOs) that support asylum seekers, which have been expected to 'do more with less' (Darling 2016a, p.487). Darling also suggests that the logic that informs austerity has also contributed to increased privatisation and a loss of public space (Darling, 2016b).

This approach has extended into the existing integration infrastructure over which the UK Government has power. In 2012, accommodation contracts, previously awarded to local authorities and NGOs, were transferred to private security companies, G4S and Serco, resulting in upheaval and eviction threats (Piacentini 2012) (more below). Recent outsourcing of advisory services previously provided by local stakeholders has been strongly critiqued for diluting local response capacities (APPGR, 2017, p.25, Burka et al., 2017).

4. Summaries of immigration and asylum legislation passed between 1999 and 2010 can be found in Piacentini (2012) and between 1905-2009 in Hynes (2011, p.11)

5. See for instance, Home Office (2005), which defines integration as 'a process that takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community and to become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities shared with other residents'. See Solomos (2004) for discussion of discourses surrounding 'British Values'.



Meanwhile, the poorly structured ‘move on’ period continues to cause issues once asylum seekers have gained leave to remain and are obliged to leave NASS accommodation and register for poorly administrated welfare support within 28 days<sup>6</sup> (APPGR, 2017). Alongside austerity measures, other government initiatives have impacted integration provision. The trend, started under New Labour (Mulvey, 2010, p.448), of linking migration with criminal activity (‘crimmigration’ (Stumpf, 2006)) – is now manifest in the contemporary government’s focus on securitisation. Though the Prevent Programme (UK Government, 2011) does not explicitly target asylum seeking and refugee groups, its failure to separate matters of community engagement and surveillance has created a particularly hostile atmosphere for many minority groups (O’Toole et al., 2013). The expansion of the existing ‘deport first, appeal later’ initiative in the Immigration Act 2016b to all migrant groups (including asylum seekers) has also added pressure to an already hostile environment (Yeo, 2016).

The asylum seeking and refugee context in the UK is now very different to that of the early 2000s. Since their peak in 2002, asylum applications to the UK have declined (see Figure 1 above). A slight increase between 2012 and 2016 preceded falling figures in 2017 (Refugee Council, 2017).

	Decisions	Refugee status	Humanitarian Protection	Discretionary Leave	Other Grants	Refusals
Iran	695	332	2	0	15	346
Iraq	417	45	8	0	26	338
Pakistan	410	55	0	2	1	352
Sudan	335	267	0	0	0	68
Eritrea	314	259	1	0	0	54
Afghanistan	302	100	4	2	44	152
Bangladesh	269	6	0	0	1	262
India	226	1	0	2	0	223
Syria	214	179	0	0	2	33
Nigeria	203	17	0	1	8	177

Table 1: Asylum decisions by nationality, Q2 2017, top ten countries for number of decisions. Source: Refugee Council (2017)

These declining figures are despite growing global numbers of displaced people (UNHCR, 2017a). In fact, within a European context, the UK’s share of asylum applications has remained fairly numerically consistent, despite a sizeable overall increase in applications to the EU 28 (see Figure 4 below).

6. A period which the APPGR has described as unrealistic in the context of the UK benefits system (APPGR 2017). This is likely to get worse as the Universal Credit programme is established.

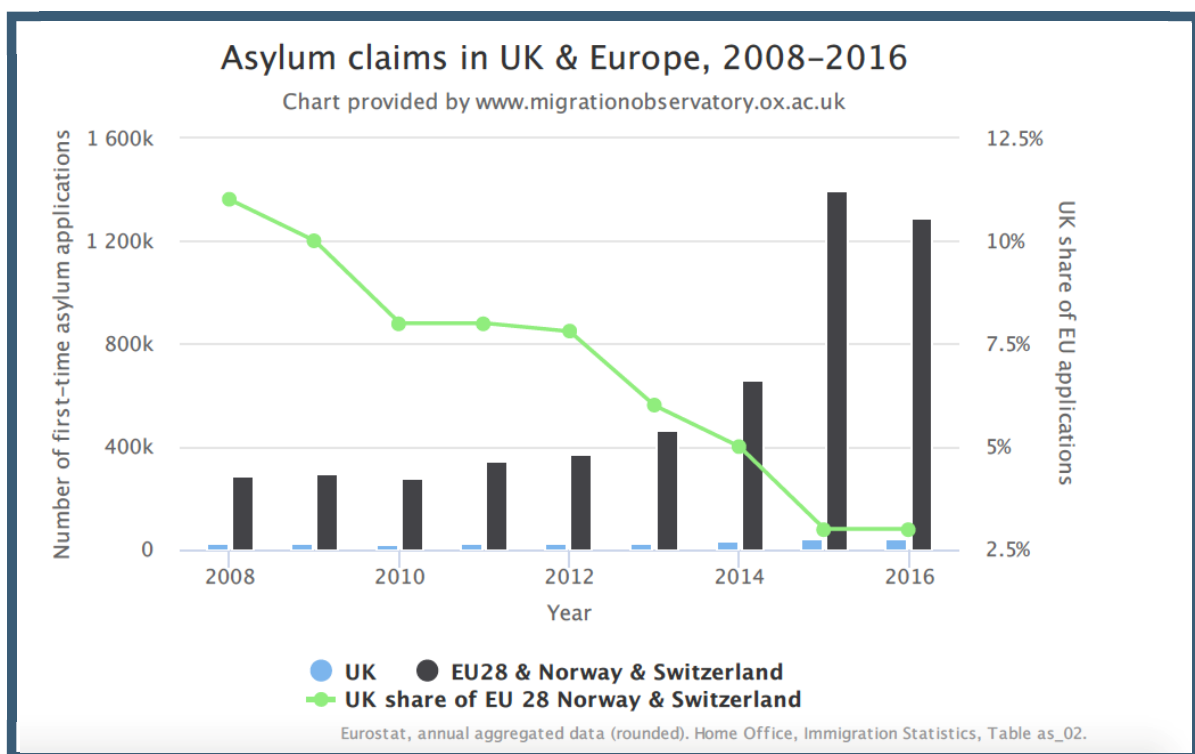


Figure 3: Asylum claims in the UK and Europe, 2008-2016. Source: Blinder (2016)

People brought to the UK under refugee resettlement programmes are not included in these figures. In 2014, in response to the ongoing conflict in Syria, the UK set up the Syrian Vulnerable Person's Relocation Scheme (Home Office, 2015), which committed to resettling 'hundreds' of particularly vulnerable people over a period of three years (UK Government, 2014). Following public pressure after widely publicised images of the death of Alan Kurdi (Kingsley, 2016), in 2015 the government extended the Scheme and committed to settle 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years. In 2016, 4,369 Syrians were resettled through the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Programme (Refugee Council, 2017), the large majority in Scottish local authorities (Addley and Pidd, 2017).<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the therefore significant contextual differences between the contemporary immigration environment and the environment in which the IAA came into force, current integration initiatives continue to be based upon those put in place by New Labour. Despite criticism of a 'two tier' approach to provision for asylum seekers and refugees (APPGR, 2017), the UK Government persists in separating provisions for integration by those who have leave to remain and those who do not. Meanwhile, although the government has placed increased emphasis on deterrence, exclusion and surveillance of asylum seekers, it has failed to address existing issues within integration infrastructure (such as the gaps caused in the 'move on' period). In many cases, existing integration infrastructure has been placed under additional pressure by government policy. The recent Casey Review recommends that the UK Government address its current approach to integration, and advocates for policy that foregrounds integration as a two-way process (Casey, 2016) but this has gained little political traction. The absence of an overt integration strategy in UK Government policy now also is in marked contrast with contemporary Scottish Government approaches, which, within a fairly narrow range of policy issues (Cairney, 2012), have 'diverged' (Mulvey, 2015, p.358) from those espoused by Westminster.

