

Integrating Scotland: A thematic literature review of research concerning New Scots 2014 – 2022

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Introduction

The New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy (2018-2022), hereafter the New Scots strategy, sets out an approach to support the vision of a welcoming Scotland where refugees are able to rebuild their lives and integrate into society from the day they arrive. To achieve this aim, the strategy works to ensure Scotland follows a rights-based approach to integration that reflects both the formal international obligations the UK has and the long-standing commitment of successive Scottish Governments to address the needs of refugees and asylum seekers on the basis of principles of decency, humanity and fairness.

This literature review was completed as part of the New Scots Refugee Integration Delivery Project, which aims to promote refugee integration in Scotland and collect evidence to inform the next iteration of the New Scots strategy. The review is therefore designed to inform policymakers and other interested stakeholders of academic research concerning New Scots that has taken place in Scotland since 2014.

The literature review is therefore based almost entirely on academic sources of information that focus on Scotland, or include fieldwork in Scotland. Research that has been conducted in the rest of the UK without an explicit mention of Scotland has been excluded from the review (except where making a comparison between Scotland and other contexts). This decision has been made to preserve the Scotland-focus of the literature review. In addition, the academic sources used for the review are ones published between 2014 and 2022 (i.e. following the publication of the first New Scots strategy and the end of the second iteration of the strategy). Academic sources for the various chapters have been determined through Google Scholar and Web of Knowledge by using the above criteria and key words per New Scots theme derived from the New Scots policy.

Key challenges identified

Needs of asylum seekers

- There is a 'Culture of Disbelief' that permeates the UK asylum system. As a result, people claiming asylum encounter significant barriers when giving testimony and have a high chance of having their asylum claims rejected. Asylum claimants who have suffered sexual violence, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), post-traumatic stress, and/or are HIV positive are particularly vulnerable to having their asylum claims wrongly rejected.
- In 2020, over 33,000 people seeking asylum waited over a year for an initial decision. This is of particular concern as waiting for an asylum decision has been likened to living in a state of 'limbo'. In addition, the likelihood of a person accessing available social support has been found to decrease by 12-14% each additional year waiting for an asylum decision.
- The lived experience of the UK's asylum system – which includes degrading cashless support, regular reporting requirements at the Home Office, possible detention, confrontational asylum interviews – depletes people's energy and funds, while also inhibiting opportunities for socialising and developing trust in the local community.

Employment and Welfare

- New Scots with the right to work are still severely unemployed and underemployed. Structural barriers to accessing the labour market include UK government restrictions placed on people seeking asylum from gaining employment; lack of recognition of New Scots' qualifications obtained abroad; little to no means of converting existing qualifications; requirements for English-language certificates for obtaining work; lack of funding for employability in Scotland.
- There is a lack of specialist support for New Scots at Jobcentres and within the UK Government's Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). Obtaining low-skilled employment on zero hours contracts is often promoted over ESOL classes and higher education. Yet such jobs frequently pay less than remaining on Universal Credit and are a poor fit for many New Scots.
- New Scots require employment services that are simultaneously tailored towards people with limited knowledge of the UK job market and that understand the barriers that New Scots face in accessing trainings or certifications that match their existing skills. Currently employment service provision is patchy in terms of both its provision and quality with no national oversight.

Housing

- The UK government's decision to privatise asylum accommodation has limited Glasgow City Council's strategic influence over asylum housing and has led to reduced local authority expertise in asylum needs and housing. The use of low-cost, low-quality asylum housing in areas without histories of refugee dispersal and limited integration services has increased instances of racist abuse and reduced connections to refugee support services and community networks.
- Many refugees face homelessness or frequent moves between temporary accommodation as a result of the 28-day 'move-on' period following their receipt of Leave to Remain. Though intended as a short-term solution until permanent accommodation can be found, new refugees can be housed in temporary accommodation for months or even years. Temporary housing often creates significant barriers for refugees' pathways to integration and self-sufficiency as it removes opportunities to create attachments to a locality and find job opportunities.
- The use of temporary accommodation for people seeking asylum dramatically increased during the COVID-19 pandemic; with average time spent in temporary accommodation reaching 115 days during the first outbreak. The combined effect of being transferred from existing accommodation with little warning, the removal of cash support, the inability to prepare food and poor social distancing measures has taken a significant toll on asylum seekers housed in hotels during the Covid pandemic.

Language

- ESOL classes are rarely tailored for the specific needs of New Scots, these include: lack of prior formal education; previous trauma; childcare responsibilities; limited transport options; varying ages; and pressures from Jobcentres to gain employment. The importance of informal language use and sharing has been recognised in Scotland, yet more emphasis should be placed on multilingual approaches to language learning.
- Women's lack of access to ESOL language classes is of particular concern. Women still often have reduced access to classes due to expectations of childcare, household responsibilities and, in some cases, lower literacy levels – all of which make it harder for them to attend formal English language education. The Scottish Government's decision to prioritise full-time ESOL classes is also likely to put off more vulnerable learners who prefer informal settings.
- Despite evidence of improved interpreting practices across Scotland, there are still persistent issues with language support provision. Interpreting services for pregnant refugee and asylum-seeking women was found to be 'patchy', while support services frequently direct New Scots to English-only phone lines or documentation. There is also a lack of recognition of the wider role of interpreters in assisting with integration activities and processes.

Education

- New Scots frequently encounter educational models driven by competency assessments and pedagogical practices based on a deficit-driven educational discourse. These place New Scots in the position of having 'less' – less knowledge, less communicative power, less ability – because they do not fit easily into specific models of education.
- Many New Scots may have long gaps in their education history prior to arriving in Scotland – either due to not being able to access full-time education in their home country or as a result of journeys undertaken. Furthermore, New Scots may have difficulties proving their educational achievements or having their existing certifications recognised in Scotland.
- There are concerns that many New Scots are not aware of the educational opportunities available to them, the funding structures in place, or the barriers to accessing opportunities. This issue relates to a lack of knowledge concerning the Scottish educational system, means of accessing information and challenges regarding intercultural communication between learners and educators.

Health and Wellbeing

- There are significant concerns over the health and mental wellbeing of New Scots, particularly amongst people claiming asylum. Yet New Scots are frequently unaware of the health and wellbeing services that available to them. Even if there is awareness, many will nevertheless not access services. Such lack of access can be caused by a lack of awareness amongst front-desk and healthcare staff of the specific needs of New Scots; language barriers; and poor referral processes. New Scots are also frequently unlikely to trust mainstream service providers and people seeking asylum can also be too consumed by the asylum process to seek healthcare support.
- New Scots often experience a dramatic emotional dip shortly after receiving refugee status. This can be caused by their coming to terms with problems that have previously been put on hold and the challenge of finding employment. New Scots also often experience self-stigmatisation, where people experience shame and devalue their contribution to society. This can also be linked to job access, but also if they have experienced institutional prejudice and racism from members of the community.
- There are significant concerns that New Scots women who have suffered, or are at risk of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) are unaware of their rights in Scotland and that FGM is under-reported at mainstream healthcare services. Such issues are compounded by the strategies of denial encountered by survivors of FGM at the UK Home Office when they claim asylum.

Communities, Culture and Social Connections

- Integration is predominantly experienced at the local level – where people develop connections to (and through) local places. Yet the role of place is still under-researched in the context of integration in Scotland. However, the challenges that New Scots experience in developing social connections and a sense of place include feelings of isolation and insecurity resulting from frequent relocation, experiences of discrimination and racial abuse, low levels of self-esteem linked to unemployment, lack of language skills and limited opportunities for developing social connections.
- New Scots generally express low levels of trust towards those outside their immediate family. However, some reports suggest that New Scots experience higher levels of trust amongst connections made through shared places of worship – suggesting a key role for religious groups and institutions for creating bridges with the local community.
- Cultural work with New Scots is key to increasing trust and connections between New Scots and receiving communities. At the social level, cultural work creates opportunities for shared experiences; gives voice to experiences that might be hard for receiving communities to grasp; and offers a counter to stereotypical narratives of migration and dependency. Cultural work can also be uplifting and give New Scots a renewed sense of value vis-à-vis their role in society.

Policy context

UK policy

The Asylum & Immigration Appeals Act of 1993 formally incorporated the 1951 Refugee Convention into domestic law in the UK. Prior to the Act, refugees were not written into the immigration rules and not all categories of refused asylum seekers were guaranteed an in-country appeal right (Sales 2005). Aside from the incorporation of refugees into domestic law, however, it is from this point onwards that a distinction was also made between asylum seekers and refugee in terms of access and entitlement to services and local authority housing (Piacentini 2012). This differentiation between people seeking asylum and those with refugee status is one that has been steadily fortified in the years since 1993 (see Table 1).

Although the UK government has broadly supported the notion of refugee integration (Mulvey 2014), integration has been far from the main focus of the various Acts of Parliament and accompanying white papers that concern refugees and asylum seekers. Instead, the UK government's primary efforts under various administrations since 1996 have centred on streamlining the asylum determination and appeals process, reducing so-called 'pull-factors' through the restriction of asylum seekers' right to work and access to social security, and introducing various means of securitising the governance of asylum seekers living in the UK (see Table 1).

The discourse concerning people seeking asylum in the accompanying white papers, meanwhile, also contributed to the general discourse and anxiety aimed towards people seeking asylum. Prior to the events of 9/11 the primary concern had been that refugees and asylum seekers would pose a potential threat to social cohesion and were a drain on public money (Mulvey 2014). The publication of *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (Home Office 2002), however, marked a turning point in UK government discourse whereby people seeking asylum have increasingly been understood and governed as a potential threat to national security (Squire 2009). The effects of both discourses have been the portrayal of asylum seekers as being likely 'bogus' (Stewart and Mulvey 2014) and requiring state surveillance (Martin 2020). The suspicion with which people are treated while applying for refugee status, sometimes referred to as the Home Office's 'culture of disbelief' (Käkelä 2022), requires time and support to overcome following the grant of Leave to Remain (Mulvey 2014).

There have been relatively few UK government policies and practical measures aimed at ensuring the integration of refugees. While the *Full and Equal Citizens* (Home Office 2000) white paper identified the need to assist refugees' access to jobs, benefits, accommodation, health, education and language classes, it offered very few means of achieving these goals (Mulvey 2014). In contrast, the *Integration Matters* (Home Office 2005a) did provide measures of refugee integration and nationally-funded refugee integration programmes in the form of the sunrise programme and, subsequently, the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES). However, *Integration Matters* (Home Office 2005a) also set in motion the policy of 'individualising the structural' (Mulvey 2014), whereby a failure to integrate is understood as an individual's responsibility rather than a collective issue with

structural challenges. As a result, integration has become viewed as an aim to be promoted, rather than requiring central government support and the formal insertion of integration initiatives into diverse policy areas such as housing, employment, health, foreign policy and education (Mulvey 2014). In 2018 the UK government published the *Integrated Communities Strategy* (ICS) green paper (MoHCLG 2018), which subsumed plans to integrate refugees and people seeking asylum with all other migrants to the UK. The strategy claims to be non-assimilationist and to view integration as a two-way process. However, this vision is rather limited in the extent that host communities and institutions are expected to adapt in comparison to newcomers: “Recent migrants should learn to speak and understand our language and values and seek opportunities to mix and become part of our communities. And resident communities, in turn, need to support them in doing this” (MoHCLG 2018, 11).

While practical support for refugee integration has been limited,¹ two UK government policies have imposed further challenges for refugees seeking to integrate. First, the removal of the right to work while awaiting an asylum decision, initially through the Asylum and Integration Act 1996 though steadily fortified through many later Acts of Parliament (see Table 1), has increased peoples’ reliance on the state and impeded opportunities for socialising (Stewart and Mulvey 2014). The enforced idleness experienced during the asylum process, moreover, has a significant effect on refugees’ ability to enter employment and engage in social activities following the grant of leave to remain (Meer *et al* 2020). Second, the inclusion of the ‘cessation clause’ in the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act of 2006, through which refugee status can be revoked if an individual is deemed to no longer need protection, has introduced a temporariness to the provision of refuge. This provision of temporary status heightens the sense of insecurity felt by refugees and runs contrary to ensuring the active engagement of refugees in economic, social and political life (Stewart and Mulvey 2014).

Scottish Policy

Despite immigration being a reserved matter, immigration has been presented as a positive demographic by Scottish political parties in their policies, recognising the migrants as valuable resources (Hepburn and Rosie, 2014). Initiatives implemented by the Scottish Executive such as 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' in 2002 also demonstrate how Scotland has situated itself as a welcoming nation, where cultural difference is celebrated and 'many cultures can live side by side' (Hepburn, 2020, p8).

In contrast to UK government policy, the Scottish Government integration approach does not make a distinction between people seeking asylum and those with refugee status. This decision stems, in part, from a different interpretation of the 1951 Refugee Convention to that of the UK government. Where the UK government determines whether an asylum seeker should be recognised as a refugee, the Scottish Government argues that the 1951 Refugee Convention does not specify a mechanism through which states should recognise refugees and that, therefore, “recognition of refugee status is declaratory, not constitutive. This means

¹ Although the UK government has recently launched the Integrated Communities Innovation Fund – though it is not clear at the time of writing what impact this has had. See <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/integrated-communities-innovation-fund>

that a person does not become a refugee because they are recognised; rather, they are recognised because they are a refugee” (Scottish Government 2018a, 22).

Scottish policy on refugee integration has been driven by two successive New Scots Integrating Strategies. The first New Scots Strategy was in place from 2014 – 2017 and developed a strong partnership agreement between the Scottish Government, COSLA and the Scottish Refugee Council. The second New Scots Strategy runs from 2018 – 2022 and includes seven areas of focus, namely: (i) the needs of asylum seekers, (ii) employability and welfare rights, (iii) housing, (iv) education, (v) language, (vi) health and wellbeing, and (vii) communities, culture and social connections. Both iterations of the New Scots Strategies emphasise Scotland’s welcoming approach to refugees and, in particular, that Scotland ‘values diversity, where people are able to use and share their culture, skills and experiences, as they build strong relationships and connections’ (Scottish Government, 2018a, p. 10).

While Scotland has a dedicated strategy for the integration of New Scots, the UK government has a strategy focused on the integration of migrants more generally. This strategy, named the Integrated Communities Strategy (ICS) covers integration for England only. Aside from their different focus (i.e. New Scots compared to all migrants) the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy for Scotland and the Integrated Communities Strategy for England differ in two key respects. First, the NSRIS explicitly seeks to integrate both refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland; arguing that integration should start ‘from day one’, as opposed to when Leave to Remain is granted. The term ‘New Scots’ is used to refer to both refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland; signalling their welcome to live and settle in Scotland. In contrast, the ICS combines refugees with all other migrants in its scope, yet it omits people seeking asylum. Second, both strategies differ in their understanding of what is meant by ‘two-way integration’. While the NSRIS (p11) understands this to mean “positive change in both individuals and host communities”, the ICS (p10) states instead that recent “migrants should learn to speak and understand our language and values and seek opportunities to mix and become part of our communities. And resident communities, in turn, need to support them in doing this.” In other words, the ICS is significantly more assimilationist than Scotland’s NSRIS.

Needs of asylum seekers

This section outlines how structures and practices within the asylum process have enduring effect on temporal elements of integration and, as result, inhibits the process of refugee integration process in Scotland. Although asylum is a matter reserved to the UK government and handled by the UK Home Office, the needs of asylum seekers are a main concern of the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy. Moreover, the strategy’s commitment to ‘integration from day one’ and the long-term integration effects of going through the asylum process highlight the importance of attending to the needs of asylum seekers.

