REFUGEE INCLUSION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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1. INTRODUCTION

This literature review sets out to map the uses and understandings of the term integration and a number of related concepts as these are mobilised in current national Government policy, the directives of the Council of the European Union and guidelines of best practice developed by non-governmental, voluntary and refugee community organisations. The review aims to evaluate the use of the cluster of terms of which integration is part, including the term 'inclusion' currently favoured by the Welsh Assembly government, and to do this through a focussed but selective discussion of:

- Their origins and history of use;
- The contested nature of the terms themselves;
- The mobilisation of the concept of integration by the Central Government of the United Kingdom, the Scottish Executive, the European Union and various Non-Governmental Organisations, and;
- The implications of the above for the formulation of the Welsh Assembly Government Refugee Inclusion Policy - the goal of which is the empowerment of refugees and refugee receiving communities to fulfil their full social, cultural and economic potential in Wales.

The review will provide a brief overview of issues to do with refugee and migrant integration before 2000, but focus on the evolution of policy from the publication of the English Parliamentary integration strategy *Full and Equal Citizens* (Home Office, 2000), through to the most recent re-evaluated incarnation of the policy: *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c).

The report is broken down into Sections as follows:

1. Introduction and Summary

2. *Integration:* – An evaluation of the development of Integration, social inclusion and community cohesion as concepts.

3. *Integration*: *Perspectives within the European Union* –reviews reports produced by the Council of the European Union, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles and Eurydice, among others, highlighting the responsibilities of national Governments with respect to refugee integration, gaps in multinational policy and guidance for best practice based on international cooperation.

4. *UK Government Policies on Integration* –An outline of understandings of integration as developed through UK policy. This section analyses the evolution of Labour Government integration policy from *Full and Equal Citizens* in 2000 to *Integration Matters* in 2005.

5. *Integration in Scotland*– A discussion of the development of the Scottish Executive integration policy.

6. *Social Inclusion: The Work of the Welsh Assembly Government* – A review of the progress made by the post-devolution Welsh Administration in achieving social inclusion, economic development, equal opportunities and the promotion of community cohesion.

7. *Indicators of Integration/Inclusion* – this section provides a brief overview of the literature on indicators of integration/inclusion, highlighting the importance of the cross-cutting themes of English language tuition, the need to combat poverty, addressing racism and the education of the receiving community.

8. *Conclusion* - a brief summary of elements needing to be addressed in a refugee inclusion policy and emerging from the literature review.

Before we look a the policy discourse and the research on integration in the UK, it must be emphasised that there is no single consensus-based usage or meaning of the term integration, of the concepts which are alternative or supplementary to it, or even of the factors which might 'condition' or 'indicate' integration. Integration is currently the most frequently used term but its meanings change from country to country, across time, and across sectors (government policy, non-governmental organisations and the voluntary sector, academic research) within one country depending on the interests and perspectives of those who use it (Castles et. Al., 2002: ch.3).

According to Castles *et al*. (2002) and Robinson (1999) there is only a partial overlap between sectors regarding the definition of integration as a concept, which leads to an inconsistency in approach in the mobilisation of the term. As Castles, Korac, Vasta and Vertovec have observed in the document *Integration: Mapping the Field* (2002), there is a "serious lack of data" and other information about "processes and factors of [refugee] integration" (Castles, *et al,* 2002: ii).

Integration into What?

With meanings changing over time from country to country with shifts in values and perspectives, all research in the field is based upon assumptions and definitions that are "tacit rather than explicit" (Castles, *et al*, 2002: 113). This level of complexity regarding the understanding of integration is reinforced by a lack of understanding in common discussion as to *what* exactly refugees are expected to *integrate into* and *how*. What is a '*host'* community for example? The definition of this is almost as contested and as tacit as is that of integration itself. Do we mean integration into an ethnic community, a local context, a community of interest (around work or education for example) or British society? And if there is access to the labour market, is there exclusion or disadvantage in relation to welfare or education (or vice versa)? If people are included in these areas, do they have access to political membership? And finally, can we call it integration or inclusion when what is involved is 'incorporation'

into ‘an excluded underclass with little public voice and few chances of socio-economic mobility’? (Castles et. al., 2002: ch.3).

None of these issues is at all clear and yet policy continues to be written as if they were and to be based on tacit and unquestioned assumptions rather than evidence-based research. There is a clear opportunity here for devolved UK administrations to make a difference. One useful model is the recent work of the Scottish administration which has constructed and defined the concept of integration as a dynamic two-way process highly beneficial to the future prosperity of Scottish society. The result has been that the public and media perception of immigration and refugee integration has shifted away from negative protectionism towards active promotion and appreciation (see below).

Constructing Diversity as a Problem

Migration has undoubtedly become one of the highest items on the political agenda in recent years, ranking alongside healthcare provision, policing and taxation during the period of Party Political Campaigning running up to the May 2005 General Election. This is not a recent phenomenon. For the past sixty years at least political and academic debate has focussed on ‘concerns’ posed by the presence of minority ethnic groups within and international migration without the nation-state. The concept of ‘integration’ itself is tied to the evolution of a political response to refugee settlement and international migration. It is relevant here to briefly outline the history that has led to most recent understandings of the term and which explains some of the conceptual frameworks within which it operates.

According to Spencer (1997), from the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948 onward, the often highly racialised Government policies of the UK have focussed on the ‘ problem’ of ‘coloured migrants’ (they have rarely been concerned with ‘white’ immigrants from Europe, USA, Australia and Canada) and their incorporation into society, asking more what *they* could and should do for *us*, rather than what *we* can do for *them* (Spencer, 1997). Blommaert and Verschueren (1998*)* point out that this is in fact an international policy issue, that from UNESCO down, ‘the twin worries of *(cultural or ethnic) diversity* and *migration*’ and thus the ‘*management of diversity*’

has become a prime a policy concern. Diversity is always constructed as a problem not as a resource and the *managed* do not have much say in it.

The policy adopted, as they point out, is mostly one of *containment*: the closing of borders, the refusal of asylum to, or the deportation of those who come from, 'safe' countries, or the imposition of additional demands on foreigners, once they are legal residents. In the UK in 2005, post the July London bombings, the redefinition of terrorism and new laws to address it are a case in point. Kyambi (2005) lists all the restrictive immigration policies constructed in the UK from the 1905 Aliens Act to the 2002 nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, specifying the nature of their restrictiveness in each case and commenting on the tendency to focus on non-white immigration in relation to race relations (8-9).