7. Syrian people have also arrived in the UK via the asylum application process – see Table 3 below.

## 2. SCOTLAND, IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM

Following significant numbers of Scots leaving the country from the eighteenth century onwards, Scotland has historically been mythologised as a nation of emigration rather than immigration (Arshad 2008, Devine 2001). However, Scotland might also be considered as a nation of immigration that has historically seen both European and global arrivals (Equalities Opportunities Programme, 2012), as well as internal migration from the rest of the UK. Prior to the twenty-first century, it had some experience of accommodating asylum seeking and refugee groups, predominantly through resettlement programmes for groups of particular ethnicities (Piacentini, 2012). Nonetheless, at the turn of the Millennium, Scotland was less racially, ethnically and religiously diverse than its urban counterparts in other parts of the UK (GCPH, 2014). This started to change with the implementation of the Dispersal Scheme by the UK Government. At the beginning of the Scheme, Glasgow was the only recipient of displaced people in Scotland, and was the main recipient of all local authorities in the UK. From 2000 onwards, approximately 10 per cent of the UK's total asylum application numbers were dispersed to Glasgow, totalling an estimated 20,000 (Mulvey, 2015, p.363). As the only local authority participating in the Scheme, Glasgow saw the highest rates of demographic change in Scotland – a trend that has continued for the last decade. In part due to the populations brought by the Dispersal Scheme to Glasgow, the proportion of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic groups in the city rose from 5% in 2001 to 12% in 2011 (an increase of 140%) (GCPH, 2014).

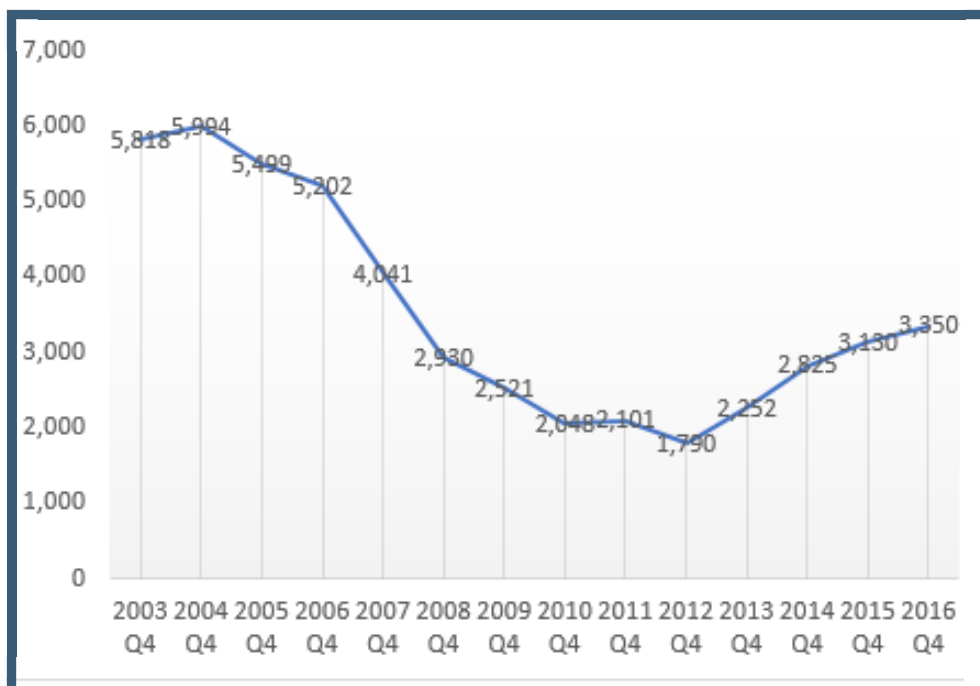


Figure 4: Total asylum seeking populations supported under Section 95 in Scotland, 2003-2016.  
Source: Home Office (2017)

The implementation of the Dispersal Scheme in Glasgow occurred alongside movements to devolve powers of government to a Scottish parliament (see above). This meant the development of a distinct 'Scottish politics' occurred in parallel with management of and responses to the changes wrought in Glasgow by the Dispersal Scheme (Cairney, 2006). Early approaches to the Dispersal Scheme by the UK Government and the Scottish Executive (since 2012 known as the Scottish Government) were largely shaped by the new NASS infrastructure implemented by the IAA.

Administered by the Home Office under reserved powers, Dispersal in Glasgow was managed by the UK Government. This included the provision of accommodation, which was directly contracted to providers in Glasgow (Glasgow City Council and the YMCA) by NASS.

Local Authority	Total supported under Section 95	Syrian Resettlement Programme	Total
Glasgow	3311	34	3,345
Aberdeen	4	22	26
Aberdeenshire	0	19	19
North Ayrshire	0	14	14
South Lanarkshire	4	10	14
Inverclyde	0	12	12
Scottish Borders	0	10	10
Edinburgh	9	0	9
Argyll and Bute	0	8	8
Dundee	8	0	8
Renfrewshire	4	3	7
South Ayrshire	2	5	7
Stirling	1	6	7
East Renfrewshire	0	4	4
Perth and Kinross	3	0	3
Fife	1	1	2
East Ayrshire	1	0	1
Falkirk	1	0	1
West Lothian	1	0	1

Table 2: Total of asylum seekers and displaced people by Local Authority in Scotland 2016, Q.4.  
Source: Refugee Council (2017)

Country of Nationality	Total supported under Section 95 in UK	Scotland
China	3,129	991
Iran	4,648	444
Iraq	3,761	317
Nigeria	2,932	270
Pakistan	4,478	264
Eritrea	1,880	133
Libya	1,055	108
Albania	2,331	61
Gambia, The	344	56
Kuwait	660	54
Syria	826	52
Afghanistan	2,467	46
Sudan	1,063	43
Sri Lanka	1,543	38
India	596	33

Table 3: Top 15 populations seeking asylum in Scotland (excluding Syrian Resettlement Programme), Q.4 2016. Source: Home Office (2017)

However, the arrangements made by NASS for the Dispersal Scheme in Glasgow soon proved problematic on a number of counts (Sim and Bowes, 2007, Darling, 2013, Schuster, 2000, 2004, 2005).

- First, NASS-contracted accommodation sites were under-prepared, under-resourced and poorly situated. Seen as an opportunity by housing contractors to fill unpopular accommodation in the city (Hynes 2011, p.77), Dispersal accommodation was largely located in geographically isolated areas that experienced existing multiple deprivations. Accommodation was often of a low quality, with few local amenities and limited links to other parts of Glasgow. Meanwhile, early government proposals to accommodate arrivals on the basis of 'language clustering' (Piacentini, 2012, p.130) did not materialise and people were accommodated on an ad hoc basis. Newly-arrived Dispersed populations therefore faced challenging housing conditions in locations that prevented them either from accessing local support or developing support systems of their own.
- Second, these conditions were made worse by developing social conditions in the sites. Inadequate community engagement by local authorities and government meant that existing residents in Dispersal sites saw newcomers as 'competition' for sparsely distributed resources (Kelly, 2002, Walsh et al., 2016). Following sensationalist reporting from local media, which portrayed asylum seekers and refugees as 'benefit cheats' and 'freeloaders' (Coole, 2002), Dispersed populations

were targeted for racist abuse and violence even as initial (devolved) government responses insisted that Scotland 'did not have a racism problem' (Arshad, 2003, p.138).

