Integration Literature Review

Introduction

The conceptual framework developed by Ager and Strang provides the most rounded basis from which an empirical study of integration can flow (it is shown in diagrammatic form below). While the authors have subsequently used their framework in a comparative piece of work, looking at a neighbourhood of London and comparing it to a Glasgow locality, more on which below, there is a need for further empirical examination and testing of not only the frameworks utility, but also what this tells us about refugee integration. While it is the intention of this research project to both test Ager and Strang's framework across a two-year time period and examine the requisite processes of integration, this section provides a brief literature review in order to highlight the important issues that the research must take account of, and review other theoretical perspectives. The review will also examine individual 'domains' of integration according to the existing research evidence, which highlights both the links between domains and the importance of each.

Markers and Means: Employment, Housing, Education, Health

Social Connection: Social Bridges, Social Bonds, Social Links

Facilitators: Language and Cultural Knowledge, Safety and Stability

Foundation: Rights and Citizenship

(Ager and Strang 2004)

Definitions of Integration and their Theoretical Underpinning

Although integration is a widely used term, its understandings vary considerably. Ager and Strang highlight Robinsons description of integration as "a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most" (Ager and Strang 2008167). While it is not possible to come to a definitive conclusion regarding a definition of integration that everybody could subscribe to, it is nevertheless worthwhile to attempt

to reach some broad set of conclusions that provide some definitional direction to this research project.

Definitional differences aside the one thing that researchers and theorists appear to agree on is that integration does not, or should not, mean the same thing as assimilation. Any notional acceptance of multiculturalism demands that minority identities are not supplanted in order to produce one dominant homogeneous culture. Harrell-Bond refers to integration as "a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources – both economic and social – with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community" (Harrell-Bond in Kuhlman 1991 3), although she feels that such a definition is perhaps overly simplified. While definitions abound, Threadgold and Court make a useful definitional point. "Broadly speaking integration is the process by which immigrants and refugees become part of the receiving society" but they caution that "it is often used still to imply a one-way adaptation or acculturation to the dominant culture and way of life" (Threadgold and Court 2005 8). Threadgold and Court argue that the present Scottish approach appears to have elements of a mutual adaptation but that in general terms the understanding of integration is a form of 'assimilation light' (Ibid).

Bernard defines integration thus, "integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behaviour patterns and participate freely in its activities, but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity" (Kuhman 1991 4). Bulcha adds that this need not imply harmonious equilibrium as "conflict is naturally part of the relationship" (Ibid). For Kuhman the problem with this view is that integration cannot be measured against anything other than marginalisation, and thus it fails somewhat against the predictive requirements of theory making. Nevertheless, one key component for Kuhman is that migrants maintain their own identity while also becoming part of the host society. Kuhlman argues for the multi-dimensionality of integration, involving spatial, economic, political, legal, psychological and cultural factors (Ibid 9), while Castles et al point to the influence of 'structural factors', which differ according to migrant type (Ibid).

Favell questions the use of the term 'integration' to encompass a whole series of processes. In essence he implies that in the use of the term integration there is a risk of conceptual stretching. "It is worth reflecting ……on why academics or policy makers tend to still use the term 'integration' to speak of such a complex process of social change, and the collective goal regarding the destiny of new immigrants or ethnic minorities". Integration is seen as the middle stretch in a process between arrival (immigration policy) and an 'idealised' future point and includes many dimensions. Favell expands,

> "Measures concerned with integration include (the list is by no means exhaustive, but indicative): basic legal and social protection; formal naturalisation and citizenship (or residency-based) rights; anti-discrimination laws; equal opportunities positive action; the creation of corporatist and associational structures for immigrant or ethnic organisations; the redistribution of targeted socio-economic funds for minorities in deprived areas; policy on public housing; policy on law and order; multicultural education policy; policies and laws on tolerating cultural practices; cultural funding for ethnic associations or religious organisations; language and cultural courses in host society's culture, and so on" (Favell 2001).

While not being entirely happy with the use of the term integration, however, Favell points out that many of the alternatives such as accommodation, incorporation and assimilation, are either vaguer, overly precise or ignore agency. Consequently the term 'integration' may be the most relevant on offer, although the processes that the term is used to incorporate are perhaps less well defined. "Policies of integration are often shambolic and ad hoc attempts to grasp what is going on".

Bosswick and Heckmann identify four 'forms' of integration, structural identification; cultural integration; interactive integration; and identificational integration. 'Structural identification' is defined as representing the acquisition of rights, and thus access to core institutions within the host society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006 3-10). These

could be broadly seen as Ager and Strang's domains. Bosswick and Heckmann highlight the areas of the economy and labour market, the housing system, welfare state institutions, and following on from that, full political citizenship (Ibid 10). Participation in these areas makes them the 'core' institutions for integration.

Cultural integration refers to the acquisition of the core competencies of the dominant culture and society, similar to that of acculturation. The two-way nature of the process is, however, referred to by Bosswick and Heckmann, who point out that the process of integration also changes the host society (Ibid).

Interactive integration had some conceptual links to theories of social capital (Putman) and refers to the 'acceptance' of immigrants within 'primary relationships and social networks of the host society' (Ibid). There is a somewhat sequential process as, according to Bosswick and Heckmann, some of the core elements of cultural integration are necessary prior to interactive integration being possible.

Finally, for Bosswick and Heckmann, identificational integration refers to the gap between participating in core institutions and identifying *with* those institutions. This essentially refers to the development of a 'sense of belonging', again implying a sequential process within these integration 'forms' (Ibid 11). Thus in terms of both policy and practice there is an implication that integration can emanate only from the acquisition of rights and moves through a series of processes prior to integration taking place. Nevertheless, it remains unclear when each process has been met and therefore when that form of integration has happened. This requires some form of comparison and measurement

The European Commission's 'Handbook on Integration' relates integration explicitly to its outcomes. It argues that "two processes are critical to improving immigrants' outcomes: the elimination of inequalities, and the acquisition of competences" (European Commission 2007 8). The issue of inequalities is multi-dimensional and includes such areas as education, economic life, security of residence, support for family life, anti-discrimination and general social citizenship (Ibid). The 'second challenge', the acquisition of competencies, "calls upon each individual to engage in a

process of lifelong learning". This includes language, training and education (Ibid). Thus is a sense the state responsibilities are primary and only once some state processes are in place can individuals fully perform their role.