There are a number of steps to claiming asylum in the UK – and these are separate from procedures of refugee resettlement (see Figure 1). First, people seeking asylum will undertake a ‘screening interview’ at the Screening Unit in Croydon, London. This interview will focus on basic information concerning the person(s) claiming asylum. Following the screening interview, applicants will be invited to their ‘substantive interview’ during which they will be questioned concerning their specific reasons for claiming asylum.² A substantial proportion of asylum applications are rejected following this stage (50.8% on average between 2010-2019) and most will have the right to appeal a negative asylum decision at the First-tier Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum). Across the UK, an average of 36.4% appeals have been won by appellants between 2010 and 2019 – indicating that just over a third of asylum cases should have been granted at the first stage (see

Table 1). Some cases may then go on to the Upper Tribunal of the Immigration and Asylum Chamber if it is likely that there has been an error in the way in which the law has been applied.

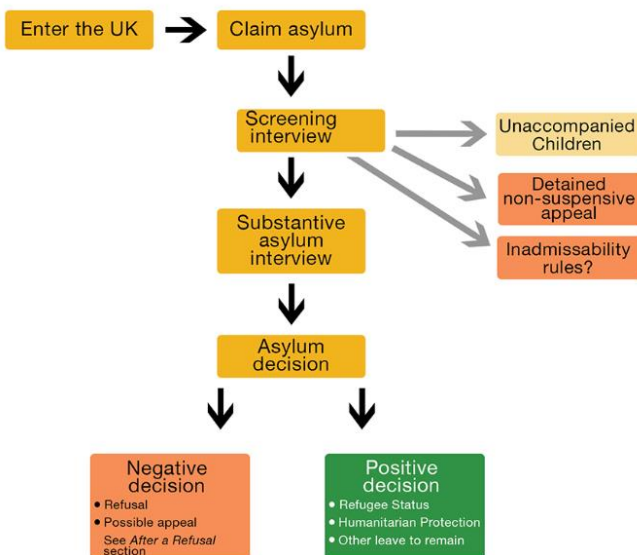


Figure 1 shows an outline of the initial stages of the asylum process (Accessed from <https://righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/>)

² For more information on the asylum process visit <https://righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/>

Table 1 shows the UK asylum statistics between 2010 – 2019 with data obtained from Sturge (2022).

| Year | Main applicants | Initially refused ¹ | % refused ² | Appeals lodged | Successful appeals | % appeals successful ³ | Final asylum & other grants ⁴ | % Final asylum grants & Other grants |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 2010 | 17,916 | 11,597 | 64.7% | 9,325 | 2,500 | 27% | 6,615 | 37% |
| 2011 | 19,865 | 11,556 | 58.2% | 9,189 | 2,529 | 28% | 8,495 | 44% |
| 2012 | 21,843 | 12,132 | 55.5% | 9,055 | 2,709 | 30% | 9,596 | 45% |
| 2013 | 23,584 | 13,022 | 55.2% | 9,799 | 3,119 | 32% | 10,796 | 46% |
| 2014 | 25,033 | 12,691 | 50.7% | 10,191 | 4,031 | 40% | 13,745 | 56% |
| 2015 | 32,733 | 17,626 | 53.8% | 14,452 | 6,155 | 43% | 17,454 | 54% |
| 2016 | 30,747 | 17,771 | 57.8% | 13,988 | 5,786 | 42% | 13,851 | 47% |
| 2017 | 26,547 | 14,804 | 55.8% | 11,193 | 4,587 | 42% | 11,105 | 45% |
| 2018 | 29,504 | 11,210 | 38.0% | 7,545 | 2,991 | 41% | 12,753 | 52% |
| 2019 | 35,737 | 7,003 | 19.6% | 3,300 | 1,107 | 39% | 10,312 | 53% |

¹ Includes refusals of humanitarian protections and discretionary Leave to Remain.

² Refusals lag behind applications, so there is not an exact match between applications per year and refusals per year.

³ Of appeals where there is a known outcome.

⁴ Includes both initial asylum decisions and successful appeals. Also refers to both humanitarian protection and discretionary Leave to Remain.

Following the passing of the Nationality and Borders Act 2022 some significant changes to the asylum process are expected, yet these fall outwith the scope of this review.³

Claiming asylum

It is clear that the asylum process has a profound effect on those who are subject to it (Mulvey 2015). The time spent waiting for an asylum claim to progress through the abovementioned stages has been continually increasing. Freedom of Information requests of Home Office data obtained by the Refugee Council show that in 2020 over 33,000 people waited for over a year for an initial decision. This represents an almost tenfold increase since 2010 (Refugee Council 2021). Meanwhile, Right to Remain report that waiting times for a substantive interview have also been known to reach a year.⁴ Waiting for an asylum decision to be made is often likened to being in 'limbo' (Gill 2016), and the high rejection rate and appeals process only serves to increase this period of limbo for people seeking asylum. The effects of waiting in limbo are significant; a study by Kearns and Whitley (2015) found that time spent waiting for an asylum determination significantly increases the difficulty of accessing social support after refugee status is granted (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Indeed, for each additional year spent waiting for an asylum decision, Kearns and Whitley (2015) found that a person's likelihood of obtaining available social support decreased by 12-14%.

³ For more information on the Nationality and Borders Act 2022 visit <https://freemovement.org.uk/new-regs-bring-key-bits-of-borders-act-into-force-on-28-june/>

⁴ <https://righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/claimasylum/>

The ‘Culture of Disbelief’⁵ that asylum claimants encounter in their interactions with the Home Office, as well as the asylum interview (during which asylum seekers must discuss their traumatic experiences in minute detail) reduces peoples’ ability to be open to new experiences and trust in government institutions – even when granted refugee status (Mulvey 2014). Asylum claimants have described how the confrontational questioning style employed during the substantive asylum interview does not enable asylum seekers to give a full and accurate account of their need to claim asylum (Fisher *et al* 2022). In particular, the adversarial interview setting makes it harder to disclose occurrence of torture or sexual violence – especially for female asylum seekers (Käkelä 2022). Negative decisions by Home Office personnel based on the asylum interview, meanwhile, are frequently based on tangential inconsistencies in accounts generated by the questioning style adopted during interviews (Baillot *et al* 2014;). Research conducted in asylum appeal hearings across the UK (including the Eagle Building, Glasgow) found that asylum appellants frequently struggle to overturn a negative decision on their case due a distrust of the tribunal itself and confusion concerning the court procedures and the roles of those present (Gill *et al* 2021).

Concerning asylum claims, there are also significant concerns regarding the extent to which (i) particularly vulnerable asylum seekers are able to disclose their experiences, (ii) their voices are heard by Home Office decision-makers and tribunal judges, and (iii) expert evidence and country of origin information (COI) is fairly and consistently taken into consideration (Baillot *et al* 2012). Claimants who are have experienced sexual violence, are HIV positive and/or suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) have a high chance of having their claims rejected as their symptoms and experience impact their ability to convincingly recount their reasons for claiming asylum and many fear further stigmatisation (Baillot *et al* 2014; Palattiyil and Sidhva 2015). Käkelä (2022) has also uncovered a worrying inconsistency with which evidence concerning Female Genital Circumcision is being treated by the Home Office, while incomplete COI reports often outweigh women’s disclosures and other written and medical evidence. These findings indicate the need for a review of Home Office interview and decision-making procedures as well as the provision of appropriate therapeutic and advocacy services prior to and following substantive interviews. Such measures should be aimed at reducing secondary trauma experienced by those engaged in the asylum system as well as increasing claimants’ ability to disclose key information concerning their asylum claims.

Asylum support

As will be discussed in the section focused on employment, most people seeking asylum in Scotland are not permitted to seek employment while waiting for their asylum case to be determined by the Home Office (Mayblin 2014). Instead, most people seeking asylum are

⁵ People seeking asylum have long been subject to logics of deterrence and suspicion through which people seeking asylum are viewed as hostile to the UK’s hospitality and its position as a welfare state (Gibson 2012). Such logics have led to a ‘culture of disbelief’ permeating many government departments – including the UK Home Office – such that “asylum seekers are treated as a suspect group, the conditions of hearing are structured around a lack of belief in their credibility” (Gibson 2012, 8).

eligible for financial support under Section 95 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 if they can prove that they would otherwise be destitute. In late October 2020, the support rate was increased from £37.75 to £39.63 per week and includes £8.00 for non-prescription medicines, travel and clothing (Gower 2021; see Table 2⁶). Despite this increase, however, weekly support rates for asylum seekers are still only 53% of the equivalent support for citizens receiving jobseeker’s allowance (£74.70 per week for those over 25). Given that jobseeker’s allowance is set at a level low enough to deter citizens into seeking employment, asylum support can be understood as being considerably below the UK government’s assessment of an acceptable standards of living (Mayblin 2014). The cashless Section 4 support, purported as a short-term provision for those whose asylum claims have been refused but are not able to return,⁷ has also been regularly criticised by academics and third sector organisations for being inhumane and degrading (see Allsopp *et al* 2014; Piacentini 2015; Fisher 2018). Mayblin (2014), in particular, has argued that there is no evidence that the imposition of destitution on asylum seekers has any effect on either reducing so-called ‘pull factors’ to the UK or increasing voluntary returns for those whose asylum claims have been refused.

| Categories of “need” | ONS Expenditure data from 2018/19 (adjusted for single person) / 2020 market research | After Home Office adjustment and inflation |
|---|---|--|
| Food and non-alcoholic drinks | £25.23 | £26.49 |
| Adjusted for inflation since the data was collected - CPI as at March 2020 (1.5%) | | £26.89 |
| Toiletries | 2020 Market Research | £0.69 |
| Non-prescription medicines | 2020 Market Research | £0.35 |
| Laundry/toilet paper | 2020 Market Research | £0.43 |
| Clothing and footwear | 2020 Market Research | £3.01 |
| Travel | 2020 Market Research | £4.70 |
| Communications | 2020 Market Research | £3.56 |
| Subtotal | | £12.74 |
| Total | | £39.63 |

Table 2 shows the calculated breakdown of the section 95 weekly cash allowance for a single able-bodied adult as determined by the Home Office.

The asylum experience: waiting, reporting, detention.

For people seeking asylum, waiting to recount their full story during the substantive asylum interview and/or the wait for a final decision to be made on their asylum claim – especially if

⁶ Details on the support rate increase and the weekly spending calculations can be read at:

<https://media.refugeecouncil.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/04120727/27.10.20-Chief-Executives.pdf>

⁷ To be eligible for support under Section 4(2) of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, a person must meet one of the five conditions in Regulation 3(2)(a)-(e): (i) they are taking all reasonable steps to leave the UK, (ii) they are unable to leave due to a medical condition, (iii) there is no viable route of return according to the Secretary of State, (iv) they have applied for a judicial review of their asylum case, (v) provision of accommodation is necessary to avoid breaching a person’s human rights where, for example, an asylum-seeker submits “new evidence or arguments for the Home Office to consider as part of an application for leave to remain”(ASAP 2021, 4).

their claim has undergone appeal – has frequently been likened to living in a painful state of limbo (Gill 2016). Similar to the experience of being ‘stuck’ in indefinite detention, the asylum system can be experienced as a ‘negation of time’ (see Turnbull 2016); as people become removed from normative domains of education and the labour market – with the result that people feel as though the world and its opportunities are passing them by as they are forced to wait (Fisher 2018).

Further disruption is caused to asylum seekers’ lives in Scotland through the forced practice of regular reporting to the Home Office – whereby people must regularly ‘sign on’ at the Home Office building in Festival Court, Glasgow. The frequency of reporting requirements usually correlates to the progression of a person’s asylum case. Reporting to the UK Home Office can be particularly stressful as people can be detained in reporting centres and transferred to Dungavel House Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) – or a different IRC in the rest of the UK. As reporting takes time and few asylum seekers have funds to access public transport, regular reporting requirements to the Home Office also have the effect of depleting asylum seekers’ energy and funds, while also inhibiting opportunities for socialising (Fisher *et al* 2019).

Despite the challenge of waiting in anticipation of an asylum decision, which has often been thought of as being idle time, Rotter (2016) has emphasised the ways in which people are nonetheless able to fill some of this time productively. Rotter (2016) draws attention to the language classes that people seeking asylum in Scotland are able to attend, the frequent visits that people make between families and others in the asylum system, the connections people make with community groups (and faith groups in particular), as well as the support that people are able to gain for their Leave to Remain and the rights of others seeking asylum by speaking at public events attended by policymakers.

While those waiting in dispersal housing are able to participate in such activities, those in Scotland’s only Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) in Dungavel House are physically excluded from both the local community and other New Scots outside the IRC. Although Dungavel House is spoken about in more positive terms by detainees, detainees can still be held in the IRC indefinitely (Bosworth 2014). It is worth noting that Dungavel House is not just remote in terms of its location in Scotland,⁸ but one of the main issues with detaining people in Scotland is that many struggle to maintain connections with their family members and support groups in England (Shaw 2018). It is well documented that the UK Home Office use the forced transportation of people between IRCs as a means of destabilising detainees (Gill 2009).

Detainees are often in a particularly vulnerable mental state, especially after their initial detention, yet there is still “no consistent method employed for assessing the mental health needs of people in immigration detention” (Talensby 2021, 2). Although the Home Office’s Rule 35 is supposed to identify those detainees at risk of suicidal tendencies and/or who have

⁸ A 45-minute drive from Brand street, Glasgow. There is no longer a free bus service for visitors, and visitors without a car must first travel by train to Hamilton (an hour from Brand street) – though the IRC pays for journeys between the centre and Hamilton for family members (HMCIP 2021).

experienced severe physical or mental trauma and the past (and who could be re-traumatised through detention), there are serious concerns that this safeguard is not being used effectively (BMA 2017; Fisher *et al* 2019). A report by the Mental Welfare Commission for Scotland (MWCS) in 2018 did however note that detainees at Dungavel House have access to a visiting psychiatrist (present approximately two hours every fortnight) and that their focus predominantly talking therapies and minimising medication use. Nevertheless, the MWCS (2018) report did also identify issues including delayed access to independent advocacy services and, delays obtaining medical records where a person had been transferred from a prison. Where detainees have been transferred to hospitals, however, the MWCS (2018, 5) report does note that “there can be pressure from the Home Office to get people back from hospital in order for the removal process to be expedited. Health staff can be frustrated by this [... and] while a patient is transferred to hospital in Scotland, the lead responsibility for their care rests with the Scottish NHS and Scottish Ministers. Any Home Office involvement needs to recognise this, and should not attempt to challenge the local professional’s medical expertise and knowledge of the patient.”

Employability and Welfare Rights

Successfully gaining employment is of huge importance to New Scots as working increases people's sense of belonging and safety in an area, encourages encounters and connections with the local community, enables New Scots to more easily meet friends and family (through increased availability of resources), produces more opportunities to learn and use other languages and generates both financial independence and improves mental wellbeing through such independence (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Yet, people who have been granted refugee status (and with it the right to work) are still severely unemployed and underemployed – even compared to other minority groups in Scotland (Stewart and Mulvey 2014; Pietka-Nykaza 2015). Unemployment levels amongst New Scots with the right to work remain consistent despite their varied backgrounds, experiences, education levels, employment histories and even English language skills, gender and age before arrival in Scotland (Mulvey 2014).⁹ Such high levels of unemployment suggests that the barriers that New Scots face in terms of finding employment are predominantly structural ones, created predominantly by UK asylum policy, which are unlikely to be overcome through interventions that target at the individual level (Mayblin 2014; Mulvey 2014).