Assimilation as Response

But migration and diversity remain a reality and containment within the nation-state then takes the form of doing as much as possible to eliminate differences. This is where the cluster of interrelated and contested terms – *assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, inclusion, exclusion* and so on – actually emerge and become a part of the debate (Blommaert and Vershueren 1998: 10-12; Castles et. Al 2000: ch. 3). In the UK context British-ness has been understood as a common-sense reality rather than a constructed identity in need of definition and interrogation, and, in an effort to restrict the perceived threats to national culture that foreign migrants are seen to pose by governments and policy makers (diversity and ethnic or cultural difference as problem), early policies were formulated around the concept of *assimilation.*

Assimilation of refugees and migrants, evident in the case of asylum seekers, in processes of dispersal throughout the UK to avoid concentration of minority groups in any area (a restrictive practice doomed to failure, Holmes, 1998; Robinson et.al., 2003), is a one-way process in which immigrants are expected to abandon their cultural values, identities and practices and subscribe to a particular notion of British citizenry in order to 'fit in' (Spencer, 1997; Castles, *et al* 2002). Assimilationist policies try to create conditions favourable to assimilation through dispersal policies,

insistence on the use of the dominant language and attendance at normal state schools by immigrant or refugee children.

This concept has come to be seen as devaluing multiculturalism and discouraging the expression of difference, giving attention only to the assimilation of the individual and not of families or social groups. It pre-supposed that the indigenous population of the UK was willing and able to offer equal rights and opportunities to those attempting to assimilate, without discussing or addressing the levels of racism and xenophobia already in existence. Assimilation, as a policy, was detrimental to the evolution of race relations in the United Kingdom and proved to be a failure, evidenced in the high levels of racial tension and sometimes violence which accompanied it as policy (Spencer, 1997; Castles et. al., 20020: Ch.3)).

Integration as Alternative

'Integration' as a concept entered Government policy on migration in 1966 when the then Home Secretary Roy Jenkins argued against assimilation in favour of integration. Jenkins saw 'integration' not as a:

> …flattening processes of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual trust.
>
> (Jenkins, R. quoted in Brah, 1996: 25).

It is from this point on (the introduction of *integrationism* from the 1960s onwards, Hesse, 2000) that we chart the evolution of integration as a socio-cultural project. Broadly speaking integration is the process by which immigrants and refugees become part of the receiving society and it is often used still to imply a one-way adaptation or acculturation to the dominant culture and way of life. Castles et.al. (2000) have argued that it is too often, in this usage, simply a 'watered down version of assimilation'. A second use of the term, parallel to that referred to above in relation to the current Scottish integration policy, redefines it as involving a two-way process of adaptation for both newcomers and the existing society. One of the conditions for successful integration would then be a 'harmonious, equal and welcoming society' whereas the likelihood in the UK remains that newcomers will enter a 'situation of inequality, racism and poverty.' (Castles et. al., 2002: ch. 3).

The most extensive review of the literature on integration from 1996-2001 is the report by Castles et.al. referred to repeatedly above. We will use it extensively below as well to outline some of the definitional issues facing policy development on the inclusion of refugees. Kuhlman has argued that integration involves many different kinds of factors; spatial, economic, social, political, legal, psychological and cultural (cited by Castles *et al*, 2002: 133). Castles et. al. (2002: ch. 3) have suggested that integration processes are 'largely conditioned by structural factors' which will differ for immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers so that discussions of integration should explore 'the variants resulting from official classifications and policies' (Castles et. al., 2002: 131). They suggest an 'integration matrix' which might serve as a checklist for identifying specific issues and needs and help in planning refugee and immigrant services. It would include the following: conditions of exit (from the place of origin), categories of entrant, legal status, characteristics of entrants, characteristics of ethnic community, conditions of receiving context (castles et.al., 2002: ch. 3). However they also point out that in 2002 there was insufficient data and information on immigration of all kinds in the UK as of 2002 to actually implement this recommendation.

Defining the Refugee

The definition of refugee has become increasingly complex in Europe as the legal definition provided by the Geneva Convention has become inadequate to address changes in the causes of forced migration. Castles et.al. (2002: ch. 3) point to five very different 'refugee-like' circumstances identified by Joly et. al., (1992). These are: 'convention refugees' recognised on the basis of the 1951 Geneva Convention; 'mandate refugees' recognised by the UNHCR but not the host government; 'humanitarian refugees' granted the right to stay on humanitarian grounds but with less rights than convention refugees; 'de facto refugees' who are refugees in practice but have not sought refugee status; and 'refugees in orbit' who move between different European countries in search of permanent status (Castles et. al., 2002: ch. 3). Moreover, as they again point out, 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' are 'technically sub-categories of international migrant', defined as 'anyone who crosses an international border with the intention of a long-term or permanent stay'. This category also includes 'highly skilled migrants', 'unskilled labour migrants', 'undocumented (or irregular or illegal) migrants' and 'dependents of family migrants entering through family reunion'. (Castles et.al., 2002: ch. 3). In addition (Castles

et.al., 2002: ch.3) the current EU policy context, along with increasingly restrictive immigration policies in Europe in general and the UK in particular, has in fact produced *asylum migration* as almost the only possible opportunity for migration form less developed countries, thus creating the category of *illegal migrant* and further blurring the boundaries between *economic migrants* and *refugees* (Ch. 3).

To complicate matters further, the term 'immigrant' has been relatively little used in UK research since the 1960s when it was used for the large scale immigration from the New Commonwealth. Since then multicultural and integration policies have typically used the term 'ethnic minority' for black and Asian people or discussed asylum seekers and refugees, while the situation of white immigrants, either skilled or unskilled, has been relatively little researched. This has meant that 'immigrants' from any or all of the 'refugee-like'categories identified by Castles et. al above 'tend to disappear into the category of 'ethnic minority' in both popular and political discourse' (Castles et.al., 2002: ch. 3). This has produced a tendency to talk about refugees with very different rights as a 'generic' category, and produces a lack of 'focussed discussion and research about *the relationship between temporary protection and integration*' (Castles et. al., 2002: ch. 3). The transnational nature of the issues is also under-emphasised and there is an additional definitional problem *for policy* about the points in time when a refugee becomes and ceases to be a refugee (Castles et. al., 2002: ch. 3).

The combined effects of these definitional issues produce a serious lack of clarity in research and must hamper the development of evidence-based policy. A very recent report (Kyambi 2005) on new immigration to the UK since 1994 shows conclusively how much of that immigration has been white, and or skilled, and therefore unnoticed and under-researched. This report also shows how inherently restrictive and race-driven the constant policy focus on 'ethnic minorities' actually is. In unpacking some of the variables in the integration matrix suggested by Castles et.al., (2002) for different populations, it demonstrates the need for flexible and well-informed matrix-based policy of the kind they suggest.

Social Inclusion:

This term entered official policy following to EU directives after the introduction of the Amsterdam Treaty (Article 136 and 137). This placed the fight against social *exclusion* at the heart of European Union objectives. Social Exclusion can be understood as:

> [The] denial of access to certain rights, resources or entitlements normally seen as part of the membership of a specific society…specific types of exclusion experienced by immigrants and refugees such as lack of political rights, insecure residence status and racism – increase their vulnerability to social exclusions. 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.
>
> (Castles *et al*, 2002: 120)

The Lisbon European Council of March 2000 required all member States to develop National Action Plans (NAP) for *Social Inclusion* policies which aimed to eradicate the exclusion of the disadvantaged by principally targeting economic hardship and the regeneration of deprived communities. The Lisbon and Santa Maria de Feira European Councils stressed the multi-dimensionality of poverty and social exclusion, calling on member States to develop means of addressing problems in employment, social protection, housing, education, health, information and communication, mobility, security and justice, leisure and culture when developing inclusion policies (EU: November, 2002). The process of inclusion then becomes that whereby refugees become participants in different sectors of society with an emphasis in conscious and active processes involving policies of public agencies or employers as well as the newcomers themselves.