- Third, local support systems were neither adequately prepared nor resourced for the scale and type of provision needed for the Scheme. Early limitations on interpreting and social and legal services meant that new arrivals were left isolated in a strange city, in complex and confusing NASS infrastructure (Piacentini, 2012). A series of incidents in the early 2000s prompted the Scottish administration to revise its initially 'complacent' (Arshad, 2003, p.138) approach to dispersed populations. In 2001 the murder of Firsat Dag, a Kurdish man seeking asylum, prompted community-led and national outcry (Piacentini, 2012, p.123) and prompted a series of anti-racism campaigns led by the Scottish Executive (Rosenberg, 2008, Wren, 2004, Arshad, 2003). Between 2005-6, the issue of child detention, raised by the Glasgow Girls campaign (Hill and Nic Craith, 2016), drew a largely sympathetic response from the Scottish public and prompted the Scottish Executive to challenge the UK Government on its detention policy.

In the context of these incidents, and within its devolved remit, the Scottish Executive began to develop a distinct Scotland-orientated approach to refugees, asylum seekers and integration that responded to the particular demographic, social and economic conditions in Scotland. This work began within a race relations framework. In 2002, the Scottish Executive launched its One Scotland: Many Cultures initiative, which sought to foreground anti-racist work in public institutions, (Piacentini, 2012, p.126). At the same time, the Race Relations Act (Scotland) Order (UK Government 2002b) legislated for these concerns, prompting the Scottish Executive to develop its Race Equality Scheme (Scottish Executive, 2006), which, in some contrast to the more assimilationist policy of the New Labour UK Government (see above), stated a commitment to supporting a dynamic of mutual participation and engagement between majority and minority populations in Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2006; Section 5.3.5). The 2007 election of a minority Scottish National Party Government prefigured further divergence from UK Government policy on refugees, asylum seekers and integration.

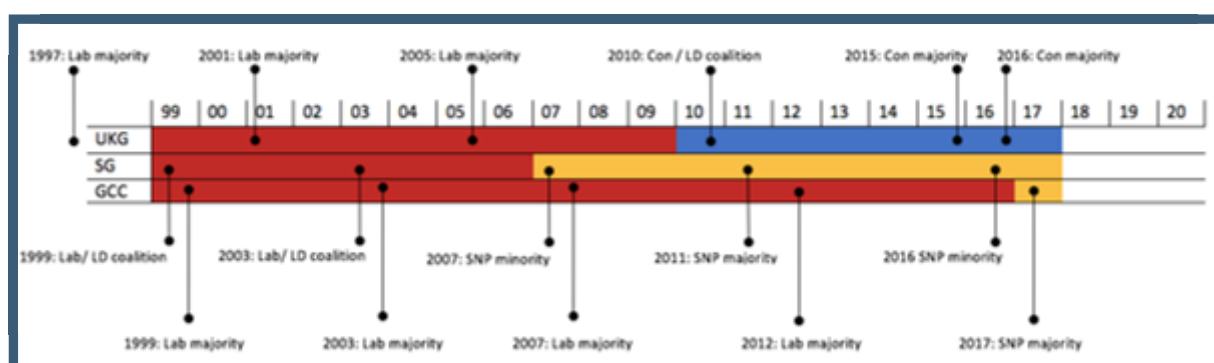


Figure 5: leadership of local, devolved and reserved administrations, 1999-present

By 2008, the (now) Scottish Government's Race Equality Statement 2008-11 (Scottish Government, 2008) presented an integration infrastructure; however, whilst the Statement advocated for a 'two-way' process (Kirkwood et al., 2015, p.144), its language returned the burden of integration primarily to refugee groups (Hill, 2017). More recent policy has attempted to address some of the problems of the 2008 Statement. The 2014 relaunch of the One Scotland (Scottish Government, 2017b) campaign presented a vision of a community-orientated multicultural society that sought to advance civic frameworks of belonging. In 2014, the Scottish Government also launched the three-year New Scots 2014 – 2017 initiative, which based on the Ager and Strang model of rights-based integration (Ager and Strang, 2008), made recommendations progressive, mutual 'integration' strategies for asylum seekers and refugees (Scottish Government, 2017a).

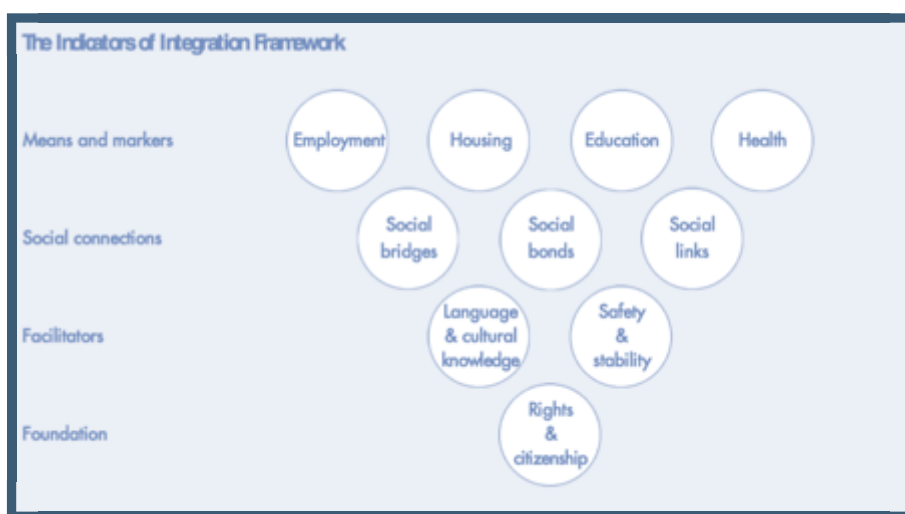


Figure 6: 'Indicators of Integration'. Source: Ager and Strang (2004)

The 2014 New Scots initiative restated the Scottish Government's commitment to defining integration as 'from day one' of arrival in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2017a), a definition which, in contrast to prevailing UK Government policy, includes asylum seekers in any Scottish Government-supported integration provisions. The recently-launched second iteration of the New Scots initiative takes this commitment further, defining integration 'as a long-term, two-way process, involving positive change in both individuals and host communities, which leads to cohesive, diverse communities' (Scottish Government, 2018). The 2018 Strategy places responsibility for integration on both displaced and settled populations in Scotland, and commits to further support of existing multi-agency networks. In Scotland, 'integration' is therefore currently seen as a long-term programme that encompasses a person's progression from asylum seeker to refugee and beyond, with an end goal of (at the least) civic citizenship. These policies might be seen in the context of SNP politics, which have been ostensibly supportive of Scottish citizenship built on civic rather than ethnic belonging (Hussain and Miller, 2006, Meer, 2015). They might also be seen as a policy response to the threat of population decline in Scotland, which has so far been forestalled by increased immigration since the 2000s. As a result, and whilst asylum seekers in Scotland remain subject to reserved legislation that restricts their access to employment and welfare, there are a number of devolved areas in which they are able to access Scotland-specific integration provisions (see below).