Structural barriers to employability

A primary issue that New Scots face when attempting to find work following their grant of refugee status is the enforced idleness they have experienced while waiting for the resolution of their asylum claim. People seeking asylum in the UK can only apply for permission to work if they have waited for more than 12 months for a decision on their initial asylum claim. After the 12-month period lapses, asylum seekers can only apply for jobs specified under Tier 2 of the Shortage Occupation list.¹⁰ However, the occupations listed are severely restricted – creating yet another barrier for employment and integration for people seeking asylum (Mayblin 2014). However, it is very difficult for asylum applicants to comply with the Tier 2 shortage occupation list and thus access employment and this clearly affects their opportunities for integration. The enforced idleness that asylum seekers experience restricts their opportunities to access labour market and learn English and creates a negative stigma around refugees struggling to enter the labour market (Mayblin 2014). As result, refugees are losing opportunities to acquire necessary language skills or employment-based experiences while waiting for asylum decision. Moreover, refugees are very aware of the gap created on their employment histories as a result of enforced idleness which, in turn, also creates a concern that their lack of experience will be a disadvantage (Pietka-Nykaza 2015). The length of time refugees spent outside the labour market places them at a disadvantage in comparison to other groups of overseas trained migrants (Pietka-Nykaza 2013). Many New Scots are therefore concerned that their age, lack of recent work experience in addition to

⁹ Although Strang *et al* (2015) found evidence that people with better English skills were more likely to secure employment.

¹⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/skilled-worker-visa-shortage-occupations/skilled-worker-visa-shortage-occupations>

their poorer language skills and lack of cultural familiarity will severely reduce their chances of gaining employment (Strang *et al* 2015).

Once New Scots gain the right to work, they are often also unable to make the most of potential co-ethnic connections due to the dispersal system for asylum accommodation. Research in Glasgow, Cardiff, Manchester and London demonstrates that refugees dispersed as asylum seekers are less likely to gain employment after eight months of receiving status compared to those who choose (and are able to) live with friends and family (Stewart and Shaffer 2015). Indeed, following the receipt of the right to work, many refugees move towards co-ethnic communities in order to seek employment – a tactic which does improve employment rates (Stewart and Shaffer 2015). Regardless of whether New Scots travel to find work, however, employers across the UK are wary of hiring refugees as a result of the ‘hostile environment’ which can deter employers and organisations from hiring New Scots because they have little or no experience of doing so (Meer *et al* 2020; Meer *et al* 2021).

The gap created on New Scots’ employment histories does, in addition to affecting their mental wellbeing, also make it harder for refugees to gain employment in an area in which they have previous experience or which they would ideally like to enter – especially in the case of work requiring technical expertise (Pietka-Nykaza 2015). Many New Scots arrive in the UK during their formative years and, given the delays in receiving a positive asylum outcome, miss out on work-based training and on-the-job experience (Mulvey 2014). Moreover, as research with New Scots who, in their country of origin, worked as teachers or doctors shows, the need to receive accreditation and/or recognition of their academic and professional qualifications acts as a substantial barrier to gaining similar employment (Pietka-Nykaza 2015).

In addition to issues with accreditation of professional and academic qualifications, recognition of refugee skills and competences are undermined by employers’ perceptions about the validity of overseas qualifications and the lack of (affordable) conversion courses for those with existing skills and qualifications. As result, refugees are required to undertake lengthy training and re-qualification processes (mostly on a full-time basis) which limit their capacity to engage with paid employment (Pietka-Nykaza 2015). As full-time study requires financial resources (see Education chapter), it is not available to most refugees. Financial hardships however frequently push highly-qualified refugees to undertake unskilled positions, preventing them from committing to re-qualification and increasing the period of time refugees spent outside their professions (Pietka-Nykaza, 2013). Being in full-time education also means that refugees may no longer be entitled to some welfare support (such as Job Seekers Allowance), which further reduces their chances of obtaining employment relevant to their previous qualifications and experiences. As a result of the difficulties of having qualifications recognised or the challenges associated with gaining qualifications required to work in Scotland, many New Scots are pushed into accepting low-skilled jobs which frequently pay little more than they would receive on Universal Credit. Botenbal and Lillie (2019), for example, found that only jobs in specific sectors were identified as being accessible to New Scots; namely warehouses, retailing or hospitality – often with zero hours contracts.

New Scots often face the requirement to pass English language exams or work-based exams in English – which is a serious hurdle for those who have not had enough opportunities to learn English and gain qualifications while in the asylum process. In other words, although UK government policy enforces idleness upon New Scots, structural issues surrounding a lack of access to ESOL classes and other qualifications while awaiting an asylum decision are also detrimental to New Scots' employment opportunities following receipt of refugee status. Meer *et al* (2020) reported that, although there were some employment-specific ESOL classes available to New Scots, many of these classes required accredited ESOL qualifications to attend – acting as a significant barrier to New Scots. In addition, Meer *et al* (2020) reported that local employers' hesitancy to employ New Scots without ESOL qualifications and/or low levels of English acts as a significant barrier for New Scots entering employment. Other barriers present in the current labour market include recruitment practices that include an over-reliance on online recruitment mechanisms (Meer *et al* 2021), word-of-mouth hiring practices for positions where few qualifications are required and references from past employers (Botenbal and Lillie 2019).

Moreover, there is very little funding in Scotland available for employability that does not seek to directly result in employment (i.e. with demonstrable employment figures). Meer *et al* (2021) argue that such constraints are misaligned to the needs of New Scots, who are often very far from accessing the labour market. Such an approach contrasts with that of Sweden, for example, which has established both a multi-level framework to support labour market integration, as well as employment subsidies to stimulate labour demands for vulnerable groups (Meer *et al* 2021). In Scotland, meanwhile, employability services are mostly provided by third sector organisations with little to no national-level planning or oversight. Combined with the lack of funding attached to third sector employability initiatives and the low number of organisations which provide formal employability services or skills development services, employability programmes for New Scots are patchy in terms of both their availability and quality (Botenbal and Lillie 2019). Botenbal and Lillie (2019) identified a need for employment services that are simultaneously tailored towards individuals with no knowledge of the UK job market and that understand the barriers that New Scots face in accessing trainings or certifications that match their existing skills.

Some local authority resettlement teams have had success in encouraging local businesses to accept that New Scots can learn English on the job and that certain jobs do not require accredited English skills (Meer *et al* 2020). Indeed, Meer *et al* (2021, 2) found that “successes in employment/ enterprise/employer engagement have been a result of intense local activity, not national policy or infrastructure, which has led to inconsistent/precarious support mechanisms.” Such successes point to the need for Local Authorities to be supported in this work – a challenge made harder by the political context of fiscal austerity, the impacts of which have been disproportionately felt by local government (Clelland 2021).¹¹ For resettled refugees, Meer *et al* (2020) found that those resettled to rural areas benefitted from more

¹¹ Clelland (2021, 158) states that “funding from the Scottish Government to local authorities (which constitutes over 60% of their income) has fallen by 7.6% in real terms since 2010, while at the same time they face inflationary pressures, growing demand for some services and bearing the costs of delivering policies set at a Scottish or UK level”.

intense support from resettlement teams, yet those in the Central belt were able to access more services.

Aside from employer training and engagement, Meer *et al* (2020) identify two further areas impacting labour market access for New Scots; namely employability training and skills development, and enterprise and entrepreneurship. Concerning the first, Meer *et al* (2021) found that there are very limited specialist refugee employment services in Scotland following moves to 'mainstream' employment services. As a result, remaining services are both over-subscribed and subject to time-limited funding (Meer *et al* 2020). Furthermore, access to gender-blind employability services was reported as having a gendered effect; with services having inconsistent childcare provision (which was also available only for women-only services), not considering the specific challenges faced by entering the job market, and not offering specific courses to those with caring responsibilities (Meer *et al* 2021).

Concerning enterprise and entrepreneurship, Meer *et al* (2020) argue that Business Gateway enterprise and support is inconsistent across Scotland and that 'mainstreamed' services do not actively address labour market barriers for refugees and refugees are often unable to access services due to lack of interpretation. Moreover, mainstream financing options for potential refugee entrepreneurs are extremely hard to access given that these require a credit history, potential for high growth, evidence of LtR that covers the loan repayment periods and, due to immigration control, refugees are frequently unable to meet these criteria (Meer *et al* 2020).

Jobcentres and the DWP

We have previously discussed issues with the 'move-on-period' (see Housing chapter). As part of the switch from asylum support to income support and housing benefit through the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), New Scots should automatically receive a National Insurance Number (NINo). There have, however, been cases where the NINo has been delayed and refugees have been denied income support – even though a NINo should not be required when an individual is in possession of a valid biometric residence permit (Stewart 2016). In addition to issues with the NINo and accessing welfare benefits, however, many New Scots struggle to open bank accounts in the immediate months following their LtR as a result of not having a stable place of accommodation, not having a NINo (Stewart 2016), and banks generally being wary of opening accounts for migrants as a result of the Hostile Environment (British Red Cross 2018).¹² In addition to delays in issuing NINos, New Scots who have recently gained LtR must also navigate the DWPs online benefits application in English, with minimal support, and with no possibility to complete the form without a NINo (Strang *et al* 2018). As a result, many New Scots struggle to access their welfare rights in the initial months following LtR (Scottish Refugee Council 2015, 2016).

¹² Opening a bank account is made more complicated for new refugees given that banks generally request a letter from the DWP as proof of address to open an account. However, the move to online processing through Universal Credit means that the first formal letter issued by the DWP comes after the first payment is made – precipitating a 'chicken and egg' situation (British Red Cross 2018).

Despite the structural challenges listed so far facing New Scots in gaining employment, New Scots also receive little or no specialist support from Jobcentres and the DWP in general. Instead, New Scots must navigate and fulfil their Claimant Commitment requirements and, as a result of interpreters often not being present at Jobcentres, issues of miscommunication frequently occur – leading to frequent benefit sanctions taking place in the first six months following their switch to income and housing benefit support (Stewart 2016; Strang *et al* 2018).

Further issues at Jobcentres include the fact that there is often very little understanding at Jobcentres concerning the specific needs of New Scots, including their often-conflicting priorities (such as finding accommodation as soon as possible) (Stewart 2016). The UK Government's DWP, which is responsible for welfare support, encourages refugees to accept any employment, invariably low-skilled jobs, with low qualification requirements, regardless of refugees' qualifications or education history in their home countries (Strang and Quinn 2014; Hill 2020). There is also inconsistent recognition by the DWP of the importance of ESOL classes and other educational courses to enhancing New Scots' employment possibilities (Strang *et al* 2015). As a result, New Scots frequently feel pushed out of ESOL and other educational classes for fear of losing their Job Seekers' Allowance and Housing Benefit (Strang *et al* 2015; Meer *et al* 2019b; Hill 2020).

Miscommunication between New Scots and Jobcentre staff can also take place concerning the role of officials seeking to support New Scots at Jobcentres and the requirements that New Scots must adhere to as claimants to avoid being sanctioned. Such miscommunication is frequently caused by new and difficult terminology used by Jobcentre staff, lack of interpretation facilities at Jobcentres, as well as a lack of training and understanding on the part of Jobcentre staff concerning the needs and barriers facing New Scots (Stewart 2016; Meer *et al* 2020). As a result, New Scots can frequently misunderstand their obligations under the Claimant Commitment and Jobcentre staff can mistakenly view their inaction as deliberate non-compliance (Stewart 2016). Moreover, issues of trust persist between Jobcentre staff and New Scots. Strang *et al* (2018) report that refugees were often denied the authority to act on their own behalf at Jobcentres, with Jobcentre staff requiring ESOL tutors to explain a person's absence from their class rather than accepting the reasons offered by the person in question directly. Martzoukou and Burnett (2018) raised similar concerns regarding New Scots' difficulties in evidencing health issues to Jobcentre staff. Such problems are also compounded by New Scots' poor English language skills, lack of cultural understanding of Jobcentres and a frequent lack of awareness of their rights (Strang *et al* 2018).

Housing

Dispersal & COMPASS contracts

Although housing policy is devolved to the Scottish Government, asylum accommodation remains a reserved matter. As a result, the UK Government has oversight over the dispersal scheme, asylum housing contracts, and housing standards (Meer et al 2019a), although housing must also meet the minimum standards set by the Scottish Government (Mulvey 2018). Glasgow has been the only dispersal site in Scotland. The number of people in dispersal accommodation in Glasgow in June 2021 was 3,584.¹³ With a population of 5,463,300 Glasgow houses fewer dispersed asylum seekers per 10,000 population (7) compared to the North East of England (16) and the North West of England (12) but more compared to the East Midlands (5) and Northern Ireland (4) (Gower 2021).

In 2012, the contracts for the provision of asylum seeker accommodation for local authorities, social housing associations and private providers to three private contractors (designed to reduce asylum accommodation costs by £140 million over 7 years (House of Commons, 2017)). These contracts are collectively known as COMPASS. In Scotland, the privatisation of dispersal through COMPASS means that Glasgow City Council has been consulted on issues concerning asylum seeker accommodation, but no longer has effective control over decisions (Meer et al 2019a). As a result, Glasgow City Council has been removed from the day-to-day provision and administration of asylum housing as well as overall strategic planning concerning “the type and location of dispersal housing, sizes of asylum-seeking populations within locales, and housing standards – which would otherwise come under local urban planning remit” (Meer et al 2021, 9). There have been multiple negative consequences from the COMPASS transfer of contracts, four of such consequences are summarised in this section.

First, SERCO Group plc (which took over the contract in Scotland) prioritised the use of low-cost accommodation to fulfil its housing responsibilities. As a result, housing quality has on average decreased (Fassetta et al 2016; Stewart 2016; Martzoukou and Burnett 2018), accommodation has moved away from established dispersal areas to new parts of Glasgow with no history of refugee dispersal and limited integration services (Fraser and Piacentini 2014; Mainwaring et al 2020), and accommodation has been located at a significant distance away from existing support services and community networks (Meer et al 2019a). Such changes have significantly impacted on New Scots’ opportunities to form social connections (discussed in more detail below). Women, in particular, have felt exposed to gendered and racialised harassment in the new housing locations, as well as cut off from support networks (Meer et al 2019a). Stewart and Shaffer (2015) have also found evidence of regular racist encounters and racial violence in dispersal sites, which exacerbates peoples’ feelings of insecurity, anxiety and not belonging – resulting in long-term impacts on integration.

¹³ Data obtained from current Home Office statistics available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/asylum-and-resettlement-datasets> (accessed 24th September 2021).

Second, there have been numerous concerns raised regarding both SERCO and Orchard & Shipman's (the accommodation provider previously sub-contracted by SERCO) housing inspections. Aside from threatening questioning concerning people's possessions and how they have paid for these (Fisher 2018), there have been significant concerns raised regarding the gendered dynamics of male housing officers conducting inspections of women's properties often without others present (Meer et al 2019a).

Third, there has been the loss of local authority expertise and capacity to support asylum seekers living in Glasgow since the transferral of the housing contracts (Darling 2016). In addition, there is now less funding available per asylum seeker in Glasgow than there was previously. Any excess funds for housing was previously put towards additional resources (such as ESOL classes) but are now profited by housing providers (Darling 2016). As a result, COMPASS has reduced local authority capacity and removed support for third-sector organisations.