The Welsh inclusion strategy enshrined in the *Communities First* programme, the *Wales: A Better Country* policy (WAG, 2004) and the *Annual Reports on Social Inclusion in Wales* (the most recent being the Third (WAG: 2003)), understand *inclusion* to mean the empowerment of refugees through structural reforms in the provision of public and private sector services. Thus, to be 'included' is for refugees to:

Actively and equally participate in the socio-cultural, socio-economic, political and civic life of the nation to achieve their full potential as members of Welsh society, facilitated by full access to all services to which they are entitled. This includes full participation in the development and formation of policies directly affecting refugees, fostering a better understanding of refugee needs and becoming part of the multilateral collaborative solution to the problems they face.[i] [ii]

The desire to use the term 'inclusion' as opposed to 'integration' by the All Wales Refugee Policy Forum reflects a conscious desire to move away from possible connotations of assimilation in the 'integration' concept, instead suggesting that 'inclusion' as a policy theme represents an active celebration of diversity and socio-cultural partnership and participation with the preservation of individual identity and custom rather than amalgamation into mainstream practice.[iii]

Community Cohesion:

The EU Councils in both Lisbon and Feira considered the promotion of *social cohesion* within member States as an "essential element" (EU, November, 2002: 5) in the Union's global strategy to become:

> …the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustaining economic growth with more and better jobs and great social cohesion.
>
> (EU, November, 2002: 5)

The concept of social cohesion entered British discourse in the form of *Community Cohesion* in the Home Office report *Community Cohesion: A Report by the Independent Review Team Chaired by Ted Cantle* and the White Paper Secure *Borders - Safe Haven* (Feb. 2002). Both were produced as policy responses to the 2001 UK race riots. The term had already been used rather more critically in the Parekh report (2000). Whilst there is no single definition of social cohesion, a reading of these three sources produces the following understandings:

- A constant process of community development around the concept of shared value structures, challenges and equal opportunities for all citizens based on a mutual sense of trust, hope and reciprocity;[iv]

- Building upon individual commitments to common norms and values with interdependence arising from mutual interests and concerns;[v]
- Drawing on common aims and objectives, moral principles, codes of behaviour and multi-lateral support for political instructions and political participation;
- Leading to the absence of general conflict and civil tension, harmonious economic and social development centring on a high degree of social interaction with and between groups forged through a strong attachment and commitment to place – the *community.*[vi]

There is an extensive literature criticising this discursive and policy move from *multiculturalism* and *assimilation*/*integrationism* to *inclusion* and *social cohesion* (e.g., Parekh 2000; Hesse 2000; Hall 2000; Ahmed 2004). Indeed *inclusion* often seems to be seen as the precursor to *social cohesion* in these contexts. A key issue around the new definitions of social cohesion is the persistence of the race-relations narrative which drives policy formation, assuming always that there is 'an indigenously tolerant Btitish nation which is intrinsically uninformed by historically racist processes' [colonialism] and that 'whatever problems arise are due to difficult or disharmonious relations between the 'races'[' (Hesse 2000: 12; see also Ahmed 2004).

Maloutas and Malouta (2004: 449-5) have described the new agenda as part of the efforts of the Left to 'preserve some elements of a feasible social project' and a 'reformulated goal which necessitates new forms of implementation [new forms of governance] that entail the dominance of non-conflictual social relations'. Urban governance for example now becomes the 'capacity to form collective actors with collective goals from diverse local interests, organisations and social groups' (2004: 455-6). They argue that the new discourse replaces, and indeed occludes an 'abandoned discourse of class, capitalist exploitation and oppression' and is constrained by economic restructuring and globalisation (2004: 453). They identify several problems with this discourse which are relevant here in the context of an inclusion policy for refugees, especially when so many of the characteristics which

they identify as policy about *social cohesion* in practice match quite closely with aspects of what is still in 2005 called *integration* at UK level and *inclusion* in Wales.

The first problem has to do with culture clash defined rather differently in terms of class and disadvantage. The whole social cohesion agenda will, they suggest, remain 'alienating and confusing' for the 'locals' (the working class and disadvantaged groups) who unlike the 'globals' (the refugees in this case) remain 'territorially immobile and confined to their traditional cultural references' and have no real access to the new multicultural constructs even though their own cultures 'may be involved in their construction' (2004:458). What is more, managing diversity is no easy matter when problems of cultural clash are usually combined with poverty, unemployment, and low quality of education and other services. It is not always easy in such contexts to 'disentangle culture-led from poverty-led divergence and conflict' (2004:458).

They point to the fact that this new form of governance is, like UK policy more broadly, focussed on cultural and ethnic difference rather than on indigenous populations, that it is often targeted at internally highly diversified localities and groups with deeply undemocratic internal structures (see also Yuval-Davis et.al 2005), and that it is always a quasi market process in which participation depends on individual and group initiatives to compete for scarce resources with the most powerful usually prevailing (2004:456-7). There is in other words no real sense of participatory democracy when, for the excluded, participation can involve little more than managing their own scarce resources. This new mode of governance also often means cheaper objectives than a now declining welfare state would have offered. Instructively in the context of drafting an inclusion policy for Wales, this may mean: 'an inclusion policy rather than tackling poverty or destitution for example' or a focus on public order rather than unemployment (2004: 456).

A different but equally important critique of this discourse of inclusion, social cohesion and belonging is one which focuses on its gendered and exclusionary nature. The work of Yuval-Davis et. al (2005) is extremely important is articulating the ways in which policy can construct new forms of gendered political belonging in ways which remain apparently unnoticed by other forms of critique.

Conclusion

Castles *et al* (2002) also suggest that a possible role for devolved administrations (as evidenced by Scotland) is the setting of clear parameters for the definition and subsequent mobilisation of any term used, whether it be *integration* or *inclusion*. This, they argue, should be accompanied by a commitment to consistency of approach in all policy documents and to the raising of awareness about the 'official' meaning of the terms across all groups concerned with *integration*, or *inclusion* in this case, including the general public and refugees themselves. This would be one way of ensuring greater participation:

> …concepts take on the social meaning that they are given by powerful groups and institutions. The task is rather to find ways of securing broader participation in the process of defining and shaping the integration process. This in turn will help make social research a more useful instrument for policy formation in this area.
>
> (Castles *et al*, 2002: 143)

What follows outlines definitions of *integration* along a continuum from those deployed by European agencies, through UK Parliamentary and voluntary sector understandings of the term. The focus is on *integration* because the literature which precedes the use of the terms *inclusion* and *social cohesion* and anticipates them focussed on integration and in many contexts still does. All three terms are in circulation and it is in fact difficult always to keep them apart. In referring to the literature we will be forced to use all three terms. The definition of inclusion in the refugee inclusion policy for Wales will need to negotiate the meanings of all three terms.