In contemporary Glasgow, processes of integration consequently remain fairly complex. Asylum seekers continue to be subject to NASS infrastructure under the UK Government's reserved powers. As the UK Government increasingly turns to private contractors to fulfil its reserved duties, asylum seekers are also increasingly coming into contact with privatised systems (see below).

However, asylum seekers also fall under the devolved responsibilities of the Scottish Government, many of which are administrated and provided by local authorities and some by NGOs. Meanwhile, in the absence of an overt integration strategy from the UK Government, the integration programmes to which asylum seekers and refugees have access in Scotland are conceived by the Scottish Government and administrated by a number of third sector agencies in Glasgow.



## 2.1 INTEGRATION, NETWORKS AND GOVERNANCE IN GLASGOW

Of the cities which have participated in the Dispersal Scheme, Glasgow is frequently cited as having made most progress in developing an environment of welcome and support (Piacentini, 2012).

Glasgow's success in establishing a comprehensive support network for asylum seekers and refugees has been largely enabled by the multi-agency network that has developed since the early 2000s. Rooted in responses to the disarray associated with the early years of the Dispersal Scheme, support and integration initiatives in Glasgow have developed both in partnership with and independently of devolved and reserved government.

Early instances of community mobilisation, such as the Glasgow Girls campaign, have also been complimented by the support of grassroots organisations, RCOs, Scottish NGOs, UK-wide NGOs, local authorities and Scottish Government policy (see Figure 8 below). Within Glasgow, the Scottish Government has established Integration Networks to aid and coordinate integration activities within specific areas of the city (including: Maryhill Integration Network, Govan and Craigton IN and so on).

It has also established an infrastructure of representation and advocacy, with named partners including: the Scottish Refugee Council, Saheliya, AMINA, CRER and BEMIS (Scottish Government, 2008). The coordination of these many different stakeholders alongside multilevel government requires constant maintenance; however, long-term, local work across agencies and stakeholders has facilitated co-operation and collaboration on an unprecedented scale (Darling, 2016a). Baberhoen and Muench suggest that one of the strengths of Glasgow's multi-agency network is its emphasis on the local, which has enabled it to cultivate the (impression of) a 'caring' discourse of a local belonging which it has set against a discourse of a centralised, uncaring UK bureaucracy (Baberhoen and Muench, 2016).

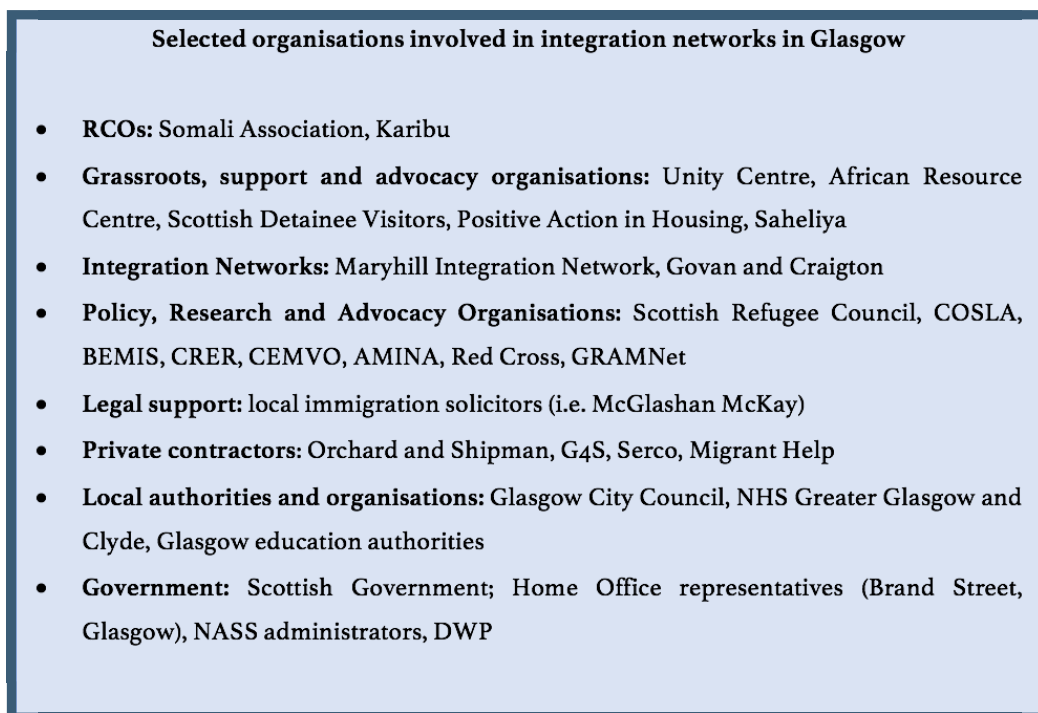


Figure 7: Selected integration stakeholders in Glasgow

Multi-agency networking in Glasgow has enabled stakeholders in Scotland to respond to some of the issues experienced by asylum seekers and refugees that remain unaddressed by the UK Government. For instance, the Holistic Integration Service (HIS) is a partnership between Scottish Refugee Council, British Red Cross, Bridges Programmes, Glasgow Clyde College and Workers Educational Association Scotland (Strang et al., 2015, p.13) that seeks to provide support in the 'move on' period (see above). HIS offers up to twelve-months support for people who have recently gained refugee status (Strang et al., 2015) and seeks to help them avoid common problems encountered in this period, such as accommodation issues, problems accessing welfare support and issues gaining employment. Other programmes mobilise multi-agency resources to provide education and advocacy services for asylum seekers (see Table 4 for a breakdown of services and stakeholders).

Initiative	Purpose?	Sponsor	Partners	Affiliation
Holistic Integration Service	To streamline the 'move on' period by improving communication between refugee services and the DWP, to support refugees to find employment	Scottish Refugee Council with BIG Lottery Scotland funding	Scottish Refugee Council (coordinator, advice and advocacy)	SG Integration partner Legal advice = devolved Employment advice = devolved
			British Red Cross	National (UK) organisation Health = devolved
			ESOL	Nationally funded ESOL = devolved ESOL implementation = voluntary/3 <sup>rd</sup> sector
			Bridges Programme	Employability support = devolved and reserved
			Glasgow Clyde College and Worker's Educational Association	Local (Glasgow) Education = devolved
DWP Resettlement Work	To give quick access to employment and social security to Syrian refugees arriving under the resettlement programme.  Information sharing between DWP and HO	DWP (national government)	DWP (coordinator)	National (UK)
			Home Office	National (UK)
			Scottish Refugee Council	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sector, devolved
Refugee Peer Education for Health and Wellbeing	A programme that supports asylum seekers to run health and wellbeing courses for new asylum seekers	Scottish Refugee Council	Scottish Refugee Council (coordinator)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sector, devolved
			NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde	Devolved
			North East Sector Improvement Team	Devolved
Asylum support and advice	An initiative to provide information to asylum seekers on their rights and entitlements in Scotland. To advise and support Home Office contractors (Orchard and Shipman, Migrant Help)	New Scots Asylum Dispersal Thematic group (SG)	New College Lanarkshire	Education, devolved
			Police Scotland	Devolved
			Crown Office Procurator Fiscal	Devolved
			Legal Services Agency	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sector, devolved/reserved
Asylum Journey Mapping	To map the legal and support journey for someone seeking asylum in Scotland	New Scots Asylum Dispersal Thematic group (SG)	Scottish Refugee Council	3 <sup>rd</sup> Sector, devolved
			Migrant Help	External contractor (Home Office funded, National level)
			Community agencies and organisations	Local (Glasgow), 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sector

Table 4: A selection of integration initiatives and networks of governance.