Fourth, where previously accommodation was provided by housing associations with their own housing stock, the COMPASS transfer of contracts shifted the provision to private rented housing. Under such conditions, short tenancy agreements mean that people seeking asylum are regularly moved between dispersal properties (Meer *et al* 2019a). Thus, while dispersal already represents a policy of 'non-settlement' (Fraser and Piacentini 2014), repeated movements pose significant challenges to New Scots seeking to put down roots in their dispersal areas. Dispersal "is not fixed but a fluid process" write Mainwaring *et al* (2020, 79), as people are initially dispersed to a new location and subsequently experience repeated disruptions as they are re-housed in new locations. These repeated disruptions have long-term negative consequences for integration as place, and feelings of belonging to a neighbourhood (as opposed to a nation state), provide the setting, community connections and motivation to contribute and engage with a local community (Strang and Ager 2010; Kearns and Whitley 2015). This long-term effect of dispersal and its multiple movements is demonstrated in the data analysed by Stewart and Shaffer (2015), which shows that refugees dispersed as asylum seekers are less likely to be in employment than those who refused dispersal accommodation. In other words, integration requires stability – both in terms of certainty of status and certainty of location – and "while migration and asylum policy in the UK makes the former difficult, dispersal combined with regeneration policy also makes the latter less attainable" (Kearns and Whitley 2015, 2124).

Move-on period

Finding a permanent place to live which can be transformed into a *home* is an important part of most people's lives (see Ralph and Staeheli 2011; Fraser and Piacentini 2014¹⁴). For people who have received refugee status, it is also of particular symbolic importance as it "marks the end of a journey and the point at which refugees can start to consider their wider needs" (Phillimore and Goodson 2008 in Mulvey 2014, 362). Ensuring that New Scots are able to put down roots in their local community should therefore be an important policy aim

¹⁴ Fraser and Piacentini (2014) also note that dispersal accommodation is frequently standardised to the point of homogeneity, which further reduces peoples' perceptions of their accommodation as being 'home'.

for both the UK Government and the Scottish Government. However, the housing landscape for refugees in Scotland is complicated by what Mulvey (2014) terms 'the marbling' of responsibilities between the two governments. While dispersal and asylum contracts are the responsibility of the UK Government, once refugee status is recognised, housing becomes the responsibility of the Scottish Government (Mulvey 2018). At the local level, moreover, the picture is further complicated by the roles and responsibilities of local authorities, SERCO (the asylum housing provider), Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (Meer *et al* 2019a). Combined with a tight 28-day funding deadline imposed by the UK Home Office during which new refugees must leave their asylum accommodation or risk eviction, many new refugees find themselves temporarily homeless and/or regularly moving between temporary accommodation (Strang *et al* 2018).

Prior to the COMPASS contract, Glasgow City Council had developed a process in collaboration with RSLs through which a person's asylum housing accommodation could be 'flipped' and converted into social housing when a person living in the accommodation gained refugee status (Meer *et al* 2019a). Following the transfer of asylum accommodation to Serco in Scotland, however, people seeking asylum are predominantly housed in (frequently-shared) private rental accommodation and, as a result, the infrastructure for 'flipping' a flat is no longer in place (Meer *et al* 2019a). Serco, meanwhile, only receive funds from the UK Home Office for the first 28 days following a person's successful asylum claim, which gives the successful person just under a month to find new accommodation (commonly referred to as the 'move-on period'). As was alluded to above, the process for moving on is reliant on various national and local actors as well as swift communication. Despite the need for a smooth process to avoid refugees becoming homeless, however, various studies have determined that the process is laden with poor bureaucracy and avoidable issues (Mulvey 2014; Strang *et al* 2018; British Red Cross 2018; Meer *et al* 2019a); these include:

- A lack of political will (predominantly from the UK government) to extend the 28 day move-on period.
- Incompatibility between the 28 day move-on period and the minimum 35 day waiting period for Universal Credit.
- Inadequate language and IT support for refugees needing to manage their Universal Credit applications
- Poor or delayed communication concerning refugees' need to apply for Universal Credit, as well as the possibility of applying for an advance payment.
- Delayed communication from the Home Office concerning peoples' successful asylum claims.
- Lack of clear guidance from the DWP for Jobcentre Plus centres regarding the habitual residence test and whether it should apply to refugees.
- Issues setting up bank accounts for refugees caused by unclear guidance for banks as well as delays and mistakes printed on Biometric Residence Permits (BRPs), which also contain people's National Insurance Numbers (Nino). Banks have also been found to refuse access to a bank account without a letter from the DWP, which the

DWP refuses to send until after a Universal Credit payment has been made – which requires a bank account.

- A slow Post Grant Appointment Service with patchy coverage and which is primarily designed to enact a handover to the DWP rather than ensure that refugees receive access to Universal Credit on time.
- Unsustainable workloads for JCPs due to the frequent need to provide 1-to-1 support for refugees seeking to access Universal Credit.
- Refugees' lack of fixed home address prior to being granted Leave to Remain if their asylum case had previously been refused and they had struggled to regain access to asylum support.

While the move-on period is beset by bureaucratic issues, it should be noted the main problem facing successful refugees is a lack of political will to both extend the 28 day move-on period and recognise how complicated the process is for new refugees to quickly access Universal Credit.

Disruptions to integration

As was discussed in the previous section, place is important to integration as it provides the context in which integration can begin as well as the motivation to contribute (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Nevertheless, people seeking asylum experience both dispersal to unknown places in the UK as well as regular transfers between accommodations due to circumstances created by the COMPASS contracts (Mainwaring *et al* 2020). The significant pressure on housing stock in Glasgow, combined with the fact that asylum accommodation can no longer be 'flipped' into refugee housing, mean that new refugees are likely to experience further disruption as they are not only moved to new accommodation, but also face potential movement to a new location. "This onward relocation as refugees", write Fraser and Piacentini (2014, 68), "then produces a renewed out-of-placeness when that mobility is, to all intents and purposes, reinstated." In addition to the refugees' experiences of the asylum system and the move-on period, the requirement to relocate once more produces yet another form of disenfranchisement and frustration upon receiving their successful asylum claim. This disenfranchisement, combined with the unsuitability of much of the existing housing stock for families and those with mobility issues, goes some way to explaining why Glasgow City Council recorded a 40% refusal rate amongst new refugees (Meer *et al* 2019a). Stewart (2016) also notes that there are also frequent misunderstandings concerning the type of housing that can be offered, the roles and responsibility of housing providers and homelessness rights in Scotland.

Given the pressures of the move-on period, the lack of available housing stock and new refugees' sense of belonging to specific neighbourhoods, therefore, many new refugees are initially placed in temporary accommodation (Stewart 2016). Such accommodation is sourced by Glasgow City Council from RSLs, local hotels, hostels and B&Bs. Though intended as a short-term solution until permanent accommodation can be found, new refugees can be housed in temporary accommodation for months or even years. Temporary housing often

creates significant barriers for refugees' pathways to integration and self-sufficiency. Such barriers include (i) a lack of cooking or clothes washing facilities as well as the imposition of curfews in certain B&Bs and hotels, (ii) increased vulnerability if the temporary accommodation includes shared spaces or if the temporary accommodation is located in a location with high levels of racial violence, (iii) and removal from existing support networks and community structures (Strang *et al* 2018; Meer *et al* 2019a).

As was established previously, time spent in a location and feelings of security and stability are key requirements for the development of social connections between New Scots and the local community (Kearns and Whitley 2015; Sim 2015). As a result of being housed in temporary accommodation(s) which significantly impact on new refugees' sense of stability and security, their ability to create new connections and gain employment is significantly impacted (Meer *et al* 2019a). Moreover, as a result of being uprooted to new temporary locations, new refugees also experience a deterioration in their sense of belonging as a result of being moved and housed in temporary accommodation (Strang *et al* 2018).

AASC contract and Covid-19

In September 2019, the existing COMPASS asylum contracts were replaced by the New Asylum Accommodation and Support Services Contracts following engagement with local authorities, potential providers and NGOs (Home Office 2019). With an approximate value of £4 billion over ten years, it was hoped that the standard of asylum accommodation would improve. Despite the inclusion of the need for providers to carry out inspections of accommodation in advance of the contract transition, however, reports suggest that the new contracts closely resemble the previous contracts and the seeking asylum has mostly remained unchanged (Refugee Action 2020). The contracts replaced Serco as the main housing provider in favour of Mears Group.

When the Covid-19 pandemic reached the UK and Scotland went in to 'lockdown', many asylum seekers in Glasgow were transferred to hotels in order to provide accommodation that was Covid safe and would "reduce the need for both asylum-seekers and Mears staff to make regular journeys to and from multiple accommodation locations" (Mears 2020, unpaginated). A major issue, as reported by Guma *et al* (2021) was that there was no clear policy accompanying these relocations concerning social distancing procedures and testing. Time spent by people seeking asylum in temporary accommodation also dramatically increased from an average of 35 days between September 2019 and February 2020 to an average of 115 days during the first Covid outbreak (Guma *et al* 2021). The combined effect of being transferred from existing accommodation with little warning, poor food quality in hotels (which frequently did not take account of cultural and religious observances), the removal of cash support, the inability to prepare food and poor social distancing measures has taken a significant toll on asylum seekers housed in hotels during the Covid pandemic (Qureshi *et al* 2020; Dempsey and Pautz 2021; Guma *et al* 2021). Following the events of the 26th of June 2020,¹⁵ Glasgow City Council took the decision to longer accept new asylum

¹⁵ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-53205396>

seekers through the dispersal system following its concerns regarding the safety of New Scots.

Resettlement scheme housing

Separate from dispersal accommodation and the move-on period, refugees in Scotland have also been housed under the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme, which was launched in January 2014. The VPRS is a collaboration between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Home Office, the Department for International Development and the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (Home Office 2018). Under the scheme, the UNHCR identifies refugees that are considered particularly vulnerable, the IOM organises 'cultural orientation' on behalf of the Home Office and health checks in advance of refugees' arrival, and local authorities source and arrange suitable accommodation and local orientation.

The financial incentives for participating in the VPRS are sufficient to offer a clear economic rationale for local authorities to engage in the scheme. Financial support starts at £8,520 for each refugee in the first year of resettlement and local authorities are able to pool the funds they receive for each refugee over years 2 to 5 in order to pay for services provided to refugees under the scheme (Bolt 2018). As a result of the financial incentives and humanitarian concerns, many local authorities that had not previously hosted displaced persons pledged resettlement opportunities. Nevertheless, local authorities in many remote and rural communities have expertise in mobilising resources and services to house people in need (Meer *et al* 2019a). The flexibility of the scheme, which allows for localised accommodation governance, capitalises on local knowledge and expertise, as well as allowing for "refugee resettlement to be embedded within community planning competences, achieving a balance between the material provision of accommodation for dispersed people and existing local housing and socioeconomic priorities" (Meer *et al* 2019a, 27).

Given the different challenges and opportunities to resettling refugees across different local authorities in Scotland, as well as differing availability of housing stock, there has been no standard approach to accommodation provision under the VPRS in Scotland (Meer *et al* 2019a). Refugees resettled to Glasgow and Argyll and Bute, for example, are initially housed through a process similar to homelessness housing routes by providing housing through Registered Social Landlords (RSLs). This has the benefit of mobilising existing support infrastructures. Aberdeenshire council, meanwhile, opted to utilise the surplus private rental accommodation in its local authority and set up a Private Sector Leasing (PSL) scheme. Under this approach, the council leases a property from a private landlord and transitions the lease to the new tenants if appropriate at a later stage (Meer *et al* 2019a). Due to the unique challenges of refugee resettlement and local contexts, resettlement approaches are still being developed and modified across Scotland. In rural and remote areas, in particular, dedicated approaches are required to ensure that refugee families have access to ESOL classes (Bolt 2018) and will take up the option of remaining in the area to boost population numbers.

The relative success of the provision of housing through Resettlement should be celebrated, yet it also highlights the ‘two-tiered approach’ to hosting refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. While those housed through Resettlement schemes have access to housing and integration schemes, New Scots that experience dispersal and the move-on period must frequently contend with temporary accommodation and occasionally homelessness. It is important to understand this not as an oversight as governance, but as an outcome of an overall governance structure that seeks to enact a decentring approach and privileging refugees that are resettled as opposed to those that gain refugee status in the UK; an approach that is being emphasised in the New Plan for Immigration (RSE 2021). In the context of housing, Meer *et al* (2019a, 33) argue that the creation of this two-tiered governance approach “aims to fracture local-level activity along Dispersal/Resettlement faultlines. By setting the two accommodation systems against each other, this governance model encourages competition [... which creates] the potential to challenge the creation of local-level networks, collaboration or solidarity movements, and works to dispel the consolidation of local-level movements that would otherwise challenge central government norms.”

Education

A wealth of research highlights ESOL education as a key facilitator of integration for New Scots, as detailed in the previous chapter. Other aspects and types of education are also critical in supporting the integration of New Scots, but these are less researched compared to ESOL provision. This chapter outlines the context, aims and achievements in terms of wider education provision and experiences for New Scots; discusses factors which are barriers and enablers to New Scots accessing education; and outlines pedagogical and practical considerations related to best practice.

New Scots education policy context

While some literature refers to education in the 'UK' and 'Britain' as a whole (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2014, p. 115), it is important to note that education in Scotland is a devolved power: the Scottish Government sets and implements a separate educational curriculum and system. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights posits education as a fundamental human right for every person, including refugees and asylum seekers (UDHR 1948). Education is also seen as key marker of integration and is closely linked to people accessing work and employment once they have refugee status (Ager & Strang 2008).

The Scottish Government positions itself as a 'progressive outward looking nation' in relation to migration policy (Scottish Government 2018, p. 5), with inclusion and integration conceived as starting from day 1 of people arriving in Scotland, and refugees having full access to medical treatment, education, housing and employment. The New Scots Integration Strategy (NIS) states that 'It is the right of every child of school age to be provided with a school education [...] including those who are refugees and asylum seekers' (ibid. 2018, 45). 'Diversity and equality' are also presented as being at the heart of Scottish education policies (ibid. 2018, p. 45-46).

However, as detailed in earlier chapters, control over immigration policy rests with the UK Home Office. While no White Paper nor central policy document specifically calls for the creation of a hostile environment for refugees and asylum seekers, it exists in practice (Griffiths and Yeo 2021), with legislation such as the Nationality and Borders Bill (Great Britain 2022) described as 'rights-removing legislation', directly opposed to the 'human rights approach that the Scottish government is committed to' (Scottish Refugee Council 2021). This leads to a situation where disruptive factors previously described and related to Home Office policy (such as dispersal, detention, low financial support, slow bureaucratic systems and decision times) create barriers to accessing education - barriers which are beyond the control of Scottish government or local authorities.

Pedagogical and ethical considerations

While dividing educational stages by the age of learners is a standard accepted pedagogical practice, in the case of people who are refugees and asylum seekers this presents some complications. Firstly, age assessment in relation to unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) is a contested practice which has raised serious ethical concerns (Pobjoy 2017,

Branthwaite 2021). Secondly, many New Scots arrive having experienced years of displacement and disrupted schooling, meaning that in practical terms a child who is of P6 age may not easily be able to join a P6 classroom without additional support - that is aside from ESOL support needs. Furthermore, whatever their age, refugees' wider "information landscapes" become "fractured" by displacement (Lloyd, 2017, p. 39) and need to be reconstructed in ways that consider the socio-educational practices in which they were formed.

New Scots are people of all ages, a heterogeneous and diverse group of people, with very different educational experiences and levels of qualifications. In this educational context it is important to note the problems associated with educational models driven by competency assessments such as ESOL requirements geared only to the requirements of passing English exams (Meer et al 2020); with normative assumptions centred around linguistic competence which encode dynamics of power and status (Aldegheri 2022); and with pedagogical practices based on a deficit-driven educational discourse (Frimberger 2016).