> [Integration is]…the end product of a multifaceted and on going process, of which self-reliance is but one part. Integration requires preparedness on the part of the refugees to adapt to the host society, without having to forego their own cultural identity. From the host society, it requires communities that are welcoming and responsive to refugees, and public institutions that are able to meet the needs of a diverse population.
>
> (The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, cited in WAG, March 2005: 90)

International statutes dealing with asylum and refugee issues pertaining to integration are influenced by the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees. The development and implementation of integration policy is seen as an issue for each individual member state, with the recommendation that best practice ideally be shared between nations. There is a European consensus that integration is understood as a *national*, rather than *international* issue, occurring in the country of final destination and separate from migration, (ECRE, 2005: 11). Connected to this, and in response to the ratification of the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, many European States have implemented policies aimed at eradicating social exclusion and racism. The Welsh Assembly Government Second Race Equality programme is an example (WAG, 2005b).[vii]

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), an umbrella advocacy organisation for international cooperation on refugee issues, provides the following comprehensive definition which informs all of its policies and best-practice guidelines (ECRE, 2002: 4). Integration is:

- *A dynamic two-way process:* which places responsibility on both settlers and receiving community members requiring a commitment to adjust to local systems on the part of the refugee, without compromising one's identity.[viii] Integration reciprocally requires a commitment from the receiving community to adapt public institutions to facilitate equal access and provide a welcoming atmosphere.
- *A long-term process:* starting, for all parties, at the moment of arrival in the receiving community, concluding upon the receipt of official citizenship status for the refugee.

- *A multi-dimensional process:* which "relates both to the conditions for and actual participation in all aspects of economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country of durable asylum" (ECRE, 2005: g). This is also influenced by the refugee's own perception of receiving community attitudes and the atmosphere of acceptance and respect.

It is suggested by the ECRE that the aim of Europe-wide integration strategies be the encouragement of sustainable self-sufficiency and self-esteem within the refugee, supported by positive action in the public and private domains of civic responsibility.[ix]

It is the view of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) that integration is the sum of a tripartite process of local acculturation in the following realms:

1. Legal – refugees are granted rights commensurate with those enjoyed by mainstream citizens.
2. Economic – refugees become progressively less dependent on state welfare allowing the pursuit of a 'sustainable livelihood'.
3. Social and Cultural – involving acclimatisation by refugees and accommodation by local communities enabling social cohesion (UNHCR, as outlined in WAG, March 2005: 90).

Across the literature, the attainment of official citizenship is seen as the ultimate goal of the integration process, offering equal rights and responsibilities to all. The notion that citizenship education be part of the integration process, enabling refugees to learn the customs, languages and practices of the receiving nation as an empowering force is advanced (UNHCR, as outlined in WAG, March 2005: 90).[x] Whilst European legislation and that of the UK Government is responsible for shaping integration, implementation is undertaken at the local level and is therefore the responsibility of devolved administrations, such as the Welsh Assembly Government and the Scottish Executive:

Integration comes to life in local communities – in the cities and towns hosting refugees, in the workplace, in local neighbourhoods and schools – and with the

involvement of local authorities, service-providers, non-governmental organisations and refugee community organisations.

(ECRE, 2005: 36)[xi]

It is stated that a facilitating background to integration must be an "inclusive and welcoming society" which promotes the attainment of *social* or *community cohesion* (ECRE, 2005: 5).[xii]

In the very recent *The Way Forward: Europe's role in the global refugee protection system* (ECRE, 2005: 5), the ECRE warn that a combination of 'negative media reporting, political antipathy, insecure legal status, lack of opportunities provided and hostility from local communities' can provoke a reaction in refugees who will then seek to emphasise their difference through isolation within their own communities. Integration, it is argued, is not just about the development of community stability and cohesion, but also about awarding equal rights to refugees, enabling them to participate politically in their societies, thus enhancing a sense of shared future and responsibility.

> When calculating the cost of refugee integration programmes, European governments should take into consideration the long-term associated economic and social costs associated with risks of refugee marginalisation in the case of public non-intervention at an early stage.
>
> (ECRE, 2005: 7).

This report, although still to come extent blurring protection and integration issues, does seem, at least rhetorically, to have taken on board some of the criticisms of policy reviewed above.

Europe-wide, the media is seen as a potentially negative instigator of refugee marginalisation. Media representations are seen as influencing public opinion, often in combination with the lack of employment and educational opportunities available to "lost" communities, leading to social tension in receiving contexts (ECRE, 2005: 15; ICAR, 2004a). Managing the media, communicating with local communities and educating host populations, are then signalled in recent European level policy as significant contextualising and cross-cutting factors in enabling social inclusion.

As this review will show, much positive work has been undertaken already in Wales to address this situation with the implementation of programmes such as the *Communities First* initiative, the guidelines developed in the *Race Equality* and *Social Inclusion* white papers and the work of the Refugee Media Group in Wales. Ensuring media organisations report asylum, immigration, integration and refugee issues fairly and accurately without prejudice or undue bias is a priority highlighted by the European Council, and an area for action from devolved administrations, as demonstrated by the experiences of Scotland referenced later in this review. The ECRE suggest that a positive method of educating receiving communities about refugee issues in order to eliminate bias would be the introduction of curricula in schools, colleges and places of work which challenge the notion of 'assimilation', promoting respect for difference whilst highlighting the benefits of cultural diversity (ECRE, 2005: 19).[xiii] This is a possible avenue of policy focus for the Welsh Assembly which can be built upon to ensure the definitions of integration, inclusion, cohesion and equality are unilaterally disseminated throughout the community with a high degree of accuracy and consistency.

The following timeline illustrates the progression of Labour Government policy, developed by the Home Office, on the subjects of integration and community cohesion. This timeline will be followed below in addressing the evolution of Central Government policy:

YEAR	POLICY DOCUMENT	SUBJECT
2000	*Full and Equal Citizens. A Strategy for the Integration of Refugees into the United Kingdom.*	INTEGRATION
2001	*Building Cohesive Communities : a Report of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion, Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion.*	COMMUNITY COHESION
2002	*Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain.*	INTEGRATION AND MIGRATION CONTROL
2003	*Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team Chaired by Ted Cantle*	COMMUNITY COHESION
2004	*Indicators of Integration: Final Report.*	MEASUREMENT OF INTEGRATION PROGRESS
2005	*Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society : the Government's Strategy to Increase Race Equality and Community Cohesion* *Integration Matters: a National Strategy for Refugee Integration.*	COMMUNITY COHESION AND RACIAL EQUALITY INTEGRATION

Table 1: The Progress of Central Government Integration Policy from 2000 to 2005.