Threadgold and Court use the work of Ager and Strang as a definitional foundation for integration, although they point to the lack of explicit definition of integration within the framework (Threadgold and Court 2005 21). Nevertheless Threadgold and Court highlight six 'key indicators' that would need to be addressed with regard to refugee exclusion and deprivation (Ibid 43). These are; housing, health and social care, child welfare, safety, interaction and community cohesion, employment training and lifelong learning, and education (Ibid). Their report moves on to provide an abbreviated review of research done in each of those areas, some of which are described below.

The problems in developing an accepted definition of integration is also raised by Castles et al. They state that "the problems in defining indicators of integration is closely related to the conceptual problems of defining integration……What it means to be 'integrated' influences the ways in which indicators are defined" (Castles et al 2002 129). They highlight that there has been something of a bias towards economic integration in much of the work conducted thus far. Castles et al, however, add dimensions such as political participation to existing matrixes. While this represents a broad meta level indictor, they also point to social integration and highlight this being at the level of neighbourhoods where people live (Ibid135). Thus integration operates at a meta and mesa level. Bosswick and Heckmann also make reference to the multi-level governance of immigrant integration, that although it occurs at local level and thus has links to local level structures, there is also influence from regional, national and increasingly European wide structures, although they add that these vary across states (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006 17).

Cooke and Spencer highlight that civil society organisations have a key role in integration below the level of policy making (Cooke and Spencer 2006 13). "The fluidity of the sector provides a greater flexibility and ability to respond to changing needs on the ground. It can be well placed to recognise and respond to the cross cutting nature of migrants' needs, from housing to jobs, emotional support to the

fostering of community relations" (Ibid 14). A number of community level organisations and activities throughout Europe are mentioned in this work and are highlighted as performing key 'on the ground' integrative functions.

Threadgold and Court point out that one of the key complexities regarding refugee integration is the issue of what refugees are expected to integrate into. "What is a *'host'* community for example?" (Threadgold and Court 2005 5). This could potentially be seen as an existing ethnic community, a local context, a 'community of interest' or British society, all of which may imply different processes. There is also the potential for negative effects in one area of integration resulting from integration in another. Threadgold and Court specifically mention this potential with regard to the relationship between labour integration and the effect this may have on welfare integration (Ibid). They also raise the issue of the defined 'host' community potentially being the most disadvantaged one, and thus what integration takes place could be into 'an excluded underclass' (Ibid). Bosswick and Heckmann also point out that society is not homogenous and contains social class differentiations. Thus there is the possibility of integration into a marginalised subculture, what Portes and Zou refer to as 'segmented assimilation' (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006 11). All of this lack of certainty means that policy has tended to be based on tacit assumptions rather than clear evidence (Threadgold and Court 2005 6).

Threadgold and Court point out that the term social exclusion emerged after the introduction of the Amsterdam treaty in 1997 (Ibid11). It is defined by Castles as a denial of certain rights, resources or entitlements. With regard to immigrants these are seen as manifested in lack of political rights, insecure residence status and racism (Ibid). There is also a spatial dimension whereby "the socially excluded tend to become concentrated in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which are often characterised by poor services and amenities, social stress, crime and racial conflict" (Ibid).

Threadgold and Court conclude their work by highlighting cross cutting issues required to facilitate integration. These are; combating poverty and deprivation; providing translation, free English language teaching and 'cultural mediation'; education of the

receiving communities and support for them in adapting to the new incomers; and combating of negative attitudes and media coverage (Ibid 63). They also add a number of related factors. These are; problems in the political language being used; defining for refugees what it is they are to be integrated into; defining when the refugee experience begins and ends and when integration processes begin; the need to deal with racism and xenophobia in host communities to encourage the desire of refugees to be included; recognition of the gendered nature of current policy; the need to take account of the effects of trauma in the country of origin; the effects of the asylum process; the effects of interrupted schooling and work; the effects of prolonged exclusion of minority communities in the UK; and finally the need to ensure consultation with refugee communities (Ibid 64).

Policies will tend to be aimed at specific areas, forms or domains of integration without, due to complexity, addressing the whole issue. Support in the form of policy has perhaps been most prevalent in areas of structural integration or 'domains' through educational programmes and employment support as well as in cultural integration through language support and the provision of support in order to maintain cultural links with a migrants country of origin. Nevertheless, these are but elements of much wider and broader integration that proceeds from the starting point of 'rights'.

While this section has sought to provide a general appraisal of some of the theoretical debates about what integration means, it is also necessary to contextualise these debates by highlighting what nation state actors do to integrate newcomers. While some national comparisons are made, the next section remains firmly rooted in United Kingdom national procedures. First though, European policy, or at least rhetoric, is highlighted.

Context
Cholewinski looks at integration from the perspective of the institutions of the European Union. He points to the 11 basic principles of integration emanating from Council conclusions. These are integration is a dynamic two-way process; it implies respect for the values of the Union; employment is a key plank of immigrant participation; basic knowledge of language, history and culture is essential to

integration; educational attainment helps people become more active societal participants; equal access to goods and services is critical to better integration; interaction and inter-cultural dialogue is critical; observing own religious or cultural practices is a guaranteed right; democratic participation supports integration; integration across Government departments aids integration; and evaluation and willingness to adjust policy aids integration (Cholewinski 2005 705/6). Thus there is recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of integration at the European level and there are clear needs for rights to underpin many of these processes, rather than the existing 'stratification of rights' (Morris 1997).