All these are problematic because they risk placing New Scots in the position of having 'less' - less knowledge, less communicative power, less ability - because they do not fit easily into specific models of assessment and education. Such pedagogical approaches reduce the agency and capacity of New Scots and limit the ways and contexts in which education and learning can occur. They furthermore present education as a one-way, linear process where New Scots learn, and educators teach, rather than as a two-way process of mutual learning mirroring the two-way process of integration predicated by New Scots.

The current systems of assessing and ranking schools also pose issues relating to the education of New Scots. One example of this is the case of Annette Street Primary in Glasgow, which was ranked in a league table as 'The Worst Primary School in Scotland' (Law 2021) - according to the systems for measuring attainment, the school was viewed as underperforming. Such systems did not consider that 90% of pupils in the school spoke English as a second language, and many came from RAS backgrounds. The fact that the school incorporated ESOL classes into the curriculum and provided each new pupil with a free school uniform was not taken into consideration either (Annette Street Primary Handbook 2019). Here, achieving excellent academic rankings is not framed as compatible with the conditions which support New Scots to access education.

Young people (age 3-16)

In Scotland, compulsory education - the period when children must attend school, based on their age - starts between the ages of four and a half and five and a half, and ends at age sixteen. Children between age 3 and 5 are eligible for early learning and childcare under the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014.

In relation to New Scots, the NIS presents three key objectives for the education of RAS children, to be achieved by 2022:

1. RAS children and their guardians will be made aware of the educational opportunities available to them

2. Education staff will be trained and able to effectively communicate with people who are refugees
3. A system will be developed to recognise prior qualifications, to help refugees find employment or access further education. (Scottish Government 2018, p. 48-49).

It is not clear that these aims have been met. Worldwide, RAS children experience significant disadvantages when attempting to access their right to education, with the average time spent by RAS children outwith formal education found to be increasing (Horst & Aden 2021, 2). Within the population of RAS children, unaccompanied minors are deemed particularly vulnerable and at high risk of psychological distress (Berhane 2015). Unaccompanied minors is a term which indicates a young person who has reached the UK without an adult (parent or guardian). In 2018, a study commissioned by UNICEF found that Scotland had not met the twenty-day target aiming to place unaccompanied asylum minors into a school or college place within twenty days (Gladwell and Chetwynd 2018). However, in the same year research for What Works Scotland found that the education system was 'considered to be the service operating best for refugee children' and RAS children were 'thriving' in school once they were allocated a place. (McBride et al. 2018, 7-8).

There is a lack of literature on RAS children in Scotland which focuses on the early years, despite recognition of the importance of this educational stage and that investment in early years education leads to better long-term attainment and lower costs in remedial services later on (Sime 2018, p. 11). Generally, further research work is needed to ascertain the experience of RAS in Scotland in the context of NIS objectives, and in particular to investigate the impact of the COVID -19 pandemic on the provision of education to New Scots attending Scottish schools.

Barriers and disruptive factors in education

There is, however, consistent and relatively abundant evidence of the barriers faced by new Scots when accessing education - particularly with regards to RAS children and young adults, and ESOL provision. The specific experiences and needs of New Scots mean that those working on education policy and provision must consider certain key factors in order to address these barriers, which are covered in this section.

This document has previously outlined many of the difficulties related to hostile bureaucracies affecting people seeking asylum and refugees in Scotland. These include what is sometimes referred to as the Home Office's 'culture of disbelief' (Käkelä 2021), where the onus is on RAS people to prove that they are worthy of trust and shelter and belief. The lengthy periods of time spent waiting for an asylum decision, the threat or fear of deportation, the bureaucratic requirements of the Home Office such as reporting to offices and repeating stories of trauma are all part of a hostile bureaucratic environment. These cause distress which takes time to overcome and affect people's ability to engage with new experiences and to overcome (Mulvey 2014). In other words, the UK's 'hostile environment' policy exacerbates mental health difficulties among RAS people (Pollard and Howard, 2021; Mulvey, 2015) - people who are already at high risk of psychological distress due to the circumstances and

experiences which caused them to seek refuge in the first place. These difficulties, in turn, affect people's ability to access and benefit from education effectively.

The difficulties surrounding housing provision for New Scots have been described earlier in this document. Issues such as inadequate housing, short tenancies, living in an area where racism and violence is common, being forced to move housing, being placed in temporary or hotel accommodation (Strang et al 2018; Mulvey 2014; Stewart 2016; British Red Cross 2018; Meer et al. 2019) – all of which impact the ability of New Scots to access education and to concentrate. RAS young people are particularly impacted

There are significant barriers to accessing and benefitting from education, and not just for New Scots – however, people seeking asylum receive support which is considerably below the UK government's assessment of an acceptable standards of living (Mayblin 2014). Furthermore, they run a high risk of becoming destitute or homeless, particularly if their asylum case is refused and they have no further recourse to public funds, or (paradoxically) if their application for refugee status is accepted and there are delays in accessing new accommodation, state support or a National Insurance Number.

New Scots may have experience long gaps in their education history prior to arriving in Scotland, with some people not being able to have continuous access to formal education in their home countries (Education Scotland 2014) or living for a long time in refugee camps. Furthermore, New Scots may also face difficulties in proving their educational achievements if original certificates have been lost or left behind. Some New Scots may never have received any formal education, and may not be able to read or write in any language (Rahbarikorroyeh 2020). Women who arrive as single mothers may experience additional barriers to accessing education if they do not have a network of friends or family to help with childcare. This is an issue identified as a barrier to accessing education by the Scottish Government (2018a).

While many studies find evidence of good educational practices in Scotland, particularly with regards to ESOL provision for New Scots, there are some concerns that underfunding of community-based education projects could undermine these positive factors. (Slade & Dickson 2020, Aldegheri 2022). The Scottish Government identified lack of knowledge about available ESOL courses and a lack of understanding of funding or scholarships as barriers to accessing opportunities for New Scots (2018a). This relates to what Martzoukou and Burnett (2018) refer to as information practices, in their study of socio-cultural adaptation barriers of Syrian refugees in Scotland. These pre-conceived and socio-culturally informed ways of knowing can sometimes pose barriers or be in conflict with new contexts of education and knowing, particularly if educators in the new contexts are not skilled in intercultural communication and education.

Enablers

It is important to also highlight positive and enabling factors in the context of New Scots and education, order to inform and further best practice. In particular, educators skilled in practices of intercultural communication and education are critical enablers for positive experiences of education for New Scots, at all ages and for all types of education. Language

learning in itself can be a pedagogical practice catalysing dialogical narrative exchange (Aldegheri 2022).

Education is also one of the few activities which people seeking asylum are permitted to undertake which can help secure future opportunities and increase a sense of purpose and integration (since people seeking asylum are not allowed to work). Schools and classes can provide a sense of connection and community which is particularly vital given the often-disruptive experiences of the UK asylum system.

The Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) has published resources for schools to use when they welcome refugees, as well as booklets for RAS children and their families (EIS 2020). The City of Sanctuary pack for schools wishing to become Schools of Sanctuary also has a wealth of resources and information (City of Sanctuary 2022b). The next iteration of NSI could be an opportunity to facilitate and increase the sharing of best practice amongst educators in Scotland, with input from New Scots, in order to increase enabling factors as much as possible within the context of the current hostile environment.

Language

English Language education has been identified by UK policy makers as fundamental to supporting integration and improving community cohesion (Phillimore 2010). The Scottish Government undertook a review investigating the views of 130 stakeholders, including ESOL learners, the findings of which emphasised the importance of English language in supporting integration (Slade and Dickson 2021). On reviewing the research that has been done on refugee integration in Scotland, it is clear there is a demand from refugees and asylum seekers for help to improve their English. This allows them to be able to communicate, find employment, and access information on healthcare, housing, or any other service they require (Education Scotland 2015). English language education also plays an essential role in shaping refugees' future and personal plans as well as enhancing their well-being and health (Education Scotland 2015; Hirsu and Bryson 2017; Frimberger 2016). Moreover, learning English is essential to having a democratic voice, reducing isolation, and engaging positively with the host community (Education Scotland 2015).

Accessing ESOL

Although the Scottish Government has made efforts to make ESOL provision in Scotland free-of-charge for asylum seekers and refugees, unlike the UK strategy of waiving fees depending on immigration status, (Meer *et al* 2019b), there has been noticeable underfunding with respect to demand for these classes (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2018). Indeed, more funding is needed for ESOL in order to support the New Scots strategy (Slade and Dickson 2021) and, while the new Adult Learning Strategy has committed to a review of ESOL in Scotland, it is unclear when this will occur. Moreover, there are concerns over how fragmented the ESOL landscape is in Scotland in terms of both availability and quality of provision.¹⁶ According to current funding arrangements, each resettled New Scot is entitled to a minimum of eight hours of ESOL tuition per week (Meer *et al* 2019b), while there is no minimum amount specified for other New Scots. Practically, though, not all New Scots can access those 8 hours, with some community-based courses offering only 2-4 hours per week.

Scottish Government funding changes in 2018 gave priority to full-time accredited ESOL courses delivered by colleges. This has had the effect of reducing the availability of part-time ESOL courses, increasing competition for places,¹⁷ and leaving non-accredited courses in a vulnerable position (Meer *et al* 2019b). These changes disproportionately affect newly-arrived New Scots especially as they are more likely to attend informal classes as they often lack the connections to be aware of such courses and/or the linguistic ability to navigate the registration process (Meer *et al* 2019b). Many New Scots (especially women with childcare commitments) struggle with the time commitments of full-time ESOL courses and it is thought

¹⁶ It is notable that the Scottish Government decided not to publish a third iteration of Scotland's ESOL Strategy, though ESOL has been included in the new Adult Learning Strategy.

¹⁷ Yet despite these changes, even formal college ESOL classes are underfunded and over-subscribed, which has led to learners in Glasgow waiting over a year for a college place.

that New Scots in general prefer the informal settings of council-run ESOL classes without the stress of exams that come with accreditation (Meer *et al* 2019b).¹⁸

Full-time accredited courses also often have long waiting lists (Meer *et al* 2019b). This waiting time can have a negative impact on refugees' financial situation, as those who have been granted refugee status cannot access welfare support unless they attend a formal ESOL class. Moreover, waiting also strongly impacts on motivation, as most New Scots require ESOL classes soon after arrival yet it can be difficult to access these quickly. A further issue is that government funding to support ESOL goes to colleges, who can then in turn pay for local authorities to run council classes. This can be confusing for New Scots, as colleges will sometimes also run local outreach classes and there is frequently little communication between colleges and councils concerning provision of beginner-level ESOL classes. This is, however, also an area that requires further research.

As was discussed in the Employment chapter, denying asylum seekers the right to work for the first 12 months after arrival results in reduced opportunities for them to interact with the wider community (Meer *et al* 2019). As a result, asylum seekers do not develop the English language skills acquired from regularly communicating with native speakers. They receive just £37.75 per week from the UK government or nothing at all if their claims have been refused (Käkelä 2020). For these reasons, lack of childcare provision and travel expenses are a major barrier for those seeking to access language classes (MacKinnon 2015).

Women's lack of access to English language classes is of particular concern. Women still often have reduced access to classes due to expectations of childcare, household responsibilities and, in some cases, lower literacy levels – all of which make it harder for them to attend formal English language education (Scottish Government 2018; Education Scotland 2018; Bassel and Emejulu 2018; Meer 2020). Many New Scots women are also uncomfortable in mixed-gender ESOL classes and, despite some availability of women-only classes, there is still need for more (Meer *et al* 2019b). In addition, the provision of childcare is essential to facilitate women's access to ESOL classes (Strang and Quinn 2014; Migration Scotland 2017; Education Scotland 2018) and many local authorities are currently hosting their ESOL classes in the morning for this reason. Despite this awareness of the issues facing New Scots women, many still struggle to attend ESOL classes and more work is needed to find solutions.

ESOL provision and delivery

Many ESOL classes are not specifically designed for refugees and asylum seekers. New Scots have often experienced distressing incidents before leaving their home countries or during their journey to Scotland (Strang and Quinn 2021). According to Iversen *et al* (2004), post-traumatic stress may affect language acquisition and reduce motivation for learning among refugees. Even after arrival, many people suffer from loneliness, a lack of confidence

¹⁸ Although informal ESOL classes sometimes include some informal levels of testing and accredited courses can run tests informally (especially at lower levels). Moreover, SQA offer ESOL Literacies qualifications at National 2 Literacies levels; these enable learners to gain a recognised qualification at the very beginning of learning English which, in turn, can build confidence and vital study skills.

or the experience of powerlessness, exacerbated by the UK asylum system, which puts New Scots under considerable amounts of stress (Strang and Quinn 2021). Creative language provision initiatives such as befriending programmes or arts-based language learning differ from structured ESOL classes as they allow more open communication for New Scots, allowing them to integrate in a safe, multilingual space (Phipps 2018). A multilingual approach could be particularly beneficial where people are suffering from the after-effects of trauma or where people have had their education interrupted. According to Cox (2020), it is essential to recognise refugees' own home languages and to take a multilingual approach to supporting their learning of the new language – especially in the arrival stage for learners without any prior experience of learning English. This understanding was adopted in the second New Scots integration strategy, which advocates a two-way integration process and encourages refugees to share their language and culture with the host community (Scottish Government 2018).

While language funding for New Scots mostly focuses on ESOL provision, peer-led, mutual language learning activities are also increasingly common (Hirsu 2020). Following a pilot scheme funded by the Scottish Government, mutual language sharing drop-ins, cafes and activities are now promoted and commonplace across refugee and asylum organisations in Scotland, (Hirsu and Bryson 2017). These are now actively encouraged by the NSRIS partnership across all local authorities, and by third sector organisations. However, this vision does not seem to be applied consistently in practice in adult ESOL classes, and much provision still relies on a monolingual approach (Cox 2020; Cox and Phipps 2022).¹⁹

When New Scots do gain access to ESOL support, they may not be able to access the type of support that suits them best. For instance, some New Scots are directed to courses which focus on employability, clearly unsuitable for newcomers who are not yet ready to take up employment (Phipps 2018; Meer *et al* 2019b). Meanwhile, settled refugees who are ready for work, sometimes cannot secure a place on these employability-centred courses. While for the most part ESOL learners take a level assessment before being placed in a class, some ESOL classes are designed to target learners with previous experience of formal education, ignoring diversity in learners' educational backgrounds (Rahbarikorroyeh 2020). Since these classes are delivered in classroom settings, participants with prior exposure to formal education show greater familiarity with this setting and engage more readily than their peers who did not attend school or receive any formal education in their home country, and who may not be able to read or write in any language (Rahbarikorroyeh 2020). It is worth noting, however, that ESOL teachers can undertake training specifically for supporting ESOL literacies learners, which is of particular importance as learners without literacy skills have very different needs to those who can read and write.²⁰

Elderly New Scot participants do not always have access to teachers with experience in working with senior learners to help them learn at their own pace (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018). Some New Scots also encounter a lack of information about what English language

¹⁹ This reluctance to shift away from a monolingual approach may also be due to the limited number of hours of ESOL that tutors are funded to teach (see Cox 2020).

²⁰ See <https://www.glasgowclyde.ac.uk/news/383-college-offers-teaching-esol-literacies-to-adults-sqa-unit>

support is available to them and, combined with the significant issues concerning waiting times, the location in which they have been (re)settled and lack of funding for transport, New Scots often cannot choose the type of class that best suits their abilities and style of learning.