Before the publication of their integration strategy *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c), the Home Office released a Development and Practice Report entitled *Indicators of Integration* (Ager and Strang, 2004b), compiled by Alastair Ager and Alison Strang of Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh. The aim of the study was the production of a framework for the planning and evaluation of refugee services to be utilised by project leaders and policy makers. The authors clearly take note of many of the criticisms of earlier policy reviewed above and build on earlier policy initiatives. They argue that integration is both a conceptual map interlinking common efforts (such as regeneration of housing, provision of English language training and access to education) and a practical process at national and local level so that systems for assessing progress made in each area are essential if integration is to move beyond rhetoric and into proactive solutions to complex problems. The framework therefore offers a template for the Welsh Assembly Government to work with in policy formulation and a checklist for charting progress when implementing social inclusion policy. It will be reviewed briefly below in relation to the 2005 policy *Integration matters*.

Definition of Integration

In terms of a working definition of integration, the *Indicators for Integration* white paper (Ager and Strang, 2004b: 5) stated that the *Full and Equal Citizens* (*F&EC*) policy document (Home Office, 2000, the forerunner of the 2005 strategy *Integration Matters*) did not provide a clear explanation of the concept of integration.[xiv] *Indicators* suggested, based on an analysis of over 40 definitions (Ager and Strang, 2004b: 9), that integration is achieved when refugees are empowered to:

- 'achieve public outcomes' (meaning levels of comparative comfort and prosperity, outlined in the *F&EC* policy: Home Office, 2000) in employment, education, housing and healthcare on an equal footing with the wider community;
- are "socially connected" across national, ethnic, familial, cultural, religious, political and social networks with which they identify, and;

- Have sufficient linguistic competence, cultural knowledge and a sense of security and stability to enable them to confidently engage in society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship (Ager and Strang, 2004b: 5).

Indicators of Integration:

The *Indicators (*Ager and Strang 2004b*)* framework identified barriers to integration, areas of best practice and methods of qualitative and quantitative assessment. There is a clear bringing together here of earlier notions of *integration* with the later understandings of *inclusion* and *social cohesion* to provide a significantly broader definition and policy agenda. Ager and Strang (2004b) devised a four-tiered strategy which separated the notion of integration into identifiable and quantifiable markers of success and areas for improvement along the following lines:

Means and Markers: positive advancement in the areas listed below can be understood as a '*marker*' for continuing success by public and private agencies, operating as a mobility multiplier or '*means*' for progression in other areas.[xv]

- Employment
- Housing
- Education, and;
- Health.[xvi]

Social Connections: comprising *bridges, bonds* and *links* (explained below), inter and intra community communication, formation and maintenance of constructive relationships between families and individuals across cultural and social borders and forging networks within and between integration institutions themselves and the communities they exist to serve. These include:

*Social Bridges***:** Integral to the project of enhancing relationships between community inhabitants is the promotion of 'social mixing', aiding the disintegration of myth, prejudice and fear of the unknown. Local authorities can play a part in organising events, activities and developing centres where interaction is encouraged and nurtured (Home Office, 2003b).

Social Bonds: One of the most important concepts surrounding integration is the feeling of 'belonging' (Parekh, 2000). Maintaining an independent sense of identity informed by ethnic cultural values, attitudes and belief is important when negotiating your identity with others, within the boundaries of your chosen community settlement.[xvii] The concept of welcomed difference, understood to enhance the vibrancy of the locale, preventing 'integration' from becoming 'assimilation', allows the preservation of deeply-rooted belief-systems in tandem with a shared sense of belonging and a desire to aid the mutual development of the community.

Social Links : One's ability to productively correspond and interact with local and national governmental and non-government services and political processes whilst undertaking civic duties is essential to refining one's role in the wider community.

Facilitators: Factors enhancing the prospects for positive integration such as reciprocal language training, cultural education, enrichment, mediation and community safety and stability for all.

Foundation: Without an understanding and appropriate mobilisation of civil and human rights, the realisation of the above is significantly problematised. "Rights and citizenship" is the core foundation of socio-cultural integration.

Having provided a framework for setting targets and measuring success, the authors of *Indicators of Integration* (Ager and Strang, 2004b) warn against the partitioning of 'integration industries' by Government for the sake of ease in meeting targets and maintaining healthy statistics. They suggest strategic monitoring and development rather than the setting of targets and argue that the segregation of integration industries could lead to a lack of full cooperation and communication *between* agencies charged with the realisation of the same goals. They also stress that integration is essentially a *local* project. Within the community, integration involves partnerships with all local authorities and concerned bodies to achieve progress on a micro as well as macro scale assessing "comprehensiveness", "flexibility", "comparability" and "feasibility" of provisions (Ager and Strang, 2004b: 8).

This whole strategic agenda however cannot function however without the availability of suitable and accurate data (Ager and Strang, 2004b: 6; see also Castles et. al., 2002). Projecting this advice into the Welsh context, it is clear that a pre-requisite to any analytical framework is the development and sustenance of a strong multi-agency

network, the provision of bridging links between organisations, and the collating of data made available to the Assembly Government for assessment purposes. This role could be undertaken either by the voluntary or NGO sector (such as the Welsh Refugee Council) if the funding were available, or the National Refugee Integration Forum, as suggest by the Home Office in *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c).

Table 2: *The Indicators of Integration Framework – Practice and Policy Level Indicators* can be found in Appendix 1

Full and Equal Citizens

The white paper *Full and Equal Citizens* (2000) had outlined the strategic direction for UK integration policy. This was to be implemented by the National Refugee Integration Forum (NRIF), chaired by the National Asylum Support Service (NASS). It aimed to:

- Set out plans to ensure refugees were treated as equal members of society by reforming public services and equal opportunities guidelines;
- Enable refugees to "develop their potential" whilst contributing to all aspects of UK life, social, cultural and economic (Home Office, 2000: 2);
- Provide a clear framework of support for the integration process, and;
- Facilitate access to integration support structures for refugees, both regionally and nationally.

It was argued here too that the majority of the integration effort takes place within the local community, supported by voluntary groups, Local Authorities and the work of Refugee Community Organisations and public / private networks. *F&EC* suggested that the role for Government in support of this effort (Home Office, 2000: 3) is to:

- Provide encouragement to communities in support of refugees, both structurally and through the creation of lasting relationships;
- Increase employment levels heightening awareness of refugee issues among New Deal advisers and employers;
- Ensure local access to English language tuition (a fundamental concern cutting across all sectors of the integration matrix), and;
- Aid refugees to secure adequate housing, a key prerequisite of integration.[xviii]

This can be translated as guidance for devolved administrations on the formulation of policy based on Central Government provisions.