Source: Scottish Government (2017a)

Integration support networks in Glasgow are now therefore well-established and comprehensive. However, some gaps in provision remain, including:

- The extent to which grassroots and community groups are included in national level programmes of integration (see Netto, 2008)
- The loss of expertise, local knowledge and connections caused by a turn towards privatisation (Darling 2016a, 2016b, 2013, Rosenberg 2008, pp.90-1)
- The duplication of work and initiatives caused by similarities in organisations' remits.

This in turn may cause existing integration initiatives to become ineffective. Rosenberg quotes a stakeholder in Glasgow Community planning: 'there is an industry here where people can go from project to project to project and never really get integrated, just stay in that kind of unique sector and not feel part of the mainstream' (Rosenberg, 2008, p.88).

## 3 INTEGRATION IN GLASGOW

### 3.1 REGENERATION, ACCOMMODATION AND URBAN EXCLUSION

Following the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, under the Dispersal Scheme, Glasgow City Council agreed a contract with the Home Office to accommodate up to 2000 asylum seekers a year (McAllister, 2015, p.244). Asylum seekers were subsequently housed in areas in Glasgow North West, Glasgow South and Glasgow North East, predominately in housing schemes and high rises situated in areas of multiple deprivations (Barclay et al., 2003). The effects of Glasgow's Dispersal accommodation upon asylum seekers have been widely documented, and has highlighted how Dispersal sites created and exacerbated spatial, social and cultural isolation for many new arrivals. Dispersal sites were frequently located in difficult to access areas of the city, which were far away from support networks, faith centres or amenities. In addition, the quality of Dispersal accommodation has repeatedly been called into question. In a study using its Joint Client Database, the Scottish Refugee Council (Glen and Lindsay, 2014) highlighted specific issues encountered by asylum-seekers, including:

- Anti-social behaviour and harassment (which related to hostility faced by clients either from housemates or within their neighbourhood).
- Standards within the accommodation: including the physical quality of the accommodation and suitability of the type of accommodation.
- Hostility and anti-social behaviour from accommodation provider employees
- The recently published 2018 New Scots Strategy notes that within these issues, LGBTQ asylum seekers faced disproportionate discrimination (Scottish Government, 2018).

The The governance of Dispersal accommodation is complex. Until 2012, the Home Office (UK Government) contracted directly with Glasgow City Council (local Scottish government) to provide accommodation to asylum applicants, accommodation which was jointly managed by GCC and two third sector organisations. In 2012, the Home Office ended the accommodation contracts with local authorities and introduced a new delivery model for the provision of accommodation and related transport services to asylum applicants: the Commercial and Operational Managers Procuring Asylum Support Services (COMPASS). Contracts for the provision of asylum seeker accommodation were thus transferred from a mixture of consortia of local authorities, social housing associations and private providers to management by private contractors. Until 2017, the private company, Serco, had contractual responsibility for the Scotland and Northern Ireland region within COMPASS, which it subcontracted to a company called Orchard and Shipman. Following allegations against Orchard and Shipman in the press in 2017, this contract is currently out to tender, and the Scottish Government has expressed an interest in submitting a bid.

Whilst the governance of Dispersal accommodation is subject to UK Government decisions, it also falls under the Scottish Government's legislative competence over the standards of social, housing association, and private rented housing in Scotland, which it has clarified in the Scottish Social Housing Charter. To date, jurisdiction over Dispersal accommodation remains contentious, and the current Scottish Government has expressed frustration over the dynamic (Paterson, 2016). The areas of multiple deprivations in which Dispersal accommodation is located are also situated within a broader precedent of social marginalisation and displacement in Glasgow. Many of the Dispersal sites and their housing stock were the result of successive Glasgow City Council housing policies, which had pursued an agenda of demolition, rebuilding and depopulation since the 1900s (Walsh et al., 2016). The creation in the 1960s of 'modern' housing schemes and high rises on the outskirts of Glasgow were intended to solve the issues of inner-city over-crowding and slum conditions. However, in the decades since, the schemes have declined and been 'abandoned as zones of violence, antisocial behaviour and crime' The areas of multiple deprivations in which Dispersal accommodation is located are also situated within a broader precedent of social marginalisation and displacement in Glasgow. Many of the Dispersal sites and their housing stock were the result of successive Glasgow City Council housing policies, which had pursued an agenda of demolition, rebuilding and depopulation since the 1900s (Walsh et al., 2016). The creation in the 1960s of 'modern' housing schemes schemes and high rises on the outskirts of Glasgow were intended to solve the issues of inner-city over-crowding and slum conditions. However, in the decades since, the schemes have declined and been 'abandoned as zones of violence, antisocial behaviour and crime' (McAllister, 2015, p.244). These sites have subsequently been subject to programmes of social and economic 'renewal' and 'regeneration' since the latter half of the twentieth century. These programmes include:

- Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project (GEAR)
- Glasgow City Council's Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs)
- 2014 Commonwealth Games Regeneration programme
- The Gorbals Regeneration Projects
- Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP)

Regeneration programmes in Glasgow have had mixed successes. Though some initiatives have achieved community-approved results, many others have exacerbated conditions of exclusion and marginalisation for residents. Asylum seekers in Glasgow are highly likely to live in areas that are the subject of regeneration programmes.<sup>8</sup> The top nine Glasgow areas in which asylum seekers are most populous are all regeneration sites and areas of multiple deprivations. However, despite this overlap, asylum seekers remain notably absent from local and national regeneration policies. This absence bears further investigation.

Once an asylum seeker has gained leave to remain, they are obliged to leave Dispersal accommodation within 28 days. However, the route to permanent accommodation is not easy. In Glasgow, individuals have usually either applied to Registered Social Landlords themselves or presented themselves as homeless to Glasgow City Council when their asylum support ended. Once assessed, refugees are eligible for social housing; however, the shift in status from asylum seeker to refugee, while positive, also brings stress and worry of being evicted from their accommodation and facing imminent homelessness.