While informal ESOL classes are frequently tailored to the needs and interests of those attending the classes, formal accredited ESOL courses infrequently provide learners with the skills and knowledge that would be most beneficial to them as they search for work and everyday challenges (Brown 2021). Moreover, some ESOL courses focus on the ‘Life in the UK’ test, which requires learners to assimilate into their unfamiliar environment, ignoring everyday needs or requirements those learners may have (Brown 2021). The English language requirements when applying for British citizenship and the ‘Life in the UK’ test put significant pressure on refugees and asylum seekers, imposing the English language on them instead of introducing it in an inclusive and empathetic atmosphere. Providing ESOL in this way puts the entire responsibility of integration on refugees’ shoulders and requires them to make an extra effort to live according to the norms of their new community (Hirsu 2020).

Translation and Interpreting Services

Language interpretation and translation services provided to New Scots continue to display a high degree of variation in terms of quality and standardisation both within and across different public services. Despite not being specifically required by law to do so, most Scottish service providers tend to feel duty-bound to offer language support, often citing the 2010 Equality Act (McKelvey, 2021). It is notable that, although language policymaking is still in its relative infancy in Scotland, there is increasing interest in and focus on the role of languages and multilingual realities in shaping integration (Phipps, 2017). As was discussed in the Policy background chapter, the Scottish Government considers integration to be a “multilateral and ongoing social process with onus on all parties – host communities and ‘New Scots’ – to work towards the formation of new intercultural, multilingual communities” (Phipps 2018, 99). Translators and interpreters play a key role in facilitating this multilingual vision of integration. A considerable proportion of recent language provision research in Scotland, particularly as regards interpretation, has understandably focussed on the healthcare setting, with other settings such as the legal system and education being more neglected. Overall, despite some evidence of good intentions and improved practice, there are still persistent and significant issues with language support provision in general. The following sections will focus on translating and interpreting services in the contexts of general healthcare, mental health and law.

Interpreting services in healthcare context

There have been some positive developments in healthcare interpreting services over the last decade, such as secondary care professionals stating that engaging family members to interpret for patients is “no longer accepted practice” (Da Lomba and Murray 2014, 35). Lay interpreting like this done by friends or family members without specialist training has been widely criticised as unethical due to concerns over confidentiality and privacy (Nellums *et al* 2018) and official NHS guidance advises against it (Public Health Scotland, 2020). Despite

the progress observed, though, language provision continues to display significant inconsistency. For example, interpreting for pregnant refugee and asylum-seeking women has been found to be “patchy”, with some women having to give birth without access to an interpreter at all, leading to them being unsure of what was happening during labour (Fassetta *et al* 2016). Some studies show that refugees have a high level of trust in interpreters (Strang and Quinn 2014). However, there is also evidence of highly unethical behaviour among interpreters, such as asking questions on a patient’s behalf (Da Lomba and Murray 2014). This incidence of unethical or unprofessional behaviour may be due to public services often having to engage private language service providers (LSPs) to meet demand, even where in-house provision exists (McKelvey 2019, 14). It should be noted that this is an issue that is not confined to healthcare alone but is also pervasive across the entire range of interpreting settings. There is a high level of variation in the qualifications and experience required by LSPs when hiring freelance interpreters, with qualifications like the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) or an appropriate Masters in interpreting “desired but not required”, inevitably leading to quality issues (McKelvey 2019). NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde (GGC) has the largest public in-house interpreting service in the UK. Launched in October 2011, it receives over 500 requests per day for interpreting and translation (McKelvey, 2019: 106). NHS Lothian launched its own in-house service in 2017, based on the GGC model, offering a promising blueprint for future collaboration (McKelvey 2021).

There is evidence of reluctance among some New Scots to engage with healthcare services based on concerns over language. A study of Iranian and Afghan male refugees in Glasgow found that they were hesitant to engage with medical professionals because they were unsure of the correct terminology to use when describing their symptoms, suggesting they were either unaware of their right to an interpreter or hesitant to access services through one (Strang and Quinn 2021). The overall picture was that they found it hard to establish trust in these services, and research into the influence of language provision on this mistrust would be helpful, particularly given the aforementioned high levels of trust interpreters seem to enjoy among New Scots (Strang and Quinn 2014).

Mental health services are likely to be of relevance to many New Scots, particularly as the UK’s ‘hostile environment’ policy has been found to exacerbate mental health difficulties among asylum seekers and refugees (Pollard and Howard 2021; Mulvey 2015). World Health Organisation guidelines for promoting mental health and refugee care recommend the inclusion of interpreters within mental health services (Pollard and Howard 2021). Both NHS Lothian and GGC health boards, therefore, are making positive steps towards best practice in this area. Nevertheless, despite increased access to in-house interpreting within the NHS, New Scots are often unaware of the range of formal and informal mental health support services on offer. In addition, many New Scots do not trust national service providers based on multi-layered discrimination they have faced, as well as service providers being unaware of the specific needs of New Scots (Quinn 2014). The aforementioned study of a group of Iranian and Afghan male refugees in Glasgow found that the only source of mental health support they could identify was their local doctor (Strang and Quinn 2021), with no awareness found of community groups or third sector organisations working in this area. There was also extremely low awareness of other community-based services and resources such as

libraries, sports facilities, or Citizens Advice Bureaus (Strang and Quinn 2021), which offer activities and services that can play a key role in maintaining good mental health. This lack of awareness is possibly due to a lack of appropriate translated material, or indeed audio-visual material for those who have low levels of literacy (Strang and Quinn 202).

Structural and socio-cultural factors to interpreting

Translation and interpreting have traditionally been seen as rather mechanical, dispassionate processes of language transfer. However, this fixation purely on language transfer neglects crucial socio-cultural variables which affect the way people experience healthcare and other public services, creating and perpetuating inequalities (Piacentini *et al* 2019). An example of this is that neither Home Office interviewers nor interpreters working in various stages of the asylum process are routinely trained in working with people who have experienced trauma or mental health issues. While asylum seekers have proven able to tell their story coherently over time, they are expected to be able to do so instantly upon arrival in the UK (Palattiyil and Sidhva 2015). This reflects a general ignorance of the socio-cultural variables that are crucial when reflecting on how to deliver translation and interpreting appropriately in the asylum system.

New Scots' difficulties in accessing information revolve around both English language learning and socio-cultural differences in terms of "structures and ways of knowing how to effectively source, communicate and use information" (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018, 1106). Therefore, language support becomes vital to help New Scots negotiate such socio-cultural differences and bureaucratic systems that can be challenging even for the native population. The design of such systems could also be modified to make them more easily accessible. For example, some New Scots are more familiar with an oral culture, as opposed to Scotland's written, digitised one, and have different expectations of services. For example, New Scots frequently report being given documents in English by healthcare and Home Office staff and relying on others (often friends and family members) to translate for them, with the availability of translated material being "patchy at best" (McKelvey 2021, 49). They are still also sometimes told by their GP to use English-language-only telephone lines to make appointments for services they require (Fassetta *et al* 2016, 38).

This practice of providing New Scots with English-only telephone lines and document is particularly problematic as even the most resilient new refugees need appropriate support to negotiate bureaucratic systems (Strang *et al* 2018). Monolingual telephone lines deter people from making claims promptly, leading to an increased risk of benefit sanctions being applied and applicants being made destitute, effectively punishing them for a lack of English language skills and socio-cultural understanding (Strang *et al* 2018). In certain cases, a system with first contact in key languages spoken by New Scots²¹ would be an extremely useful first step to tackling such inequality (Weir *et al* 2018). Large-scale institutions such as the British Red Cross do already operate telephone interpreting systems; a model which could be explored

²¹ Based on the 2011 census, though this will need to be updated after the 2022 version, among these would be Arabic, Polish, and Urdu as well as Punjabi and Chinese languages.

further. Alternatively, increased funding for local support services to employ in-house interpreters would also be of great value – especially where face-to-face contact is needed.

The importance of socio-cultural variables' relevance to language provision can be drawn from the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS). In the case of Edinburgh, SVPRS welcoming arrangements were found to have exceeded the expectations of both refugees and interpreters (Weir *et al* 2018). However, the demand on the interpreters' time was extremely high and many of them took on a role which went beyond interpreting duties only. Indeed, a small group of Arabic interpreters took on an almost 'interpreter/caseworker' role, providing a great deal of practical support to help refugees access services (Weir *et al* 2018). For example, Martzoukou and Burnett (2018) found that many Syrian New Scots saw attending accident and emergency departments as a route to accessing primary care and were extremely unfamiliar with the traditional Scottish GP triage system or gateway services such as NHS 24. This has sometimes led to inappropriate care being delivered (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018) and is an example of the kind of socio-cultural differences the SVPRS interpreters helped New Scots to negotiate.

While it is clearly very useful that SVPRS interpreters assist in such ways, their role as a result exceeds what would traditionally be expected of an interpreter. Indeed, interpreters are often trained to remain 'neutral' or 'impartial' and discouraged from taking on this kind of advisory role (Santamaría Ciordia 2017). However, many Edinburgh SVPRS interpreters understandably developed a close relationship with their service users, and as a result were frequently contacted out of hours (Weir *et al* 2018). All the Edinburgh SVPRS interpreters reported experiencing varying levels of distress in the course of their work (Weir *et al* 2018), which seems an inevitable consequence of having to continually relay the traumatic experiences of people with whom they had formed a close personal bond. There is therefore a clear need for further guidance, training, and psychological support to be made available to interpreters. Such guidance should also ensure that there is wider recognition of the expanded role of interpreters in this context.

Finally, other more serious ethical issues within the SVPRS were identified in West Dunbartonshire where, in many cases, young children were still acting as interpreters for their parents (Mulvey *et al* 2018). Services such as the housing repair service were also unable to provide telephone interpretation. This has led to a dependency on bilingual council staff (Mulvey *et al* 2018), the unethical nature of which is outlined in the healthcare context above. Issues such as these are likely to affect refugees outside of the SVPRS as well, although further research is needed to confirm this.

Translating and interpreting services in legal contexts

Turning to the legal field, it has been found that, in the criminal justice system, an 'unassisted monolingual regime' is at times forced upon non-native English speakers during court hearings, with consequent risks for communication and justice (Monteoliva García 2020, 264). If these people are compelled to speak English (with or without an interpreter on 'stand-by'), this affects both the accuracy of their account and how they are perceived by their interviewer, the consequences of which seem clear. Furthermore, there is an evident lack of

research into legal interpreting in Scotland, particularly within the asylum system. Research conducted at the University of Exeter on asylum tribunal interpreting elsewhere in the UK has suggested that asylum tribunals are viewed as less “formal and serious” than criminal courts by interpreters (Gill *et al* 2016, 19). This may somewhat explain evidence of highly unethical conduct by interpreters in these tribunals, such as offering their own unsolicited opinions on an appellant’s nationality. The same study also found evidence of judges asking family members with no appropriate credentials to interpret (Gill *et al* 2016), showing that it is not just interpreters that sometimes engage in unethical behaviour in asylum tribunals, but legal officials as well. These findings are corroborated by studies of interpreting in asylum settings in other countries. For example, studies in Belgium found evidence of interpreters mismanaging turn-taking, allowing large chunks of speech to be spoken and then summarising them, and even engaging the services of two interpreters to translate into both French and Flemish (Maryns 2013; Gill *et al forthcoming*). Research into these issues in Scottish courts and tribunals is much needed.

Overall, the issues identified above suggest that more specialised training is needed for both interpreters and service providers to understand how socio-cultural differences and identities impact on access to public services such as healthcare and the legal system. Interpreters also need more support to help address any discrimination (Quinn 2014; Piacentini *et al* 2019), as well as to safeguard their own mental well-being when working with vulnerable or traumatised individuals.

Health and Wellbeing

Although migrants on average tend to have better health than receiving population groups (Kearns *et al* 2017), those who experience the asylum process encounter significant challenges in addition to those that may have led them to initially flee their country of origin. As result. research based on the 2010 Scottish Household Survey shows that both refugees and asylum seekers self-reported lower levels of good health than those identifying as Scottish (Mulvey 2014). Only 46% of asylum seekers reported good or excellent levels of health compared to 64% of refugees and 75% of Scottish adults (Mulvey 2014). Yet most concerning are the low levels of self-reported mental health for asylum seekers and female asylum seekers in particular, which were lower than the lowest economic quintile of the overall Scottish population (Mulvey 2014). As a result, serious mental health issues are common amongst those seeking asylum and women in particular (Fassetta *et al* 2016).

Effects of the asylum system

The experience of traveling to another country and claiming asylum there can itself represent a major transition period in a person's life and result in the experience of 'culture shock' (Quinn and Strang 2014). Such shock is, of course, compounded by the effects of being forced to flee to a place of sanctuary and the potentially-traumatic events experienced while traveling to Scotland. Yet beyond such shocks, reasons for ill health amongst New Scots, and mental ill-health in particular, are numerous and stem in large part from the immobilising effects of the asylum process and the housing & support policies adopted by the UK government (see chapters on Housing and Needs of asylum seekers).

First, as was discussed in the chapter on the Needs of asylum seekers, the process of claiming asylum can be traumatising for people and can also re-traumatise as people must regularly recount painful experiences in unsupportive settings such as substantive interviews with the Home Office and asylum appeal hearings – without the presence of trained mental wellbeing staff (Fisher *et al* 2021). Having claimed asylum, people must often wait years for an initial decision or for their cases to conclude if they seek to challenge a negative decision in court (Rotter 2016). Kearns *et al* (2017) found that both health and wellbeing decline with time waiting for an asylum decision – with effects particularly marked amongst those forced to wait five or more years. Waiting involves separation from mainstream society and regular interaction with the Home Office and its 'culture of disbelief' (Kearns *et al* 2017). Many asylum seekers describe waiting for a decision on their claim to be like being in a state of perpetual limbo – where people feel unable to consider their futures or develop strong ties or friendships (Quinn 2014). As a result, people seeking asylum can enter into a vicious cycle of isolation as a lack of initial social networks of support, combined with the uncertainty of their claim, leads to a further withdrawal from social connections (Fassetta *et al* 2016). This withdrawal is felt most strongly by women (who may feel less safe than men in their dispersal area) and pregnant women, in particular, who are least able to travel and establish social networks (Fassetta *et al* 2016).

Second, concerning housing, Stewart and Shaffer (2015) found that people seeking asylum experience high levels of stress due to the process of being housed on a no-choice basis without the ability to onward migrate or choose where they live. Further, people seeking asylum often receive crude or rude treatment by Home Office staff and those employed by asylum accommodation providers, which contributes to feelings of powerlessness and loneliness (Fassetta *et al* 2016; Fisher 2018). People seeking asylum are also often housed with people they don't know, many of whom are also enduring similar hardships and instability. Moreover, the instability concerning housing – including regular movements and the likelihood of losing housing & financial support following an initial refusal – add to feelings of uncertainty related to lack of stability, fear and insecurity (Strang *et al* 2015; Fisher 2018). As was discussed in the chapter on Housing, moreover, people are often housed in areas with little history of migration and incidents of racism directed at New Scots increase feelings of insecurity.

Third, the support that people receive while claiming asylum is less than standard income support and leaves people seeking asylum 'locked into poverty' (Asylum Matters 2020). Such poverty has direct effects on peoples' physical and mental health. Physically it reduces the amount of healthy food that can be consumed, healthy activities that people can partake in and it creates practical problems for people seeking to travel anywhere beyond their place of accommodation (Asylum Matters 2020; Quinn and Strang 2014). Mental wellbeing is also affected by poverty, as it inhibits the creation of strategies for problem resolution and exacerbates isolation (Quinn and Strang 2014). Quinn and Strang (2014) also highlight how, as a result of their limited opportunities and poverty while seeking asylum, people are unable to form intimate relationships with others while living in Glasgow and few have the opportunity to develop reciprocal relationships. Many people seeking asylum in Scotland lack opportunity for altruism which, as a result, undermines their sense of self-esteem and mental well-being.