It is important to note that it is clearly stated in the foreword to *Integration Matters,* provided by Des Browne, Minister for State Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality, that the strategy is:

> …founded on the belief that integration can only begin *in its fullest sense* when an asylum seeker becomes a refugee.
>
> (Home Office, 2005c: 3, original emphasis)

Whilst the Minister acknowledges that "much valuable integration activity" (Home Office, 2005c: 3) occurs during the asylum process, funded by the *Purposeful Activities for Asylum Seekers Fund,* it is also argued that: as asylum seekers are forbidden from entering formal employment and approximately 66% will have their applications for refugee status rejected, it is not possible to provide the necessary commitment and support for complete integration prior to a decision.[xix] This continues to ignore the very real and well documented damage to later integration which the negative aspects of the asylum experience can cause and it ignores the issues raised in 2002 by Castles et. al. about the beginning and end points of being a refugee in the current policy and legal context. There is a significant degree of agreement in the literature that:

> The success of the integration of refugees is intrinsically related to the quality and length of asylum determination procedure and the conditions of reception.
>
> (ECRE, 2002: 9)

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles suggests that integration policy structure reception arrangements to adequately prepare asylum seekers for either official recognition or return (ECRE, 2002: 9), aiding their transition into British society or re-absorption into the culture of their country of origin. There is still no real evidence of this in the UK context, either in policy or in process.

Integration Matters

Integration matters (Home Office, 2005c) itself sets out the Central Government strategy for refugee integration in England, building upon policy recommendations set out in *Full and Equal Citizens* (*F&EC,* Home Office, 2000) and the subsequent efforts

of public and private sector organisations to meet obligations under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.[xx] It builds on the Ager and Strang (2004b) report, and provides the following additional list of 'high level indicators' aimed at assessing comparative levels of success when attempting to encourage refugee integration.[xxi] The Home Office acknowledges here that because refugees are often subject to severe poverty and deprivation, it is 'unrealistic' to match integration outcomes in the areas listed with indicators for the wider population (Home Office, 2005c: 18).

Achieving Potential	Contributing to the Community	Accessing Services
Refugee employment statistics	# of refugees involved in voluntary work	Rates of access to housing services
Levels of spoken English language attainment and literacy	# of refugees in contact with RCOs and other community organisations	Proportion of refugees indicating satisfaction with the education of their children
	Citizenship take-up	
	Statistics for reported incidents of racial, cultural or religious harassment	

Table 3: High Level Indicators of Refugee Integration in 'Integration Matters' (Home Office, 2005c: 18).

The report indicates that the Government will be monitoring the relevant sectors for indications of progress, which can only be achieved once networks are in place for the correct and accurate dissemination of relevant data. Towards this end, the strategy announces that the UK Government is developing a framework for qualitative and quantitative analysis in partnership with the private, voluntary and community sectors (Home Office, 2005c: 82). No actual targets are set.

Integration Matters (Home Office, 2005c) employs a definition of integration which understands the term to relate to policy development and to a *process*, the goal of which is refugee empowerment to achieve full and equal potential as member of British society, contributing to the community whilst enjoying rights and responsibilities afforded to all. The perceived barriers to the effective attainment of full integration are seen in the strategy document to relate to the stability of service provision, the accuracy of data collected and collated on refugee issues, the

establishment and maintenance of communication networks between agencies and refugees, and the provision of information and knowledge on how to access resources.

Integration Matters (Home Office, 2005c), like *Indicators of Integration* (Ager, 2004), argues that the integration progress be measured via eight indicators which relate to: *the attainment of language competence; access to education and employment; volunteering, community contact; citizenship subscription;* and the reporting of racial, cultural or religious harassment within the locality and across the nation (Home Office, 2005c: 9).

Tin addition, the following three areas are identified by the strategy as being in need of attention when developing a framework for implementation of integration policy because they cut across and effect all of the other indicators:

1. *Language and Economic Mobility**:***

   The challenge of effectively communicating not only prohibits refugees from making their thoughts, feelings, needs and criticisms known, but it also prevents them from securing work appropriate to their level of skill, ability and knowledge, thus baring them from achieving their full economic and social potential. The solution to this issue lies in securing early access for refugees to language training programmes, priority contact with Jobcentre Plus, co-opting the compliance of employers open and committed to refugee employment and strategically aiding refugees to acquire work experience, retraining opportunities and re-accreditation of new and existing skills.

2. *Ensuring Social Justice and Fair Representation:*

   The project of integration into the community can be strongly affected by the pre-existing degree of community cohesion, tolerance of difference and respect for ethnic diversity. Problems such as racism, xenophobia, suspicion, prejudice, fear and mistrust can not only cause discrimination and anti-social behaviour, but can also lead to serious issues of civil unrest and racially motivated crime. The media play a key role in the construction of public perception of refugees in their community, often generating stereotypes which "can create artificial barriers between refugees and host populations" (Home Office, 2005c: 6).[xxii] The Home Office here identifies the decisive role Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs) can play in building bridges

between and within communities, healing social rifts and disseminating accurate information countering negative media representations. However, the Home Office recognise that these institutions often lack sufficient resources to effectively carry out their role to full potential, thus identifying an area that is in need of attention and financial rectification.[xxiii]

3. *Access to Vital Services:*

   It is vital that refugees be contacted immediately subsequent to the receipt of Refugee Status from the State and provided with constructive advice and support to address issues in need of urgent attention, such as: accessing suitable housing upon termination of NASS accommodation; accessing the healthcare system; receiving medical assessment in cases where the individual holds no prior National Health Service (NHS) record, and; securing access for refugee children into the educational system (note that schools themselves need to be suitably equipped to meet their complex needs).

Recent Initiatives: Integration as Process

Initiatives recently implemented by the Home Office as part of this process which aim to enable refugees to realise their potential, with support from the State, include enhancements to public sector employment projects through the Department for Work and Pensions refugee employment strategy *Working to Rebuild Lives* (DfWP, 2005a), the provision of a Refugee Handbook for English-Language Teachers and fast-track systems for the employment of qualified refugees in the heath care profession, all carried forward on the back of recommendations from the *Full and Equal Citizens* document (Home Office, 2000). Steps have been taken at the local level to improve community cohesion through the clarification and refinement of guidelines for the reporting of racist attacks and the production of materials for media organisations aimed at promoting fair and balanced coverage of immigration, asylum and refugee issues (Home Office, 2005c: 7). This is in addition to capacity-building finance made available for locally based RCOs.