Vertovec refers to the development of what he calls 'super-diversity' in Britain. This is described thus; "such a condition is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade" (Vertovec 2006 abstract). This diversity creates questions regarding the efficacy of various factors that 'create' integration. Variety in terms of social policy areas intersects with variety of populations and likely need to create a number of additional questions.

Phillimore and Goodson set out to examine the efficacy of Ager and Strang's indicators of integration in looking at the experiences of refugees in Birmingham (Phillimore and Goodson 2008 305). They examined each of the indicators in turn and suggest the need for additional data in order to maximise the usefulness of the framework (Ibid 307). The multi-dimensionality of integration, in relation to the domains but also in relation to the multiple actors, is highlighted. They point to the approach taken by Zetter et al who see four integration domains, the legal, statutory, functional and social (Ibid 308). State policy has tended to ignore the interplay of social and functional and focus entirely on the functional as the area in which state policy potentially has most impact (Ibid). Fyvie et al add that the minimum requirement *prior* to integration taking place centres around education and training, the labour market, and health and housing (Ibid 309). However, the implication is again of a sequential process whereby equal access in these functional areas is a part of the integration process, but is not the end of the process.

In Bloch's work respondents were essentially asked what factors would improve their lives in Britain, with the subtext being 'what would help you integrate?' In order of most to least important respondents mentioned employment opportunities, getting refugee status, social and leisure activities, English language help, and faster decision making within the asylum system (Bloch 2000 86). Work is therefore of great importance but so too is the legal status and other supportive mechanism.

The work of Rutter et al finds significant gaps in employment and underemployment levels (Rutter et al 2008 54-57) and a large gap between 'indigenous' and newer communities in relation to owner occupation levels (Ibid 58). They asked Bangladeshis, Iranians, Nigerians and Somalis in four regions of the UK about their perceptions of their own integration. They grouped responses around three basic 'facets' of integration. These were labour market experiences, experiences related to equal opportunities and social interactions (Ibid 8). It is worth adding that this research did not focus only on refugees, and so the responses reflect this, and not, for example, the asylum process or citizenship status. Nevertheless there are commonalities of experience such that one conclusion from respondents was that "many interviewees also felt that the responsibility for social integration was placed on migrants, but that the problem lay with the unwelcoming majority community" (Ibid). Thus what people are integrating into and how they do so are important.

Bertossi compares 'models' of integration in Britain to those in France. He argues, contrary to previous research on the division between the republican and plural-citizenship models, that the two have 'moved beyond this opposition' (Bertossi 2007 2). On the British side the model has been challenged by the 2001 and 2005 'riots' and the terrorist attacks in July 2005. As a result "the Home Office turned away from a liberal approach in favour of a more civic and national approach to integration, and denounced the "refusal" of members of ethnic minorities to adhere to British identity" (Ibid 4). Banton also compares integration in France and Britain. He argues generally that "the interaction between immigrants, or their descendents, and the settled population, is influenced by ethnic preferences on both sides" (Banton 2001 160). That

is, the desire of all communities to primarily associate with those like them is seen in both countries.

Bertossi points to the reports on the riots in 2001 as marking a change in UK integration policy, with the response being focussed on 'parallel lives' being made worse by arranged marriages, lack of English language and British 'values' (Bertossi 2007 29). "The problem of integration was now perceived as a lack of citizenship, loyalty and civic responsibility" (Ibid). This led to a new focus on active citizenship. Bertossi adds that the asylum debate also impacted on these developments, so "the Cantle report provided a link between the situation concerning the integration of minorities and the issue of immigration" (Ibid 30).

Green also sees policy convergence between Germany and Britain. He explicitly links immigration and integration policy or policies. Hammar has argued that immigration and immigrant policy are different, that the former concerns access to the country and the latter is more about social policy issues after such access (Hammar 2006). However, it may be possible to extend this and contextualise them as representing the same policy but at different stages of the process, although this would be required to move beyond stagist approaches to policy analysis and accept feedback loops.

Korac examines the process of refugee integration in Italy and the Netherlands. She points out that "in the context of the refugee studies literature, integration is mainly understood in terms of its practical or functional aspects" (Korac 2003 52), which is due to the 'right' to protection and social services. In the context of the race relations or minorities literature, integration is used to describe the process of change that occurs when two cultures are forced to co-exist within one society"(Ibid). Like with the findings of Zetter et al, Government focus tends to be on employment, education, health and other social services, although they are joined by 'community-building' (Ibid).

Vasta highlights the assumed link between increased migration and less cohesive communities made by the likes of David Goodhart whereby ethnic diversity resulting from migration is presented as undermining social solidarity and thus cohesion (Vasta

2009 3), confronting the notion of ethnic preferences mentioned above. Vasta describes this as the attempt to 'control difference' (Ibid 4) which has become "more exclusionary and nationalistic while discourses of social cohesion have become more assimilationist (Ibid 4). Addressing some of the arguments of David Goodhart, Vasta argues that "debates on integration and cohesion have set up a false dichotomy between solidarity and diversity. In these debates we have been asked to choose one or the other" whereas the two can co-exist. "We need to develop social solidarity through fair redistribution of power and resources" (Ibid 20). She further argues that proponents of cohesion do not take account of differences in class, gender, ethnicity, age, place and other types of exclusion (Ibid).

For Vasta, 'social cohesion' is but the next 'form' of immigrant inclusion (Ibid 18). That is, it is a new term being used to describe an existing process. She adds that in Britain 'integration and cohesion' is the dominant policy approach (Ibid). On the establishment of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion in 2006, Minister at the Department for Communities and Local Government Ruth Kelly argued for immigrant integration to meet labour shortages while "ensuring that migrants are able to develop a sense of belonging, with shared values and understanding, as we underline their responsibility to integrate and contribute to the local community" (Ibid). The responsibility being placed on the migrants themselves to integrate indicates this particular view of integration as a one way process of migrant adaptation. In addition the focus was on migration for economic reasons. Thus only the integration of labour migration was a policy goal, and integration was seen very much as being the responsibility of migrants rather than broader society. Thus cohesion is something of a misnomer as a more assimilationist approach appeared to be adopted. Vasta points out that within integration and cohesion frameworks "inequalities are seen as socially rather than politically and economically constructed" (Ibid 20), aiding the 'shift' to immigrant responsibility for not only their own cohesion, but arguably also their own inequalities.