8. Information cross-referenced from Scottish Government (2016a) and UK Government (2016)

## 3.2 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPING LINGUISTIC COMPETENCES

Education and English-language acquisition are seen as key facilitators of the integration of displaced people by both the UK and the Scottish Governments. In this context, education is closely linked to English-language acquisition (OECD, 2016). The UK Government identifies education and language-learning as facilitators of social inclusion, civic participation and economic contribution (APPGR, 2017). English-acquisition is seen to help adult refugees navigate processes of integration and civic citizenship, form social networks with other populations in the UK, participate in public life, and gain employment (Court, 2017). It has also been associated with physical and mental health (Bakker et al., 2017). The education of children and young adults is also seen as a key facilitator of their 'integration', which enables them to acquire knowledge and skills for future employment, form social networks, and develop citizenship skills (Pastoor, 2017). More recent UK Government approaches have shifted from seeing education and English-language-skills as facilitators of integration to markers of integration. English-language acquisition has increasingly been used to measure and identify the extent to which a population has 'integrated' (or is seen to have integrated) into mainstream society. In recent years, English-language abilities have also become subject to securitised discourses that have linked a lack of English-language proficiency within some minority populations with a failure to 'integrate', isolationism, social conservatism and fundamentalism.<sup>9</sup> However, despite a UK Government focus of English-language acquisition in integration processes, it has been criticised for under-resourcing English-language support (APPGR, 2017). Since 2007, the UK Government has excluded asylum seekers from free access to ESOL courses (Mulvey, 2015, p. 454) and although the UK Government provides free English language classes to all those with refugee status under the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Programme, there are significant restrictions on this provision. A 2017 investigation into ESOL provision in London by the Independent found that refugees were waiting up to three years to access ESOL classes (McIntyre, 2017). Accessing schooling can also be a struggle and RCOs claim that thousands of children seeking asylum in the rUK are being denied access to education.<sup>10</sup>

In Scotland, the situation is different. Under the Scotland Act 1998, education is devolved to the Scottish Government, which has enabled the Scottish Government to develop education and language strategy separately to rUK. As a result, Scottish education policies have worked alongside Scottish integration approaches to provide access to both refugees and asylum seekers to ESOL and education. The Scottish Government's Standards in Scotland's Schools Etc Act (2000) establishes universal access to compulsory education in Scotland for all children and young people, including those of refugee or asylum seeking backgrounds (Scottish Government, 2017a, p. 53). The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 emphasises the need for planned support to meet the needs of individual children and young people who experience barriers to learning. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 places a general duty on public authorities to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, to promote equality of opportunity and to promote good relations between people of different racial groups. Local authorities are encouraged to adopt their own strategies for aiding children in schools for whom English is not a first language.

9. These discourses have also been racialised and gendered, and frequently target Muslim populations (Rashid 2016). See, for instance, (ex) Prime Minister David Cameron's comments about the failure of 'Muslim women' to learn English (Mason and Sherwood 2016).

10. Children in initial accommodation in England and Wales do not have a legal right to attend school and are not allowed to go on a waiting list to get a school place. Local councils claim they do not have a legal responsibility to provide education for them and those schools that are 'academies' are free of local government control and can't be forced by the council to take new arrivals.

Glasgow City Council has an English as an Additional Language (EAL) service that provides support to these children who attend educational establishments in Glasgow. EAL teachers in the city work in nursery, primary, secondary and additional support for learning schools. The EAL Service is available to all children and young people whether they have recently arrived in Glasgow from another country and are new to learning English or simply those who have always lived in Glasgow but use a language other than English at home. EAL teachers work alongside other school staff to help children access the curriculum and achieve their potential.

Since 2007, the Scottish Government has also established its own ESOL strategy, which was recently updated as the Welcoming our learners: Scotland's English for Speaker of Other Languages (ESOL) Strategy 2015-2020 (Scottish Government, 2015b). The provision of education and English-language classes for asylum seekers and refugees has been achieved through collaborative work between Scottish Government agencies, local and higher education authorities and third sector parties. For instance, for those over the age of 16, the Scottish Funding Council 'waives fees for asylum seekers attending college and studying a full or part-time ESOL course or other part-time advanced or non-advanced course' (Scottish Government, 2017a, p. 54). A number of universities in Scotland have also developed scholarship schemes for people seeking asylum in Scotland. ESOL provision in Scotland similarly involves collaboration between the Scottish Government and further education colleges, which are governed and funded by the Scottish Government's Community Planning Partnerships (Scottish Government, 2017a, p. 54). ESOL provision was also funded and supported by the Holistic Integration Service, which was administrated by the Scottish Refugee Council and delivered by Glasgow's Integration Networks and some NGOs (Strang et al., 2015). Beneficiaries accessed ESOL classes at Workers Educational Association Scotland and Glasgow Clyde College and HIS partners supported refugees in their dealings with the DWP by teaching relevant vocabulary. ESOL tutors also have an important role in explaining the sanctions system in relation to benefits and supporting JSA claimants with advice on completing the necessary paperwork. The benefits system often works against further engagement with ESOL classes and other forms of education because full time students are not eligible for JSA nor Housing Benefit.

Scottish Government approaches to the education and language-support of displaced people are shaped by Scotland-specific integration policies. The inclusion of asylum seekers in ESOL and education provision is consistent with the Scottish Government's 'from day one' integration strategy (Scottish Government, 2018). Under this approach, English-language and education acquisition are understood as stages that facilitate integration within a rights and citizenship framework (Ager and Strang, 2008) – an emphasis that is in some contrast to rUK approaches, which emphasise education and English-language acquisition as part of the 'hospitality' exchange. Furthermore, the New Scots emphasis on integration as a two-way process has increasingly prompted the Scottish Government to explore alternative modes of language-learning and acquisition. For instance, the Sharing Lives Sharing Languages programme (Hirsu and Bryson, 2017) foregrounds a participative approach to language learning and 'aims to build connections between refugees and those whose first language is not English, and the host community (Scottish Government, 2017a, p. 55).<sup>11</sup> Language learning is clearly a key component in terms of accessing the labour market and these two areas of integration clearly overlap.

11. These initiatives might also be seen in the context of Scotland's linguistic landscape. Scotland has officially been designated a multilingual country since 2005 (Phipps 2017). Though English therefore remains a dominant language in Scotland, it does not retain a complete monopoly on public life, and there are an increasing number of initiatives to promote minority languages in Scotland, albeit in a so far limited capacity.

### 3.3 INTEGRATION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET AND SKILLS TRAINING

One of the key distinctions between asylum seekers and refugees in the UK is the right to work. While anyone given humanitarian protection status as a refugee is permitted to work, asylum seekers cannot lawfully do so while they are waiting for their case to be decided.<sup>12</sup> It is unsurprising therefore that some have pointed to an inherent contradiction between UK integration strategies that focus on employment and the restrictive government policies that negatively affect access to the labour market (Bloch, 2008). Indeed, such restrictions placed on asylum seekers by policy acted at a UK level has an impact which has to be subsequently dealt with by a combination of the Scottish government and local authorities such as Glasgow City Council (Mulvey, 2015).

One of the reasons why a distinctly Scottish approach to refugees and asylum seekers has been pursued is the demographic reality of a falling and ageing population combined with a continuing out-migration of younger and skilled people. In this context the Scottish Government (formerly the Scottish Executive) 'highlighted a need to encourage more people to choose to live and work in Scotland and recognises that refugees (and potentially asylum seekers) have much to contribute to Scotland's economic and social development' (Charlaff, 2004). Programmes were subsequently launched to integrate refugees into the teaching and medical professions. The Refugees Into Teaching in Scotland (RITeS) project which ran between 2004 and 2011 allowed hundreds of experienced teachers among the refugee population to get back in the classroom. RITeS offered shadow placements, access to university retraining, upgrading and English courses, teaching opportunities in Scottish schools and guided registration for the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS). It also helped with the job search, interview techniques and work placements.<sup>13</sup>

Starting from the year 2000, the NHS in Scotland has also benefitted from UK wide projects for Refugee Doctors (Jackson et al., 2004, Stewart, 2007, Piętka-Nykaza, 2015).<sup>14</sup> This scheme was relaunched by the Scottish Government in 2016 as the New Refugee Doctors Project in collaboration with the British Medical Association (BMA) and NHS in Scotland. It was designed to 'help to prevent de-skilling, offer the opportunity to observe the NHS in action and opportunities to experience the reality of working as a doctor in Scotland; and overcome potential cultural and linguistic barriers while working towards passing their clinical and language exams' (Scottish Government, 2016). The project received further funding in 2017 and distinguishes itself from other refugee doctor programmes in the UK by offering placement and clinical attachments around understanding the structure, culture and ethics of NHS Scotland as well as giving doctors access to postgraduate study and dedicated support for learning English, post-registration and job hunting.<sup>15</sup>

12. This restriction on working for asylum seekers has been in place since 2002. They can only apply for permission to work if they have waited for over 12 months for an initial decision on their claim although they are only allowed to do jobs on the "shortage occupations list".