The introduction of Citizenship Ceremonies to officially ratify social accession are being devised, building upon the recommendations of the report of the advisory group chaired by Professor Sir Bernard Crick, *Life in the UK* (Home Office, 2003a), which implements the provisions of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 by

ensuring those applying for settlement and citizenship possess both pre-determined levels of English language competence (to ESOL Entry level 3) and due understanding of the rights and responsibilities attached to British citizenship (Home Office, 2003a: 9).[xxiv xxv xxvi]

Rather than establish separate services or structures to meet the needs of refugees, it is the Government's intention, articulated across all these policies, to provide refugees with the appropriate support necessary to enable them to integrate into and be catered for by existing services available to the mainstream population, reducing segregation along racial lines and improving community cohesion.[xxvii] The problematic assumption remains that it is specifically 'race' which puts social cohesion at risk. The documents argue that this requires a strategic re-development of UK services to ensure that the complexity and diversity of refugee needs are understood and adequately addressed within the operation policy of each sector organisation (Home Office, 2003a: 15).[xxviii]

Regional Consortia

Integration Matters makes it clear that regional planning for integration is executed by Regional Consortia for Asylum Seeker and Refugee Support, of which there are 11 across the United Kingdom comprising Government offices, local authorities and public and private sector concerns. Regional Consortia (funded by the Home Office) are primarily charged with the provision of local authority services to NASS asylum seekers, but are seen to represent network potential for increasing scope to provide support to new refugees (Home Office, 2005c: 32).

Dealing with the Transition from Asylum To Refugee Status

The National Refugee Integration Forum will be coordinating local Consortia strategies and will ensure the wide dissemination of and adherence to best practice. One of the most significant new initiatives highlighted within *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c) is the intent to pilot (over the duration of 2005) the "Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration Services" (Home Office, 2005c: 8), under the programme acronym 'S.U.N.R.I.S.E'. Refugees wishing to participate in the SUNRISE project will be allocated a caseworker who will work with them over a 28-

day period immediately after the receipt of Refugee Status, in order to design a Personal Integration Plan or P.I.P.[xxix]

The intention of the PIP is for the refugee to outline personal long-term integration objectives. This will be achieved with the aid of the caseworker providing support, information, links to housing and employment advice, and guidance on accessing other vital services such as English language and vocational training, work experience, volunteering and mentoring contacts. The PIP will continue to be reviewed at specific intervals to chart progress after the 28 day period and represents a significant step in the proactive provision of immediate support to refugees vulnerable in the transitional process from asylum to refugee status.

Economic Support and Information

Key to the attainment of integration goals through the PIP will be the availability of economic support – significantly linked to policies combating poverty and *social exclusion*. The SUNRISE caseworker is able to offer advice on the application for and use of newly introduced Refugee Integration Loans (RILs), which are interest-free and specifically designed to aid integration and assist transition.[xxx] [xxxi] Awareness must be raised about SUNRISE and similar programmes if refugees are to benefit. If the SUNRISE initiative proves popular, a full roll-out will be scheduled for 2006. A small number of refugees in Wales have already benefited from this programme.

The literature addressed suggests that many refugees, both at the point of this crucial transition, and later, are poorly informed about their entitlements to support and the availability of services, a situation which *Integration Matters* aims to address (Home Office, 2005c)..

A Two-Way Process: communication as the glue of social cohesion

Following the ECRE principle of communal reciprocity in effort as essential to attaining integration - a “dynamic two-way process” (ECRE, 2002: 14) - the Central Government strategy (Home Office, 2005c) views the development of relationships within the community as a pre-requisite driving force of integration, asserting that receiving communities need support in the form of fair and accurate information from Government and the media in order to:

> …maximise the potential for new and positive relationships between refugees and members of the settled population, which will work to everyone's benefit.
> (Home Office, 2005c: 23)

The Home Office (2003b; 2005c) also identifies the support of RCOs, often operating on 'slim resources', as being significant to all integration efforts at the local level. In the communities where RCOs are present, they are seen to represent a crucial resource for refugees who can both access their services and develop their own self-respect and self-esteem by exercising their own strengths in supporting others through voluntary networks (Home Office, 2005c).

The difficulty here is still the pressure it places on the most vulnerable and least well resourced groups in the community to do the job of integration/inclusion, and the assumption that 'fair and accurate information' is all the 'host' community needs to change its ways. This still ignores the question of who exactly this imagined unified 'host' is and fails to deal with the blurring of poverty-led and culture-led culture clash which may well not be explicable in either informational or race relations terms (see Castles et.al., 2002: Maloutas and Malouta 2004; Yuval-Davis et. al. 2005).

Community Safety and Racism

Nonetheless, and whatever the causes, integration at the local level cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of prejudice, racism or xenophobia. Thus a key challenge identified in the framework is the need to address and deal with racially or ethnically motivated crime and to find ways of ensuring community safety. The focus here is on policing, on good police/community relations, on communication and information as essential tools for preparing 'host' communities to receive newcomers, on encouraging minority communities to trust the police, and in supporting both to report bullying, harassment and race-based crime.

Critical Responses to *Integration Matters*

While there is evidence of change and of some response to criticism and evidence-based research in recent UK level policy initiatives, there remain a number of unresolved issues which the Welsh Assembly Government needs to consider in drafting its own inclusion policy. We will focus here on just two of the critical

responses to the UK strategy document: from the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) and from the Refugee Council. Some of the issues raised here remain similar to responses to the policies which followed the Northern race riots in 2001 discussed a the beginning of this review.

Perhaps the single most important issue raised, important because it is so regularly not articulated in contexts where policy sees the need for refugee groups and 'host' communities to be informed and to communicate, and for the media to report factual information and to work on promoting 'positive images', is the need for policy to look critically at itself. ICAR (2004b:4) argues in its response that national policy must not only offer the means to do these things, but must facilitate the fight against racism and xenophobia by *evaluating the official political language of immigration affairs*. Given the predominance of elite sources in media stories about refugees (Speers 2001; Buchanan et.al. 2003), this is actually where most of the language of the national media comes from, and thus sets the tone of public debate. If politicians do not address refugee matters with humanity, humility and well-informed understanding, this inevitably exacerbates, and may even in some cases drive, the kind of media coverage which works against integration/inclusion and community cohesion (ICAR, 2004b: 4). Official political language has in fact far-reaching effects which extend well beyond the media to all of those agencies and groups with the task of implementing it in practice or complying with it to apply for funding. It is arguable and has been argued that official policy discourse, in its focus on race and ethnicity as problems to be managed, and in the gendered forms of national belonging which it promotes, continues to construct and produce the very things it seeks to remediate (Blommaert and Vershueren 1998; Hesse 2000; Parekh 2000; Cohen at. Al. 2002; Ahmed 2004; Yuval-Davis et. Al. 2005)

ICAR also points to the perennial lack of definition about what exactly refugees are expected to integrate *into*, in terms of the existing cultural, social, political, ethnic, ethical, religious contexts within the UK. There is still no attempt to map out the responsibilities of indigenous populations in this two-way effort (Castles, *et al* 2002: 115; ICAR 2004b). They also insist that receiving communities should not only be consulted about the settlement of refugees and supplied with reliable and accurate information about the process, but that policy should also address the education of receiving communities about *who* refugees are, *what* that means, the implications of

their arrival, their needs, and *the benefits they bring to the community*. These issues need to be a central part of strategies to facilitate both community cohesion and integration (ICAR, 2004b: 2).