Integration Domains

Ager and Strang highlight what they see as the key integration domains and relate them to access *and* achievement within housing; employment; education; and health. While these are high level indicators, underpinning them are the more fundamental

issues of citizenship and rights which not only impact upon access and outcomes, but also mediate the processes of social connections and how they relate to access and outcomes (Ager and Strang 2008 166).

For Ager and Strang rights underpin all other aspects of integration. They are "the foundation of integration policy, to which governments are accountable" (Ager and Strang 2008 175). However, as in other areas of law, there can be a difference between the existence of rights and, their actioning. Nevertheless, Ager and Strang raise a number of dimensions to 'rights' understood in its broadest sense. These include human dignity, equality, freedom of cultural choice, justice, security and independence (Ibid) These are all taken as first order rights, implying that they are more immutable, while second order rights such as rights to citizenship, family reunion and equality are derived from these first order rights.

Ager and Strang argue, on the basis of their empirical work with refugees and non refugee members of communities where refugees live, that there is general agreement that equal rights are fundamental to integration. "This shared basis of entitlement was seen as an important prerequisite for refugees to live harmoniously with non-refugees" (Ibid176). While equality of legal rights is therefore key, it does raise the question, common throughout the domains, as to who the comparators are. If rights, access to those rights and outcomes are seen as important indicators, then equality has to be contextualised, less a unitarist position is taken whereby the 'host' communities are taken as homogenous, with no unequal access themselves. The issue of comparators aside, access and outcomes underpinned by rights are clearly the basis of integration for this framework. What follows is a review of research done into these domains, the connectors and the issue of rights in order that any lessons are integrated into the project being undertaken here.

Employment

Economic issues are a key integration factor for the European 'Handbook' on Integration and for the European Union's perspective on integration more generally. Employment has recently been highlighted as the most fundamental factor of integration by the Swedish Presidency of the European Union. The timing of economic

activity is, however, of utmost importance as the 'Handbook' points out that "early employment significantly enhances immigrants' long-term labour market success" (European Commission 2007 51). It is necessary, therefore, for 'non-economic migrants' to be given the right to work, and the ability to take up employment commensurate with their skills. Security of tenure also plays a role however. "Permits with greater security of residence encourage immigrants to invest more heavily into their own integration in society and working life" (Ibid 52). This also requires the recognition of qualifications, which allows not only access but also mobility (Ibid 55).

Kuhlman focussed on developing a model for the economic integration of refugees. Writing almost two decades ago he argued that "definitions of integration are sketchy or altogether absent, and there has been little theoretical reflection on how to measure integration or on the factors that determine it. Consequently, our understanding of the integration process remains incomplete" (Kuhlman 1991 1). His work, however, focussed on the integration of refugees moving, as the majority do, from one developing country to another, rather than to the developed world. A theory of integration, for Kuhlman, must be able to determine whether integration has taken place, compare different groups' integration and measure progress towards integration over time (Ibid 2). Only then can it be considered a real theory.

Threadgold and Court point out that what we know of refugee employment shows that unemployment remains high, 70% in one study in the UK in 2002 (Threadgold and Court 2005 56). Underemployment is seen as an accompanying problem (Ibid 57) whereby migrants who do work usually do so at levels not commensurate with their skills, and perhaps also evolving expectations. The risks of skills atrophy as a result of forced inactivity during the asylum process is seen as adding to these existing problems (Ibid). While employment is clearly of use for material reasons and is seen as providing economic stability, it also enhances individual self esteem and provides for social and cultural interactions (Ibid), more on which below.

Although Bommes and Kolb focus solely on economic migration, they agree that accepted definitions of overall integration are largely absent. "This is why integration as a conceptual phrase is open to be reformulated in many different senses and

dependent on political and normative preferences" (Bommes 2004 5). However, the seemingly more precise term 'economic integration' is 'by no means clearer'. Part of the problem concerns the question of whether economic integration means active involvement in economic market transactions or a more 'passive' form of integration related to state programmes and social benefits. Additionally, they ask whether economic integration relates only to labour market issues, or whether it should also focus on 'consumer' behaviour in numerous markets (Ibid 5). They use basic economic theory in deciding that 'ability to pay' framed their study of economic integration (Ibid 6). Ability to pay, however, is dependent on either paid work or 'entrepreneurship' (Ibid 8). While there is not the space to challenge some of these core assumptions here, questions raised that are of relevance to this study include whether economic activity is equal to economic integration. Even if it is assumed that migrants are not largely confined to certain economic sectors, whether that implies economic integration without comparative assessment of other sectors of society, is questionable.

Bloch highlights the critical importance of citizenship, and rights to 'settlement' as they represent 'structural factors' of integration (Bloch 2000 75). Of huge importance to the work being undertaken here Bloch points out that "when assessing the importance of immigration status, it is crucial to distinguish between refugees, asylum-seekers and people with Exceptional Leave to Remain on humanitarian grounds (ELR). This is because different statuses have different citizenship rights associated with them"(Ibid). Citizenship is also seen as core to Ager and Strang but are seen by Bloch as having an element of acceptability among the host society. While not having citizenship inhibits inclusion in, for example the labour market, Bloch also points out that "anything less than full citizenship will impede settlement because members of the host society do not see the migrant as part of that society"(Ibid 78). Sarah Spencer points to a change in emphasis in the UK in recent years. She argues that the 2002 debate on citizenship looked upon its impacts on integration, while more recent moves towards 'earned citizenship' are seen as more 'exclusionary' (Spencer 2008 125) and therefore may operate against integration.