13. Moving into teaching in Scotland was not straight forward with only 41 of the 301 teachers registered with the project having achieved GTCS registration as of May 2010 (Smyth and Kum 2010).

14. In her analysis of the integration of these doctors in Scotland in 2003-2005, Stewart (2005) notes that cities like Glasgow have few problems in recruiting staff whereas it is the more rural and remote areas that would benefit from the skills of these refugees

15. See the video produced by NHS Education for Scotland <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6JbiqrFEO8>

As Scotland's largest city and the home for a majority of Scotland's refugees and asylum seekers, Glasgow has developed a series of multi-agency networks as a way to facilitate integration and the joint working across the public, private and voluntary sectors, including agencies such as the Scottish Refugee Council (Wren, 2007). Prior to October 2015, few local authorities outside of Glasgow had experience of refugees or resettlement. Therefore, Glasgow has been a substantial focus for the work of government initiatives such as the 'New Scots' refugee integration strategy (2014-2017) that was developed by the Scottish Government, COSLA and the Scottish Refugee Council which addressed six key thematic areas including 'employability and welfare rights' (Scottish Government, 2017). The city has been at the fore in developing solutions to help with the transition into employment. One of the most successful initiatives has been the Bridges Programmes, a specialist agency supporting the social, educational and economic integration of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. It was founded in 2002 as a means to aid integration and develop skills for the work place and was originally piloted in the NHS and the construction industry. It now works directly with a range of employers and partners to help its clients into work if they are eligible or offer work shadowing and work experience placements for those who are not. The Bridges Programmes has been involved with a range of projects and has pioneered specialized training such as the Women's Empowerment Course (Hewitt et al., 2010).

The Bridges Programme has become the key partner for a range of initiatives such as the Refugee Integration Service (RIS) operated by the Scottish Refugee Council. It operates a 'skills audit' which assists individuals to recognise which skills and experiences are of value on the UK labour market (Martin, 2016). Bridges was also instrumental in 'New Scots' and delivered the employability element of the Holistic Integration Service (HIS) that ran from 2013-2016 with each person referred receiving an initial employment, education and skills assessment and then a developed Employment Action Plan. The clients referred to Bridges Programmes 'benefitted from the opportunities to explore career choices and support to enhance their CV (through training, education and work experience) to achieve their aspirations' (Strang et al., 2015).



## 3.4 GENDER DYNAMICS OF RECEPTION AND INTEGRATION

Gender dynamics affect all aspects and stages of seeking asylum, (not) gaining leave to remain and 'integration'. Constructions of gender by (1) incoming populations, (2) immigration authorities and integration initiatives and (3) established 'host' populations have impact upon people of all genders; however, the gendered dynamics of UK immigration and integration often disproportionately negatively affect women (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017). These dynamics are reflected across all levels of provision for displaced people. There is no current precedent in international law for a person's right to claim asylum on account of gendered persecution (Crawley, 2001). Furthermore, though international law is 'gender-neutral in theory', there is a long-established precedent of cases being seen according to gender binaries (male/female), and preference given to cases concerning 'male dominated, 'public' activities' over cases concerning matters normatively associated with the female and consequently (in this paradigm) with women (i.e. the 'domestic') (Crawley, 2001, p.17). As a result, the issues that may cause women to seek asylum – violence that is gender-based, and both domestic and political – are often ill-accounted for, or seen as secondary to 'public' persecution (predominantly) faced by men. In the UK, men made up 75% of main applicants for asylum in 2016 (Blinder, 2016). However, though men made up the majority of 'main applicants', 60 to 70% of dependents associated with these applications are women and girls (Scottish Government, 2017a, p.26), who often have specific needs in categories of health, education and accommodation, but whose entitlements are often obscured by an institutional focus on the 'main applicant' (Scottish Government, 2017a, p.26). Meanwhile, though (reserved) UK government provisions for refugees and integration remain ostensibly 'gender neutral', Government policies that have increasingly restricted the rights of refugee dependents<sup>16</sup> has mostly impacted women, and has meant, for example, that women who are dependents<sup>16</sup> do not have the right access to state-funded emergency refuges in cases of domestic violence (Phillips, 2006, pp.444-5).

Uneven gendered dynamics can be found throughout all categories associated with integration processes in the UK, and Franz suggests that 'variation in integration outcomes are more likely to be determined by gender than other variables' (Franz, 2003). These dynamics often intersect with other social dynamics – including all those identified by the GLIMER Project (accommodation, education, employment) and other social categories (race, ethnicity, class, nationality) – and cannot be viewed in isolation. With an emphasis on the gendered aspects of GLIMER categories, the following issues arise:

### Housing and social inclusion

- Cheung and Phillimore (2017) find that NASS accommodation had a significant lasting negative effect on self-reported health for both genders.
- However, they also find that NASS accommodation had an adverse effect on asylum seeking women's ability to access local services and healthcare (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017).
- This is supported by other research. Poor and unhealthy housing conditions for asylum seekers have been linked to increased health risks for asylum seeking women. Open Democracy documents the unsanitary and unsafe accommodation in which pregnant asylum-seeking women are housed.<sup>17</sup>

16. Once a person is granted refugee status, they are allowed to bring dependents to the UK. However, to successfully gain entry, applicants must prove that they have no 'recourse to public funds' (Phillips 2006, 444-5).

17. Refugee and asylum seeking women make up 12% of all maternal deaths, and 0.3% of the population in the UK (Grayson 2017)

## Education, English-language provision and employment

- Women asylum seekers and refugees experience additional barriers to English-language acquisition (Brahmbhatt et al., 2007). There were significant gender differences in language fluency and literacy with men reporting higher scores in both (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017, p.219).
- Asylum seeking and refugee women are more likely than men to live with dependent children (39% v. 17%) (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017, p.220). Akua-Sakyiwah highlights that a lack of access to childcare often creates barriers to women's access to ESOL and education (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2012).
- A lack of access to (or provision of) childcare for education and ESOL classes also often creates additional barriers to employment and welfare. Balancing childcare, education, ESOL classes and Job Centre attendance is often difficult or unfeasible, and non-attendance at Job Centre interviews can incur benefit sanctions (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2012). A lack of childcare provision can therefore have serious, long-term effects not only on women's access to ESOL classes and education, but subsequently on their employment prospects and/or access to welfare.
- Women refugees have significantly worse labour market outcomes than men (Wren, 2007), with 23 per cent more men in work than women (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017, p.219).
- Refugee women who receive benefits are likely to be disproportionately affected by cuts in welfare provision caused by austerity measures (Bassel and Emejulu, 2017).