Stigma

Many New Scots have experienced prejudice and racism interpersonally from members of the local community, especially where accommodation is sourced in areas with high poverty rates and little experience of welcoming New Scots (Sim and Laughlin 2014; Piacentini 2018). Many New Scots also experience mental health problems as a result of being forced to flee or as a result of the asylum process, and can experience additional stigma or discrimination from members of their own community (Quinn 2014). Such prejudice and discrimination from multiple sides can lead to what Quinn (2014) refers to as 'self-stigma'; where people experience shame and devalue their contribution to society. It is therefore essential that solutions designed to tackle exclusion of New Scots consider complex set of institutional circumstances, social contexts and cultural beliefs that affect the experience of prejudice (Quinn 2014).

New Refugees

While one might expect the mental wellbeing of those who have been granted Leave to Remain to increase, Kearns *et al* (2017) found that mental wellbeing continues to decline

following LtR although less markedly than before. Kearns *et al* (2017) suggest this continued decline in mental wellbeing could be caused by the 'cessation clause' introduced by UK legislation in 2006, which means that LtR is most often granted for five years and there is no certainty concerning what will happen during and after those five years (see Stewart and Mulvey 2014). Strang *et al* (2015) have also reported a consistent pattern of 'a dramatic emotional dip' that new refugees experience for a number of months shortly after receiving refugee status. Strang *et al* (2015) note that reasons for this dip include coming to terms with health problems that have previously been put on hold, being moved from their asylum accommodation to short term hostel accommodation (see Housing chapter), the move-on period, loneliness, family separation and concern for family members, and pressure from Jobcentre Plus to find work immediately and not lose access to new support mechanisms (see Employment chapter).

Accessing GP surgeries

People seeking asylum in Scotland should have access to GP surgeries and research conducted by Quinn and Strang (2014) shows that New Scots are generally aware of their entitlement to medical healthcare at GP surgeries. Nevertheless, Murray and Da Lomba (2014) found evidence that asylum seekers may still struggle with registering for a GP. Da Lomba and Murray (2014) attribute to challenge of accessing a GP to two forms of miscommunication and misunderstanding. First, there is a lack of awareness amongst both front-desk staff and clinical staff concerning asylum seekers' healthcare entitlements. Second, GP practices in particular dispersal areas in the city received additional funding from the Health Board to register asylum seekers. GP practices outside of these practices may have therefore referred asylum seekers to access other designated places in Glasgow. A third barrier in accessing healthcare services, identified by Quinn (2014), concerns asylum seekers' lack of (mental and/or physical) capacity to engage in health practices. Such lack of capacity predominantly stems from the stress of the 'all consuming' asylum process, dispersal and housing practices, as well as challenges associated with childcare for single parents (Quinn 2014). Such a barrier is particular concerning, as it means that asylum seekers are at risk of developing more serious health issues at a later date.

In contrast to the awareness of the medical support that can be accessed through GPs, people seeking asylum are often both unaware and mistrusting of third sector agencies and community organisations (Quinn and Strang 2014). In particular, Quinn (2014) notes that people seeking asylum are more likely to seek support from organisation specifically working with New Scots communities, rather than approaching specialist government health or social work services. Quinn (2014) therefore argues that mainstream service providers must work with New Scots to develop more culturally-aware practices and develop clearer understandings of the needs of New Scots and there is a need for further research to consider how this can best be achieved. There is also a need for more awareness-raising at GP practices concerning how to refer New Scots to specialist services as the provision of leaflets in English and phone numbers without language assistance is unlikely to lead to a successful referral (Fassetta *et al* 2016).

Accessing healthcare and wellbeing services has been different for New Scots that have arrived in Scotland through resettlement programmes. In these cases, Local Council Leads have been relied on extensively to coordinate access to healthcare resources, despite the provision of written welcome packs (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018). Due to peoples' experiences of flight and conditions in resettlement camps, as well as different literacy levels and pre-existing health problems, resettled New Scots have arrived with particular needs and local authorities have had to tailor information and services to individuals' circumstances (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018). Despite the work provided by local authorities and medical staff, however, communication issues with non-medical interpreters and different cultural norms (concerning, for example, the role of GPs versus hospital staff) hindered access to healthcare (Martzoukou and Burnett 2018).

Health and Gender

Research by Da Lomba and Murray (2014) find that women asylum seekers and their children, including those who have been refused, are being granted access to maternity care in Glasgow – in line with Scottish statutory regulations and Scottish Government guidance on asylum seekers' health care entitlements. Fassetta *et al* (2016) found that asylum seeking women were very happy with the care they had received from healthcare professionals and, in particular, from midwife services – who would often go beyond their job roles and take on advocacy and support tasks (including helping with paperwork and contacting the Home Office on the mothers' behalf).

There is, however, also evidence that women have struggled to properly utilise access to antenatal classes due to a lack of information concerning their provision and language barriers. Sources of information on maternity care are, for example, often only available in printed form and in English. There have also been numerous issues with interpreters provided through the NHS for pregnant asylum seekers; including where male interpreters were provided, a lack of interpreters or unprofessional interpreters (Da Lomba and Murray 2014).

Although women who are pregnant while seeking asylum and families with children are entitled to additional monetary support, the funds they receive is still below the poverty line and there are strong concerns for the health of women and children due to the limited food people can purchase (Fassetta *et al* 2016). However, Da Lomba and Murray (2014) report that information about health and support services is not always well communicated to pregnant women seeking asylum in Glasgow. Asylum seeking women are therefore often not aware of their right to additional pregnancy or health-related support and, in particular, are often unaware of the potential to have their travel reimbursed (Da Lomba and Murray 2014). Moreover, the support that refused pregnant asylum seekers are entitled to cannot be accessed until six weeks prior to the estimated due date. As a result, refused pregnant asylum seekers are at risk of violence and sexual exploitation as they have no means of accessing housing or financial support (Fassetta *et al* 2016). Such issues with financial support are also often compounded by fears concerning the uncertainty of their asylum claim. The complexity of asylum support (including cashless support for those whose claims are refused), combined with the strains of the asylum process, therefore have strong negative

impacts on women's experiences of pregnancy and access to maternity care (Da Lomba and Murray 2014).

There are concerns in Scotland that refugee women who have suffered, or are at risk of, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) are unable to access legal and healthcare support. However, obtaining reliable data on the extent of the issue in Scotland has been challenging. Nevertheless, Baillot *et al's* (2014) report, which was based on census data, interviews and community workshops, made a number of recommendations to enact preventative interventions in Scotland, these include; community-based interventions, developing trust, tailoring approaches to particular communities, and removing barriers (including the stigma attached to FGM). Indeed, there are strong concerns that at-risk women are unaware of their rights in Scotland and that FGM is under-reported at mainstream healthcare services. Such issues are compounded by the strategies of denial encountered by survivors of FGM at the UK Home Office when they claim asylum (Käkelä 2022). In such situations the "heavy burden of proof placed on women pushes them to expose themselves to invasive genital examinations, without guarantees that this will be addressed sensitively, or that it will aid their claims" (Käkelä 2022, 573). The Scottish Government has produced a 'National Action Plan to Prevent and Eradicate Female Genital Mutilation – 2016-2020 (SG 2016). In addition, the Scottish government passed the Female Genital Mutilation (Protection and Guidance) Act in 2020. Though the successes of the Plan and Act are hard to measure, one success has been the development of local-level plans and multi-agency protocols by local authorities (Scottish Government 2019).

Improving wellbeing

There has been little research in Scotland specifically focussed on how to improve the health and wellbeing of New Scots. Strang *et al* (2015) note that participation in sports can improve wellbeing and Quinn (2014) notes that walking is one of the few health-promoting practices that is considered financially accessible to New Scots (although constraints include fear of racism and discrimination while walking). Alternative approaches include participation in 'Spontaneous Movement' sessions, as trialled by García-Medrano and Panhofer (2020). In this research, which involved being part of a group and gaining freedom of expression through movements, García-Medrano and Panhofer (2020) found that participants were able to fight off loneliness, feel in control of their lives and gain a greater sense of freedom and emotional stability.

Communities, Culture and Social Connections

Much of the scholarship that focuses on communities, culture and social connections of New Scots in Scotland highlights both the importance of constructing and maintaining social ties, as well as the complexity of doing so. The Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) indicators of integration model, on which much of the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy is based, highlights the importance of social bonds (connections that link members of a group), social bridges (connections between groups), and social links (connections between individuals and structures of the state). It is also through a focus on culture and communities that scholars are able to critique the tendency to homogenise migrant groups by imposing a fictive unity on people and practices of community, and to instead consider how moments of encounter and interaction can be encouraged (Piacentini 2012, 2018).

Communities and social connections

In recent years Scotland has received a significant number of New Scot families through the Syrian resettlement scheme (and, more recently, the Homes for Ukraine scheme). The (albeit understandable) decision to house resettled refugees across the country has, however, limited the opportunities for refugee groups to mobilise in a physical locality through the creation of a refugee association (Piacentini 2018). There is also a sense amongst refugee-led organisations and the rest of the sector in general that long-term funding is hard to come by and that, as a result, conducting strategic, future-focused work is hard to achieve (Paterson 2021). The combined effect of both of these outcomes is that, while community engagement activities are taking place in Scotland, these are frequently patchy and require knowledge of different groups and engagement activities in order to participate.

Establishing social connections and becoming part of a local community can be a very challenging experience for many New Scots. Strang and Quinn (2021), for example, set out how displacement frequently results in a loss of identity and rights, while many New Scots have also often experienced multiple personal losses and distressing events. As a result, even once reaching place of safety, people can feel isolated, experience low levels of self-esteem and lack the knowledge and language skills to engage in the social practices of the local society. Such isolation can then engender a vicious cycle of powerlessness, exclusion, lack of access to resources and lack of trust and awareness of available support (Strang and Quinn 2014; Strang *et al* 2018).

Strang and Quinn's (2021) research also revealed that New Scots' connections with those outside their immediate community are mainly defined as being 'relationships of dependency'; where they have not been asked or are unable to give help. Without the opportunity for reciprocity, such relationships are unlikely to create the opportunity to build trust and may undermine people's willingness to access services. Indeed, a striking result from Strang and Quinn's (2021) study is that even participants involved in informal groups and who had cultivated 'bridging relationships' were nevertheless not accessing available resources. Such findings point both to the need for migration policy to increase opportunities for reciprocity and exchange (Strang and Quinn 2021), but also to celebrate existing

programmes and spaces where volunteering and sharing initiatives have created reciprocal experiences (see Hirsu and Bryson 2017).

While Strang and Quinn's (2021) research confirms that New Scots generally have high levels of trust in their family members, trust in members of friendship groups and members of the same national community are more variable. This is concerning given the importance that New Scots in other studies place in extra-familial networks of friends (Sim 2015; Botterill *et al* 2020). However, both Strang and Quinn (2021) and Botterill *et al* 2020) reported that New Scot respondents have high levels of trust amongst friends in shared places of worship – which points towards the key role of religious groups and institutions for creating opportunities of encounter and welcome (see Sim and Laughlin 2014). Moreover, Botterill *et al*'s (2020) research points to the role of transnational connections amongst young people especially, and how faith can play a role in supporting transnational solidarities amongst young people against racial injustice.

Despite evidence of bridging relationships being established in Scotland between New Scots and receiving communities, however, Strang and Quinn's (2021) research also highlights the lack of awareness and use of available services amongst New Scot groups. As a result, even though people may feel more integrated in a community over time (Kearns and Whitley 2015), such feelings do not necessarily translate into increased feelings of trust and use of available resources. Such findings therefore point towards a more complicated relationship between bridging relationships, trust, and access (and awareness of) available resources. Possible explanations include a lack of awareness amongst receiving communities of New Scots' needs and perhaps New Scots' reluctance to share information concerning their immigration status and needs, although this requires further research.

Other barriers to establishing social connections and inclusive communities relate to the physical resources available in local environments (including housing, employment, public services and community activities). Based on fieldwork in Glasgow, Bynner (2019) counters statements that 'diversity erodes trust' by instead arguing that declining housing and environmental conditions can counter what would otherwise be positive narratives of neighbourhood diversity. On the one hand such findings are therefore useful for countering essentialising concerns that new groups will reduce community cohesion but, on the other hand, such findings point to the further complexity of the challenge facing policymakers and migrant groups as trust and communication are shown to rely on broader societal issues at local and national scales (Bynner 2019). Following the demolition of the Red Road Flats in which many people seeking asylum in Glasgow were housed, people were relocated to areas of mostly tenement living and low-level housing across the city. As a result, there are issues of New Scots not fitting in and of feeling hyper-visible to neighbours (Piacentini 2018). Indeed, despite generally positive views towards migration in Scotland, numerous studies have found evidence of New Scots experiencing racial or religious discrimination (Sim and Laughlin 2014; Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Boterill *et al* 2020).

Kirkwood *et al*'s (2015; 2015) research into lay understandings of integration amongst both New Scots, members of receiving communities and refugee organisations highlights how integration is always built up around locally-sensitive constructions. Therefore, even where

academics and policymakers might understand integration to be a two-way process, different people, groups and organisations will construct integration differently depending on the contexts in which they operate. Moreover, even where members of the public express positive opinions towards New Scots, they may nevertheless be expressing assimilationist views of integration (Kirkwood *et al* 2015). Such findings are important when interpreting quantitative surveys of public opinions beyond positivity and negativity towards New Scots and migration in Scotland. Kirkwood *et al* (2014) also argue that local organisations should be aware of the subjectivity of the term ‘integration’ as it is used in local contexts. Instead, Kirkwood *et al* (2014, 387) suggest that “in local settings, it might be more useful for local organizations to specify what is sought in terms of social actors and interactions instead of relying upon a concept that is so open to multiple uses and outcomes.” Such findings are therefore important in terms of fostering social connections and bridges in local contexts, where ‘integration’ activities and aims might be understood differently by those involved.

Certain places in the local community are essential for providing information and for creating opportunities of contact between New Scots and receiving communities (see Martzoukou 2018). While refugee-centred organisations can provide ‘safe spaces’ for New Scots, public spaces can also provide essential services. Public libraries in Scotland, for example, have an explicit ethos of strengthening the identity and sense of community, increasing involvement in community activities, and responding to the needs of individuals and social groups (The Scottish Library and Information Council 2015). As a result, Martzoukou (2020, unpaginated) argues that “public libraries in Scotland encompass the vision of welcoming and helping vulnerable communities, such as refugees, embracing an ethos of social inclusion, nurturing their needs for learning, social well-being, community integration, helping to build capacity for active contribution of refugees to their host society, and enabling activities that create a sense of belonging for all.” Despite this central role, however, Salzano (*forthcoming*) has identified a lack of stated recognition of the importance of libraries in this context; pointing to both the need for such recognition and wider research into further discrepancies between the use of spaces for integration activities and their recognition amongst practitioners. More evidence is also needed in Scotland concerning the role of place for creating the opportunities for New Scots to encounter and interact with other groups. Such spaces include, for example, the role of green spaces and schools in developing connections and exploring cultural norms (see Neal *et al* 2015, 2016; Rishbeth *et al* 2019; Pietka-Nykaza (*forthcoming*)).