Nevertheless, employment remains, for Bloch, one of the key elements of successful settlement. This is because it allows for economic independence, which, like in the work of Threadgold and Court, has mental health effects due to impacts on self esteem. However, further than that, employment aids the learning of the language and creates contacts with the host society. Put simply, "refugees who become long-term unemployed are in danger of not integrating" (Threadgold and Court 2005 79). Underemployment as well as unemployment are raised by Bloch and highlighted as a major issue for the refugees in her research. She highlights a series of structural barriers to employment, not the least of which is ineligibility to work (80). Non-recognition of qualifications for those who do have the right to work is also raised as a significant barrier to integration (Ibid 80).

Bloch surveyed 400 refugees about their levels of labour market activity. She summarises her findings thus, "The minority of refugees who are working are in secondary sector jobs with little opportunity for progression. Moreover, refugees with high levels of skills who are working are not in jobs commensurate with their skills and qualifications (Bloch 2000 21). She argues that in order to economically integrate refugees, "a radical reform of recent policy" is required as existing policy "contributes to exclusion and underemployment" (Ibid). The problems of current policies related to ethnic minorities are that they focus on individual capacity, while refugee policies focus on employability along with awareness raising among employers (Ibid 24), neither of which are capable of addressing low levels of employment, due to structural impediments.

Although little is known regarding refugee employment, Bloch argues that what evidence that does exist shows that there are low levels of employment, at around 29% compared to 65% among general ethnic minority groups (Ibid). Men were more than four times as likely to be in paid employment than women (Ibid 26), with just 16% of women in employment (Ibid 27). Having fluent English language skills and a qualifications obtained in the UK were seen as having a symbiotic relationship that act to increase the likelihood of employment (Ibid 28). Recognition of qualifications was also a significant problem. Just 16% of those with a degree or higher degree had managed to have this qualification recognised (Ibid 30). Added to this was a record of

building
a better
future with
refugees
in Scotland

scottish
refugee
council

25 YEARS

past achievements in the labour market, along with the lack of employer references (Ibid). All of these issues presented barriers to employment and gaps between skill levels and jobs offered.

Refugee employment is seen as being inhibited by both the policy context and other external factors (Ibid 24). Discrimination and reluctance among employers to check documentation are joined by individual needs to acquire new knowledge and skills among refugees, as well as the trauma and health related problems common to refugees (Ibid 24/5). Thus there are numerous factors operating in tandem. Research up until now has been hampered by a "tendency to place emphasis on human capital rather than the structural, physical and psycho-social factors" (Ibid 25). This individualisation of a communal or societal problem means there can be a gap between what problems exist, and what problems policy seeks to alleviate.

Even among refugees who had gained a degree in the UK, there was a disparity in Bloch's work between refugees and other ethnic minorities, never mind the general majority population. Bloch found that refugee graduates were paid on average £1.61 less than other BME graduates (Ibid 30), while among those working, 11% were paid below the minimum wage (Ibid). Respondents to Bloch's work cited employer discrimination as a significant barrier to employment (Ibid 31). Training and development of English language skills were also felt to be of utmost importance for refugees (Ibid).

Rutter et al point out that there has been a large amount of research done on integration, but that "relatively little attention has been paid to how migrants themselves feel about this condition or process" (Rutter et al 2008 43), and where they have been included they have done so in a passive way. In addition, this research argues that not only is integration not an individualised process, it is also not linear (Ibid), in agreement with Gans notion of 'bumpy line' integration (Ibid 44). Older migrants who have been in the country for a long time often do not feel economically integrated (Ibid 45). Indeed, there is concern that support for integration is 'front-loaded' and thus does not take account of longer term problems (Ibid).

Employment is seen by Phillimore and Goodson as a key indicator but is taken as being broader than merely the economic impacts. Work was seen as providing language and cultural understandings, social connections and a sense of security (Phillimore and Goodson 2008 314). While housing was prioritised as the most important 'domain' by the refugees in this study, 50% also mentioned employment as the second most important integrative factor. Lack of data is a concern for Phillimore and Goodson who point to the lack of comparisons available in most surveys. This is one area that the study being undertaken here will begin to address. That said, the work of Phillimore and Goodson did find high levels of unemployment compared to results in the general household survey (Ibid 315). Significant levels of underemployment were also found (Ibid), which was seen as a significant problem. While this involves non-recognition of qualifications (Bloch 2000 80), the notion of temporariness is also raised, a situation likely worse now due to the 5-year review.

Sim and Gow evaluated the Gateway Programme in Motherwell, using the 'indicators of integration' framework. It is worth pointing out that this research was conducted just a year after the arrival of these refugees and so their progress is not measured and their basis for comparison may be with their country of origin rather than comparative groups in their new home. Nevertheless there were some interesting findings. With regard to employment Sim and Gow found that most refugees who wanted to work had managed to find work relatively quickly, but that many of these jobs were temporary and/or poorly paid (Sim and Gow 2008 7). They therefore affirm other findings that many refugees worked "at a level below their qualifications and abilities" (Ibid).

Sim and Gow highlight problems in many of the Gateway refugee resettlement programmes in the UK. Unemployment remains a key issue of concern, while housing experiences were considered more 'varied' (Ibid 16). Educational services appeared to be highly thought of throughout the country although there remained some issues in terms of language acquisition (Ibid 17). While the timescale means that conclusions regarding social contacts are difficult to make, there were some preliminary findings in both Bolton and Brighton that contacts with local people was limited (Ibid).

Stewart's work focused on employment as a prime indicator of integration. Although her focus is on a small section of refugees, that of refugee doctors, some of the points she makes may be applicable beyond this comparatively privileged group. Stewart points out that what is known about the employment of refugees shows high levels of both unemployment and under employment (Stewart 2005 3).