Women seeking asylum and refugee women in Scotland experience many of the issues highlighted above (Strang et al., 2015). Mulvey notes that in Scotland, 'women in the asylum process in particular indicate very low WEMWBS scores, lower than the lowest economic quintile of the overall Scottish population' (Mulvey, 2015, p.371; quotes Given, 2008). There are some initiatives in Scotland that specifically target issues affecting asylum seeking and refugee women, including:

- The Scottish Government's Strategy on Violence Against Women (Scottish Government, 2015a), under which asylum seeking and refugee women are given provision (within devolved powers)
- The Scottish Government's National Action Plan on Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) (Scottish Government, 2017c), an initiative developed over the last decade with women's community groups, the Scottish Refugee Council, NGOs and the Scottish Government.
- The Scottish Government is 'also about to take control over aspects of social security that were previously reserved to Westminster, including maternity grants' (Murray, 2016).
- A number of local charities and community groups in Glasgow contain specific provision for women's groups.

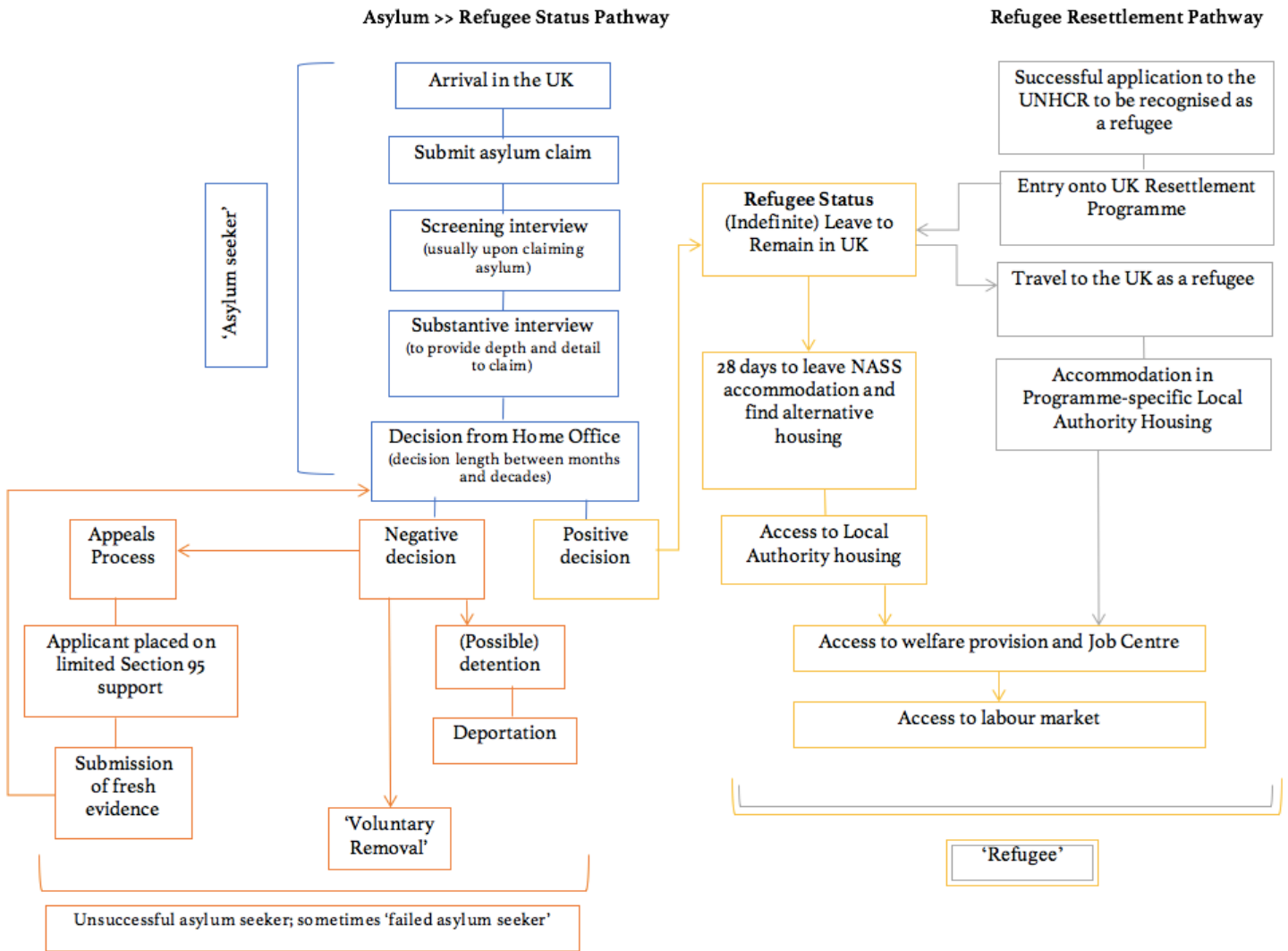
## 4. Appendix A: Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMINA MWRC – Amina Muslim Women’s Resource Centre  
APPGR – All Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees  
BEMIS – Black Ethnic Minority Infrastructure in Scotland  
BMA – British Medical Association  
CEAS – Common European Asylum System  
CEMVO – Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations  
CGAP – Central Govan Action Plan  
COMPASS – Commercial and Operational Managers Procuring Asylum Support Services  
COSLA – Convention of Scottish Local Authorities  
CRER – Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights  
CUKC – Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies  
DWP – Department for Work and Pensions (UK Government)  
ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages  
FGM – Female Genital Mutilation  
GEAR – Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project  
GCC – Glasgow City Council  
GRAMNet – Glasgow Refugee, Asylum and Migration Network  
GTCS – General Teaching Council for Scotland  
HIS – Holistic Integration Service  
IAA – Immigration and Asylum Act (1999)  
ILR – Indefinite Leave to Remain  
IN – Integration Network  
NASS – National Asylum Support Service  
NGO – Non-Government Organisation  
NHS – National Health Service  
RCO – Refugee Community Organisation  
RIES – Refugee Integration and Employment Service  
RITeS – Refugees into Teaching in Scotland  
RSL – Registered Social Landlord  
rUK – Rest of UK (excluding Scotland)  
SUNRISE – Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration  
TRA – Transformational Regeneration Area  
UNHCR – United Nations Human Commission for Refugees  
VPRS – Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme  
WEMWBS – Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale

## 5. Appendix B: Selected Relevant Legislation and Policy

Year	Legislation / Policy Initiatives	Body
1948	UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights	United Nations
1948	British Nationality Act	UK Government
1951	UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	United Nations
1962	Commonwealth Immigrants Act	UK Government
1965	Race Relations Act	UK Government
1968	Commonwealth Immigration Act	UK Government
1971	Immigration Act	UK Government
1981	Nationality Act	UK Government
1993	Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act	UK Government
1996	Asylum and Immigration Act	UK Government
1998	Scotland Act	UK Government
1999	Immigration and Asylum Act	UK Government
2000	Race Relations Act	UK Government
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act, Scotland Order	UK Government
2002	Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act	UK Government
2002	Race Equality Scheme	Scottish Executive
2004	Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants etc) Act	UK Government
2006	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act	UK Government
2007	UK Borders Acts	UK Government
2008	Race Equality Statement	Scottish Government
2009	Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act	UK Government
2010	Equality Act	UK Government
2011	Prevent Programme	UK Government
2015	Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act	Scottish Government
2016	Scotland Act	UK Government
2016	Race Equality Framework	Scottish Government
2016	Immigration Act	UK Government

# 8. Appendix C: UK Asylum and Refugee Pathways



## 9. References

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