Culture-sharing initiatives and activities for encouraging encounter between New Scots and receiving communities are recognised as being important by practitioners and support groups for fostering inter-cultural connections (see Hirsu and Bryson 2017). Such activities include sports, theatre, language cafés and outdoor volunteering and meal-sharing. Yet, so far, such activities have received limited sustained attention from academics conducting fieldwork in Scotland. One notable exception, however, is Whitley *et al*'s (2022) research into trauma-informed football coaching through Street Soccer Scotland. Through creating a safe and stable environment, players were able to physically and mentally escape from the pressures of their everyday lives and then, through conversation and play, build capacity for additional growth and development (Whitley *et al* 2022). Players were also able to develop a sense of

unity and team cohesion, which can be key in developing trusting relationships. In addition, Whitley *et al* (2022) found that the person-centred approach utilised by Street Soccer Scotland, combined with the connections developed between the organisation and other support services, created a strong referral system with players accessing interrelated systems and services that support steps towards education, recovery, housing, language learning and job training. In a similar study focused on football in Glasgow, Blanchard (2018) found that players of United Glasgow FC (UGFC) created (i) opportunities for cross-cultural learning and an understanding of the city, (ii) the ability to create new social connections and networks, (iii) improve mental and physical health, and (iv) negotiate and maintain multiple forms of identity and belonging.

Culture

Despite their inclusion in the New Scots theme of 'Communities, Culture and Social Connections', Evans (2020) argues that the arts (as well as culture) require significant further prioritisation in the strategy. Indeed, an understanding of the role of artistic, cultural and creative expression in the context of integration is still under-articulated in current policy contexts (Evans 2020). Phipps (2017, 17), however, clearly articulates how cultural work with refugees at the social level intervenes in social processes, as it "allows for common experiences to build capacities of care; it gives voice to experiences which are not readily understood in contexts of little conflict, and through direct experience; it offers a counter balance to the stereotypical tropes in much mainstream media and mainstream entertainment." In discussing the 'Multi-story' participatory photography project centred on Glasgow's Red Road flats, for example, McAllister (2015) details how the project's photographs manage to transpose one world into another; as photographers/refugees/participants/occupants (re)construct memories of their old lives into their dwelling places in Glasgow. Moreover, in contrast to the images shared by media outputs and the securitisation of asylum accommodation (see Fisher 2018), the images presented by the Multi-story project show only what the participants want viewers to see.

Though largely overlooked in both integration policy and academia (which has mostly focused on work in England), arts and cultural production have been flourishing in Glasgow since it first became a dispersal city. Organisations and artistic groups engaged in artistic activity in Scotland include Ignite Theatre, Musicians in Exile and Seeds of Thought; while organisations such as the Scottish Refugee Council and Maryhill Integration Network are increasingly engaging with such artistic groups to promote integration, awareness raising and participation (Evans 2020). Phipps (2017) details how such cultural work with refugees broadly falls into five categories, namely; (i) cultural and artistic representations of refugees (which can be aimed at changing negative perceptions), (ii) presentations by refugees regarding their experiences as refugees, (iii) discussions concerning social norms, (iv) rituals and events (aimed at transforming social relations), and (v) therapeutic practices aimed at encouraging healing, resilience and recovery from trauma.

Despite the cultural and artistic activities taking place in Scotland, however, Evans (2020) warns that the cultural sector in Scotland is at risk of being uncritically instrumentalised as

part of social and political agendas. Evans' (2020) work with various artistic groups in Scotland has highlighted the consistent undervaluing of refugee professional artists and cultural leaders – both in terms of financial underpayment and reluctance to embrace the disruptive potential of the arts. Drawing on Darling (2013), Evans (2020) argues that cultural events in Scotland should focus less on rhetorics of refugee contribution towards Scottish society and, instead, consider more critically the opportunities generated through collaborative projects, politics and realities.

There are two key takeaway learnings from Phipps' (2017) and Evans' (2020) research regarding cultural and artistic work with refugees in Scotland and beyond. First, as Phipps (2017) argues, cultural policy should be drafted on the basis that 'Nothing about us, without us, is for us.' In other words, cultural work that does not involve refugees from its inception through to production "*cannot* be part of fostering good intercultural relations or integration" (Phipps 2017, 17, emphasis added). Second, following Evans (2020), the benefits of cultural work with refugees are not necessarily visible to the observer of the artistic end-product but, instead, are present in the processes and (inter)personal experiences gained through the acts of collaborative working and recognition of value. Much like integration, therefore, cultural work should be thought of in terms of a process rather than a series of pre-determined end goals.

Appendix

Table of UK immigration policy

| Policy Initiative | / Aims concerning asylum seekers and refugees | Outcome |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Asylum & Immigration Appeals Act 1993 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incorporated the 1951 Refugee Convention into domestic law. - Limited asylum seekers' access and entitlement to local authority housing. - Introduced the 'safe third country' removal process. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Despite the incorporation of the Refugee Convention, the Act immediately created a distinction between the rights and entitlements of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. |
| Asylum & Immigration Act 1996 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restricted asylum seekers from seeking legal employment while awaiting a decision on their case. - Introduced large fines for employers found to be employing unauthorised migrants and asylum seekers without the right to work. - Erosion of certain in-country appeal rights and creation of a white list of countries whereby asylum cases could be certified as 'fast track' – thereby increasing the onus on the asylum seeker to demonstrate their fear of persecution. - Created a more rigid regime for managing 'safe' third country asylum claims and the application of a 'white list' of countries. - Restricted financial assistance and housing support to asylum seekers who did not claim asylum soon after arrival in the UK. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Described as being 'firm but fair', the 1996 Act increased discourse of 'bogus' asylum seekers claiming public funds. - Marked the start of failed attempts to reduce so-called 'pull factors' to the UK by creating harsh internal rules in the hope of deterring other would-be asylum applicants (Stevens 1998). - Despite attempts to streamline the decision-making process, the backlog of asylum cases and the number of asylum appeals increased. - Creation of internal border checks to be carried out by non-government officials reduces trust between host population and migrants. |

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|---|---|---|
| <p>1999 Immigration and Asylum Act</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removal of asylum seekers from the social security system and the creation of the National Asylum Support Service. - Introduction of the voucher system for asylum support (maintenance to be at 70% of standard benefit levels) and compulsory dispersal of asylum seekers to areas outside London. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Symbolically important as it demonstrated that asylum seekers did not deserve access to mainstream social security (Mulvey 2018). - Removed asylum seekers from support structures and increased tensions between asylum seekers and host communities through the dispersal system which housed asylum seekers in low-cost housing areas with little experience of housing and integrating asylum seekers (Zetter <i>et al</i> 2005; Meer <i>et al</i> 2019). - Created a punitive support system, with the aim of ensuring that only those who needed support would receive it (Sales 2002). |
| <p>Home Office (2000) <i>Full and Equal Citizens. A Strategy for the Integration of Refugees into the United Kingdom.</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aimed to help refugees access jobs, benefits, accommodation, health, education and language classes, as well as encouraging community participation. - It was established as a means of supporting small local projects rather than as a national strategy with more ambitious aims and it provided limited resources to organisations working with refugees. £500,000 in its first year was available to new organisations with a further £650,000 to support capacity building among existing organisations. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encouraged integration through community participation and social citizenship – though its stated aims were more ambitious than the practical resources and strategies provided (Mulvey 2018). |

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| <p>2002 Nationality, Asylum and Immigration Act</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removed in-country appeal rights for asylum cases that were determined as being 'clearly unfounded'. - Requires applicants for British citizenship to pass a language test. - Introduction of the Gateway Resettlement programme for quota refugees. - Introduced biometric data to the Application Registration Card (ARC) with applicants' photograph, details and fingerprints. - Asylum seekers were denied the right to work (unless their initial decision took more than 12 months to make, after which only the principal applicant had the right to apply for permission to work). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The denial of the right to work simultaneously increased negative discourse surrounding asylum seekers and made them more dependent on state benefits (Mulvey 2014). - Significantly impeded refugees' ability to integrate as the right to work is key to providing financial independence and acts a key means of socialising (Mulvey 2014). - Increasing securitisation of asylum governance, in particular through the use of biometric identity cards. Encouraged a fearfulness and lack of trust in people seeking asylum (Squire 2009). |
| <p>Home Office (2002) <i>Secure Borders, Safe Haven; Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain.</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Published prior to the 2002 Nationality, Asylum and Immigration Act (which included fewer of the proposed reforms that expected). - Attempted to create reception centres for asylum seekers. - Formalised distinctions not just between 'deserving' and 'bogus' asylum seekers but also 'skilled' and 'unskilled'. - Emphasised the need to streamline the asylum appeals system, to re-structure the legislation to simplify the one-stop appeal provisions. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Created a narrative that cast people seeking asylum as a potential threat to national security (where before the threat had been to community cohesion) (Yuval-Davis <i>et al</i> 2005). - Policies to reduce the possibilities of appeal and to increase speed of removal were predicated on the notion that the majority of asylum seekers were 'bogus' (Sales 2005). |
| <p>2004 Asylum and Immigration Act</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removed support from asylum-seeking families who had lost their claim for asylum and were not cooperating with removal directions. Also significantly reduced their appeal rights. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Signified further gradual erosion of social rights for asylum seekers, increasing the vulnerability of asylum seekers (Stewart 2005). - Worsened the effects of the dispersal policy through the insistence of a 'local |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removed backdated benefit payments to refugees, and replaced these with an 'integration loan'. - Set out at that a 'local connection' would exist where a refugee had last been supported (in a dispersal area), thus inhibiting possibilities to apply for social housing in other areas of the UK. - Allowed the electronic monitoring of asylum seekers. | <p>connection' (Piacentini 2012), which forced refugees into homelessness and inhibited movement following granting of refugee status to find work or connections.</p> |
| <p>Home Office (2005a) <i>Integration Matters</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provided some monitoring of refugee integration and included funded refugee-integration programmes. - Focused on the labour market and on behavioural expectations of refugees. - Aimed to ensure that refugees receive access to services and support. - Sunrise programme in 2005. It offered individual, time limited casework support to newly recognised refugees in relation to housing, employment, benefits and financial advice, access to English language tuition and information on the process of family reunion. - Refugee Integration and Employment Service in 2008. RIES maintained the caseworker approach but was more limited in providing support in employment and education, as well as the opportunity to have a mentor. However, this support would last for a year rather than the previous 28 days. | <p>- Despite the introduction of nationally-funded refugee integration programmes, the document individualises the integration process, such that a failure to integrate is seen as a personal failure rather than a structural one (Mulvey 2018).</p> |

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| <p>Home Office (2005b) <i>Controlling our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain.</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduced a significantly more streamlined asylum determination process with the intention of delivering asylum decisions within six months. Mechanisms put in place included 'case ownership', 'segmentation' of cases and 'fast-track' processing. - Declared that peoples' 'long term settlement must be carefully controlled and provide long term economic benefit' (Home Office 2005b, 1). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Citizenship explicitly regarded as a reward to be earned rather than a right (individuals need to be of 'good character' and pass a test of knowledge of life in the UK) (Stewart and Mulvey 2014). - Set the groundwork for the cessation clause in the 2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act. |
| <p>2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusion of the 'cessation clause', whereby refugees are only granted temporary leave in the first instance (5 years). - Imposed further limitations on the right to appeal against Home Office asylum decisions. - Granted immigration officers the power to check an individuals' identity. - Introduced requirements for employers to carry out more rigorous and annual document checks of employees and made it a custodial offence to knowingly employ unauthorised migrants. - Extended the use of vouchers to asylum seekers on Section 4 support and prohibited the provision of cash support. - Gave the Home Secretary the power to repeal British citizenship to any refugee whose actions were judged to be prejudicial to the state. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased the sense of insecurity felt by refugees. Though perhaps intended as a motivator, the provision of only temporary status should be understood as an impediment towards active engagement in economic, social and political life (Stewart and Mulvey 2014). - The enforcement of laws regarding the employment of migrants changed following the act as immigration enforcement carried out significantly more raids and arrests (Yuval-Davis <i>et al</i> 2018). |

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| <p>UK Borders Act 2007</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provided immigration officers with the power to search and arrest without warrant, people suspected of offence concerning their asylum support. - Enabled reporting and residence requirements to be a condition of their limited leave to remain. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Asylum seekers are increasingly made to look and feel like a threat to national security as they are governed by increasingly extensive measures of surveillance and control, and immigration officers are given police-like powers (Squire 2009). |
| <p>Home Office (2008) <i>The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System.</i></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposed a period of probationary citizenship for economic migrants, family members of British citizens and refugees during which they could “demonstrate whether they have earned the right to either British Citizenship or Permanent Residence, or they will leave the UK. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposed an increase to the conditionality upon which refugees could hope to live and work in the UK. |
| <p>2009 Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Created a new category of temporary leave to remain, entitled “probationary citizenship leave”; creating an additional barrier between the right to live in the UK and citizenship. - Extended the right for immigration officers at ports in Scotland to detain individuals. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposed an active citizenship requirement for would be citizens, with the suggestion that undertaking voluntary work would speed up the application process. |
| <p>2012 COMPASS contracts signed</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contracts transferred for the provision of asylum seeker accommodation from a mixture of consortia of local authorities, social housing associations and private providers to just three private contractors. The multinational security services company G4S, the international services company Serco and the accommodation partnership Clearel. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The shift in housing provision resulted in (i) a loss of local authority support, engagement and expertise concerning asylum housing and support, (ii) the worsening of housing quality and avenues available to asylum seekers to raise complaints (Darling 2016). |

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| <p>2014 & 2016 Immigration Acts</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The New Immigration Bill became the 2014 Immigration Act, which was subsequently fortified by the 2016 Immigration Act. - Aimed to prevent people without legal status from renting private property, opening a bank account and obtaining a driver's license. - Introduced the concept of 'the right to rent' and made landlords responsible for checking the immigration status of tenants. The 2016 Act criminalised landlords and housing agents for renting to someone when having reasonable cause to believe they did not have the right to rent. - Removed the provision that long-standing residence in the UK from Commonwealth countries from enforced removal. - Established data sharing agreements between the Home Office and NHS Digital, the Department of Health, the Department for Education, local councils and charities working with rough sleepers. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facilitated the formalisation of the 'Hostile Environment' in law, which extended the UK border into everyday spaces. As a result, there is no topological distinction between an 'inside' and 'outside' to the border, "only spaces through which rights are determined" (Allen and Axelsson 2019, 118). - Created the conditions for the Windrush scandal to occur. - The 2014 & 2016 Immigration Acts have "succeeded where previous legislation failed; firmly embedding the practice of conducting immigration checks on employees into workplace culture, even though – contrary to popular belief – such checks are not actually legally obligatory" (Griffiths and Yeo 2021, 6-7). |
| <p>The Nationality and Borders Act 2022</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates a distinction between refugees that sought asylum in the UK and those that have been granted Leave to Remain through a Resettlement scheme. - Seeks to further remove appeal rights in order to reduce delays. - Aims to create possibilities for returning people who have sought asylum if they have travelled through the EU (despite the UK having left the Dublin III Treaty). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates a narrative of undeservingness, even for people who are found to be 'legitimate' refugees as it discriminates against their use of irregular routes of entry. - Has the potential to reduce cohesion in refugee communities as those who have applied from within the UK will be discriminated against compared to those who receive Leave to Remain through Resettlement programmes (RSE 2021). - Could make it harder for refugees to integrate if their LtR is only temporary (30 months), which will then be regularly |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourages the possibility of developing off-shore asylum application centres. | reviewed with the constant threat of removal. |
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Table 1 sets out the main Acts of Parliament, white papers and developments that have shaped the integration pathways for asylum seekers and refugees in the UK.

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