As far as the position of refugee doctors is concerned Stewart points to work that has been done to remove barriers to employment, such as work by the Department of Health and the General Medical Council. However, despite the waiving of fees and various forms of structural support "all the evidence points to skills being wasted and under-utilised" (I(bid). Stewart points to integration as a process and that therefore these wasted skills should not be seen as the sole responsibility of the individual refugee doctors. One of the problems highlighted by Stewart is that certain posts are only available on completion of other posts, and these first step posts are restricted to local graduates (Ibid 10). However, these problems are added to by wider structural issues that lead to low employment outcomes for refugees in all sectors (Ibid 15).

As far as structural issues were concerned, Sim and Gow found in their work that National Insurance numbers were issued, and Job centre Plus and HMRC were all primed to enable work to be obtained if possible. Each refugee also has a personal advisor (Sim and Gow 2008 35). In terms of outcomes it may be too early to make many assumptions. Nevertheless, 25 of 27 refugees who wanted to find work had done so at the time of the research (Ibid 36). However, these jobs have tended to be very low paid and/or temporary (Ibid). Nevertheless work was seen as being a major issues of importance for the refugees in Motherwell. Some had lost jobs due to either the work being temporary, problems with documentation or that they had been sacked (Ibid). Despite support from Job Centre Plus, all refugees who had found work had done so via friends, agencies or support workers and not JC+ (Ibid 37). Others concentrated on learning English prior to attempting to find work (Ibid). Another problem raised in Sim and Gow's work was the absence of evidence of qualifications (Ibid38).

Housing

Adequate housing is seen by most studies as a key integrative factor and, as mentioned above, was highlighted as the most important factor in the work of Phillimore and Goodson. Threadgold and Court highlight that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sees housing as a key human right (Threadgold and Court 2005 43). The Home Office too highlights the need for, as Threadgold and Court put it, "a safe, stable and secure home" (Ibid 44). The quality and fit of housing options are key, and the European Union's Handbook on Integration points out that the relatively larger size of immigrant families must be taken into account in decision making about access and placement (Ibid 35).

Phillimore and Goodson point out that in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, shelter is given first priority. This was reflected in their findings. "For those seeking refuge, it could be argued that the importance of finding a home is particularly symbolic 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 316). The permanence, suitability and quality of accommodation were all deemed important. Indeed, in the interviews undertaken by Phillimore and Goodson there was a high level of transience, "most refugees had moved several times within a matter of months (Ibid).

Dell'Olio looked at housing policy for migrants and compared Italy and the United Kingdom. She highlights both the importance of housing for integration and also the potential for disjuncture between the existence of rights and the ability to access those rights. She states that "reception and integration policies draw attention to the distinction between immigration and immigrant policies and/or legal treatment and access to social rights…..housing policy, in particular, is among the crucial policy areas in determining the integration of immigrants in the host country" (Dell'Olio 2004 117). Furthermore, general policies at the European level that seek to promote community cohesion all recognise the importance of housing, especially social housing. Housing has four conceptual areas that are linked to the realm of integration. These are affordability, improved conditions, access (to owner occupation) and homelessness (as a sign of social exclusion) (Ibid 118).

UK housing issues or problems, for Dell'Olio, primarily concern access and quality (121). However, over and above these issues are the questions of affordability and socio-economic segregation (Ibid 122). The contraction of social housing would appear to be a problem in the case of the United Kingdom, as is the poor state of repair of many homes that are available. However, of more direct importance to 'integration' in its broad sense is the potential ghettoisation of immigrant communities within areas that suffer from poor housing and other forms of social provision.

Phillips points out that housing has been identified by the United Kingdom Government as one of the key dimensions of refugee integration. She points to the disjuncture between this recognition and the experiences of housing deprivation among asylum seekers and refugees (Phillips 2006 539). Phillips points out that a Chartered Institute of Housing report concluded that social housing providers had a 'mixed track record' of work with asylum seekers and refugees (Ibid 544).

The issue of status is raised as an important one by Phillips. She points to the Government limitations that confine integration support to refugees, and not asylum seekers. This exclusion of asylum seekers creates a series of problems. Phillips points to the position that this leaves housing providers in, whereby they "face a challenge in reconciling contradictory elements in the Government's national immigration policy and the local implementation of the community cohesion agenda" (Ibid 541). Thus housing providers are charged with specific roles pertaining to cohesion, but the lack of support for asylum seekers prevents them from performing that role, leading to a stratified of rights.

Perry points out that ethnic minority monitoring does not adequately capture the details of refugees and asylum seekers as most are simply contained within the 'other' category of ethnicity (Ibid 544). "Yet these newcomers often need more support because of the trauma of forced migration, public hostility towards them, and because they have not had time to develop the community support networks evident in established groups" (Ibid). She further adds that there is evidence of both poor housing conditions and instability for new migrants, and particularly refugees. "New

building
a better
future with
refugees
in Scotland

scottish
refugee
council

25 YEARS

migrants may have to move several times because of the temporary nature of their accommodation"(Ibid 545).

Reported satisfaction with housing is not seen by Philips as a useful indicator of housing quality. This is due to the dual issues of low expectations and lack of alternatives (Ibid). Integration as pertaining to housing is defined "in terms of the prerequisites for access to decent, secure, permanent and affordable housing in a safe environment" (Ibid 546). In the empirical findings of Philips work, interviewees identified four crucial areas for housing integration. These were preparation for the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in the area; on-going, long-term support; move-on support for new refugees; and the need to combat racial harassment (Ibid). Finally, the issue of onward migration is raised by Philips. The present lack of information regarding the numbers who will stay in the region on receiving their status is also raised as it inhibits local planning (Ibid 550).

With regard to housing and neighbourhoods Sim and Gow found that refugees in their study were generally satisfied with their housing, most of which was social housing, as well as being relatively happy with their neighbourhoods. While many found their neighbours to be friendly, there were also reports of occasional anti-social behaviour (Sim and Gow 2008 7). All of the refugees in Motherwell were housed in social housing that was spread across town (Ibid 40). This meant that refugees were not concentrated in low demand accommodation (Ibid). Although a number of housing configurations had changed over the year prior to the research project, these were primarily due to household size (Ibid). Nevertheless, most families were satisfied with the house they were provided with (Ibid 41). Thus in areas where reasonable social housing exists and where there is integrated planning, it is possible that housing can facilitate integration, or at least not militate against it.

Education
The importance of the educational marker is seen by Phillimore and Goodson as being twofold. First of all the educational achievements of refugee children is taken as a key marker. Secondly, the number of refugees completing vocational educational courses is seen as being of the utmost importance (Phillimore and Goodson 2008

317). This was rated as the third most important factor by refugees in their study, just behind housing and employment. "However, if the importance of learning English is included, then education becomes the most important factor to aid settlement (Ibid). Phillimore and Goodson's work found low educational attainments compared to the general population. The educational attainments that did exist tended to be related to ESOL courses (Ibid 318). However, the lack of information and data is alluded to. "Longitudinal qualitative studies are necessary to examine the overall impacts that education has on integration (Ibid).

Sim and Gow examined education among Motherwell refugees, which concerned both the education of children and the provision of English language classes (Sim and Gow 2008 43). The education of children in the Gateway programme in Sims and Gow's work began by assessment of English language competence in bilingual support units (Ibid). They were only transferred to local schools once language skills were considered proficient (Ibid). All parents or guardians expressed satisfaction with their children's education (Ibid 44). They also find that there was a need for education in certain other areas of their new lives in the UK, particularly regarding the paying of bills and education about traversing the benefits system (Ibid 9). Indeed the volume of information provided to these refugees over a relatively short period of time is highlighted as problematic as much of it can then be forgotten.

Health

Ager and Strang indicate that health outcomes provide a key comparative identifier of integration. However, bearing in mind overall levels of inequality, a key question that any such comparison must address is who the new population is being compared to. Health and social care is also addressed in the work of Threadgold and Court, and reference is made to World Health Organisation work that states that to have full health, and thus presumably to have 'health integration' means more than absence of disease or disability, but instead involves "complete physical, mental and social well-being" (Threadgold and Court 2005 48).

Work by Save the Children highlights that refugee children have the same needs as all children; "somewhere to live, an education, healthcare, support and guidance" (Ibid

50). However, it is pointed out that they may also require other services, such as language assistance, help with cultural adaptation and trauma services (Ibid). In addition, fractures in educational history may require further support through the educational system (Ibid 52). Threadgold and Court point to the Cantle Report's highlighting of 'expectations thwarted' among second and third generation migrants, "whose hopes and dreams had not been fulfilled, who were still subject to deprivation and lack of opportunity leading to social malcontent, tension and according to the report, later widespread civil unrest" (Ibid 53).

Health is also examined by Sim and Gow. There was pre-arrival anticipation of the health needs of the new arrivals in Motherwell (Sim and Gow 2008 46). On arrival all were given help in registering with a GP and an initial appointment (Ibid). One important health related issue was that refugees in Motherwell only raised issues of trauma after they felt safe and secure (Ibid 47). Nevertheless health professionals were clear that mental health issues would be ongoing ones that would require further support and therefore continuing funding (Ibid). All but two refugee families were satisfied with their experiences of health care services (Ibid). Those that were less satisfied were so due to waiting times (Ibid). Dental health care, however, was more of a problem, with registration raised as an issue (Ibid 48).

Social connections

Ager and Strang also examined social interaction across three overlapping areas, social connections, social bridges and social links. They state that "social bonds describe connections that link members of a group, and social connections between such groups, social links refer to the connection between individuals and the structures of the state, such as government services" (Ager and Strang 2008 181). Interviewees in their work recognised barriers that faced refugees in such interactions, such as familiarity and language.

Ager and Strang viewed integration as being about more than equal access to the services highlighted in the domains. They used some of the lessons of social capital, that of the importance of 'bonds', 'bridges' and 'links'. Sim and Gow point to the overlap in these areas and so in their work take the three together under the heading

of 'social connections'. Sim and Gow found that most refugees felt that their area was friendly, while others were very circumspect and felt that all areas have a mix of good and bad (Sim and Gow 2008 50). However, a difference was emphasised between being friendly and being friends (Ibid 51). Most friendships had been made either in the workplace or through their children's schools (Ibid). In addition, Sim and Gow found that the refugees in Motherwell maintained contact with one another but did not see themselves as 'a group' (Ibid 55). Thus 'social bonds' were not as evident in Motherwell.

Ager and Strang found that social connections were identified as key components of an integrated community. This was the case whether the respondents were refugees or non refugee members of that community (Ager and Strang 2008 177). One implication of this is the utility in taking the view of integration as a two way process and embedding that within the research design. However, the 'social bonds' emphasised by Ager and Strang were also important, that is, the proximity of family that enables to continuation of familiar cultural practices (Ibid 178). "Such connection played a large part in them feeling settled" (Ibid). The benefit of these connections, with kin-groups as well as family, was also seen as having health benefits, with mental health in particular benefitting. Ager and Strang point to Muller's work on the benefits of 'ethnic enclaves', to be distinguished from ghettos due to the longevity of stay there. A further complication to integration raised by Sim and Gow concerns problems related to family reunion (Sim and Gow 2008 10). Not only is this a difficult and stressful process, there is a question mark concerning the very ability of individuals split from their families to integrate fully (see SRC report on family reunion).

Social bridges were also evident in Ager and Strang's empirical work. Bridges could be relatively minor interactions with the local community. "Small acts of friendship appeared to have a disproportionately positive impact on perceptions" (Ager and Strang 2008180). Finally with regard to connections, Ager and Strang looked at social links. 'Cultural competence' in the guise of language and cultural knowledge were seen as important. However, there is some notion of mutual adaptation whereby it is recognised that a balance must be struck between the learning of English and the provision of interpretation services (Ibid 182). Adjustment to a different culture, and

within that a negative comparison with some aspects of their own culture, were related by Ager and Strang to feelings of isolation and even depression.

The 'Handbook' on integration, as well as many other studies, also makes reference to the importance of social contacts. "Frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State residents is a fundamental mechanism for integration" (European Commission 2007 41). This requires local initiatives. "Many local practices have the aim of making this interaction more fruitful and less conflictual, fostering a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and changing perceptions both inside and outside of deprived neighbourhoods (Ibid). The concentration of immigrants in more deprived communities is also raised (Ibid 37) re-emphasising the importance of the choice of comparators.

While social integration is seen as being necessary, there are numerous dimensions to this form of integration. Bosswick and Heckmann define overall social integration thus,

> *"Social integration can be defined as the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institutions, relationships and positions of a host society. Integration is an interactive process between immigrants and the host society. For the immigrants, integration means the process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society and forming a feeling of belonging to, and identification with, that society. For the host society, integration means opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to immigrants" (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006 11).*

It is questionable that the host societies should have the single concrete role of providing for equal opportunities given the marginal status of many newcomers. Asymmetries of power mean that ethnic colonies can be produced due to the denial of access to social integration.

Bosswick and Heckmann highlight work done by Esser which proposes four forms of social integration. These are acculturation, placement, interaction and identification (Ibid 3). However, while these are taken as forming important elements of integration, the definition of each implicitly highlight that rights are logically prior to these forms of integration. To give one example, 'Identification' is referred to as "an individual's identification with a social system: the person sees him or herself as part of a collective body. Identification has both cognitive and emotional aspects" (Ibid). Needless to say identification with the collective is unlikely without similar rights to other parts of that collective.

Threadgold and Court's 'interaction and community cohesion' indicator relates to the communities in which people live, and is linked to Ager and Strang's social connections facilitator. Threadgold and Court argue that "programmes which foster a shared sense of belonging, entitlement and responsibility to the safety and wellbeing of others, together with initiatives targeting racially motivated discrimination and crime are vital to the effective integration of refugees and the project of social inclusion"(Threadgold and Court 2005 54).

Threadgold and Court also allude to Ager and Strang's work looking at the role of refugee community groups in creating community cohesion (Ibid 55). The role of such groups as well as the wider voluntary sector is raised. They state that "the voluntary sector is a key player in the development of policy to promote refugee inclusion and in the delivery of policy implementation", although they point out that it is both under-funded and reliant on short-term funding (Ibid 61). Anti-discrimination measures are also required within the integration matrix. This concerns not just opening the possibility of access but also the issue of public attitudes. Kelly sees co-national institutions among refugees as producing considerable benefits (Kelly 2003 35). She uses arguments developed by Rex et al that found community organisations having four primary functions; overcoming isolation; providing material help to community members; defending the community's interests; and promoting the community's culture (Ibid 38).

Korac is critical of the top down nature of much integration work, with less attention given to 'the voice of refugees themselves' (Korac 2003 52). "If integration is to be understood as a two-way process, rather than a kind of medication that refugees take in order to 'fit-in', then they should contribute to the processes in which integration is defined, facilitated and assessed"(Ibid 53). For this type of work qualitative methods are required. Thus there is a propensity for refugees to be treated as policy objects rather than as a vital resource in the integration process (Ibid 56).

Mesthenos and Ioannidi studied the experiences of refugees in 15 European Member States, focussing particularly on factors that inhibit integration. They found that "one of the most fundamental barriers came from the racism and ignorance of some Europeans, experienced at both the personal and institutional levels" (Mesthenos and Ioannidi 2002 304). These attitudes are exacerbated by their marginalisation within the advanced welfare systems (Ibid). In addition, needs and satisfaction varied across nation states. There is an apparent use of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs whereby those in Southern European states focussed on the meeting of material needs, whereas those in states where those needs are met had concerns further up the chain, such as disappointment with employment, the quality of language teaching and the provision and quality of social housing (Ibid 307).

The length of the asylum process is seen as universally creating problems for integration. Mesthenos and Ioannidi point out that refugees who experienced long delays in their cases felt scarred by that experience (Ibid 310). However, the social class of the refugees was also important, impacting upon expectations and raising issues regarding the loss of social status Ibid (312).

Social integration is seen as having become prioritised in the UK as a result of 2001 disturbances in Bradford and Oldham (Rutter et al 2008 45). Thus, in a sense social integration has become problematised by these events. Indeed there was a feeling in the work of Rutter et al, that 'blame' for problems relating to social integration are being placed on the shoulders of immigrant communities (Ibid).

In terms of social connections, Rudiger points out that "those with a temporary or precarious status may actually have greater difficulties entering into positive relations with established residents than those heading for permanent residence" (Vertovec 2006 18). This view emphasises the need for status to be part of any integration study, and also suggests the need for work that can track changing status. Bloch agrees and sums up some of her arguments thus; "a real commitment to the integration of refugees means that employer discrimination, race relations and restrictive asylum policy cannot be ignored" (Ibid 34).

A comparatively new aspect of integration highlighted in the interviews conducted by Ager and Strang was that of 'safety and stability'. "Refugees felt more 'at home' in their localities if they saw them as 'peaceful', while non-refugees were often concerned that new arrivals did not cause unrest in their community"(Ager and Strang 2008 183). Safety was key, and lack of safety had a clear inhibiting impact on integration.

Conclusion

What this review has indicated is that there has been a fair amount of both theoretical reflection and empirical observations in research relating to refugee integration. The fact that research exists within most aspects of Ager and Strang's framework suggests its utility. In addition, some of the theoretical work uses the framework as a benchmark. This would imply that the choice of framework for the research being undertaken here is a sensible one.

What the review also re-emphasises is that refugee integration truly is multi-dimensional. The variety of factors that impact on integration, some linked to numerous other factors, demands a well-rounded and holistic research study. While a full comparative research project would have been useful, comparing other migrants groups, long term settled BME communities and the general host population, the views and experiences of refugees and the impressionistic comparison will still provide for a broad research focus, and will give a better perspective of refugee integration in Scotland than any that have been done up until now.