In similar mode the Refugee Council argues that the strategy's definition of integration, while stressing an ill-defined "full" contribution on the part of the refugee to British society, fails to impose a similar responsibility on the indigenous population. The Refugee Council attempts to define what 'full' contribution might mean for the refugee by spelling out that refugees should:

Achieve their aspirations and potential as members of British society; take an active part in contributing to the community; and exercise their responsibilities, rights and entitlements as members of the UK society"(Refugee Council, 2004: 3).

At the same time their response points to the failure of the strategy to provide scope for assessing the perceptions of refugees themselves about the effectiveness of integration initiatives (Refugee Council, 2004: 3) and argues that progress in terms of integration should refer not just to output but to *outcomes* for refugees (Refugee Council, 2004: 10).

Both ICAR and Refugee Council raise issues about consistency of delivery at national level, in terms of governance strategies and funding mechanisms. The Refugee Council argues that the strategy is lacking a national framework for implementation which would deliver solutions for all refugees across the United Kingdom and that the Funding streams identified support local and regional initiatives that may not produce consistent national results (Refugee Council, 2004: 2). ICAR 2004b) suggest that while there may be some benefit in short-term targeted interventions developed by Central Government, a more permanent and stable national and regional situation must be achieved. The Government must acknowledge that programmes should be developed that are long-term, multifaceted, well-resourced and implemented by a coalition of local, regional and national authorities together with community and voluntary sector organisations, and with frameworks developed for clear and efficient communication and sharing of information. The Refugee Council's response is rather more hard-hitting about the failure of the document to acknowledge the impact of

competition for scarce resources at the local level (Refugee Council, 2004: 6). The response pinpoints an overlap between NASS dispersal areas and the 88 most deprived wards in the UK as identified by the Neighbourhood Renewal Policy Unit, a significant factor which must be openly addressed as working against the whole concept of integration/inclusion and cohesion.

Refugee Council make a number of other important points: the report does not take into account the established good practice guidelines of voluntary sector organisations (Refugee Council, 2004: 3); it does not distinguish between the accomplishments of programmes which have been developed specifically to aid refugee integration and those which were designed for different purposes; and "by maintaining a dichotomy in policies in relation to asylum seekers and refugees', the strategy actually hinders integration (Refugee Council, 2004: 12). This last point in particular has been raised across sectors dealing with and researching the issues since at least 2001.

The Scottish Executive, as part of the *One Scotland: Many Cultures* initiative, has recently developed a £2.9 million integration policy which might function as a useful model for the formation of the Welsh Assembly Government Refugee inclusion policy..

The political context of official and public debate surrounding immigration and refugee issues in Scotland provides a different context for the development of cultural and social policy on integration. Central Government policy, as we have seen above, is essentially one of containment which constructs diversity and migration as both 'raced' and a 'problem' to be managed. The basic assumption in all policy by both major political parties in the UK since 1905 has been that 'social cohesion' at home (a 'safe haven') depends on keeping diversity (read coloured migrants) out ('secure borders') (Home Office, 2002; Yuval-Davis *et al,* 2005; Kyambi 2005: 8-9)). The Scottish Executive however has officially recognised both the need for and benefits of immigration to Scotland and has changed the story in significant ways. The Executive cites an aging population, a declining labour force and the desire to encourage cultural and ethnic diversity as catalysts for the creation of an inclusive, multilateral, proactive response to the concept and processes of integration. In Scotland there is now a story about diversity and migration as natural, inevitable and beneficial, a resource to be valued. It may be based on economic and demographic need but it is a much better story from which to start working towards integration or inclusion than the UK national version.

The strategy of the Scottish Executive has had an overwhelmingly positive effect on public discussion and understanding of the issue, filtered through a media which now appears significantly less hostile to immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers than UK national counterparts. This provides real evidence for the need to change the official political discourse on immigration (suggested by ICAR 2004b above) if we want to change the media. The Scottish process demonstrates a cyclical process of how devolved administrations can make an immediate positive difference to integration and social cohesion by proactively changing their own discourse, defining the terms

of the field and the atmosphere of engagement, disseminating policy through public fora, and generating a climate conducive to combating racism and social exclusion.

The Scottish Refugee Integration Forum (established in 2002, chaired by the Minister for Social Justice) published their *Action Plan* for refugee integration in Scotland in 2003 under the *One Scotland, Many Cultures* initiative. The goal of this concise and affirmative report was the provision of an integration strategy based upon a response to statutory duties under United Kingdom legislation, allowing Scotland to exercise it's autonomy in the development of policy which implements and enforces guidelines for all service providers in the integration industries. The aim is to enable refugees to obtain sanctuary in the nation to rebuild their lives, offering 'a meaningful contribution to the communities in which they live' (SRIF, 2003a: 3).

Achievable measures for integration were separated into six key areas: Positive Images, Community Development and the Media; Housing; Justice; Children's Services; Health and Social Care, and; Enterprise, Lifelong Learning, Employment and Training. Additional attention is paid to the following as cross-cutting themes: Translation and interpretation; Information and advice, and; Community preparation.

Table 4 (appendix 2) is derived from the recommendations of the Scottish Integration Plan. It provides a clear outline of the Scottish Executive understandings of integration and their plans for taking the SRIF proposals forward. This initiative represents a much more proactive approach to integration policy than *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c), re-narrativises the whole agenda, recognises the resource and funding needs required for implementation.

The 2004 Office for National Statistics report *Wales: Its People* (ONS, 2004) provides the following statistics relevant to a refugee inclusion policy in Wales:

- In a land with a "growing but aging population", increasing numbers are coming from outside national borders – three out of four people living in Wales were born there, with three percent born outside the United Kingdom, and 33% of inhabitants not 'Welsh'.
- Wales has a diverse mix of peoples from different cultural, ethnic and racial origins, essentially centred around Cardiff which is also home to 67% of Welsh refugees and asylum seekers.
- 2.1% of people are from 'non-white' ethnic backgrounds, totalling 62,000 people.
- After Christianity, Islam is the most common faith in Wales.

Wales: A Better Country (WAG, 2003)[xxxii] reports the positive progress already made by the Assembly Government and its partners towards inclusion, community cohesion and economic prosperity for the inhabitants of Wales. The ECRE report *The Way Forward: Europe's role in the global refugee protection system* (ECRE, 2005), admittedly dealing with protection, not integration or inclusion, stresses the importance of continuity and consistency of policy and message as key to sustained progress in these areas. This advice foregrounds two areas of difficulty for the Welsh refugee inclusion initiative: evolving Welsh policy is vulnerable both to political changes within Wales (despite ostensible all-party agreement on these issues) and to UK legislative and policy change. Across the literature, there is significant evidence to suggest that the level of complexity regarding rules and regulations surrounding asylum seekers and refugees, and their propensity to frequent fluctuation and amendment, render adequate and sustained service provision, unified across agencies, highly problematic (e.g., Cohen at.al. 2002). Moreover there is as yet no specific provision for refugee inclusion and ICAR (2004a) have already identified the need to provide bridging links between mainstream Welsh provision and focussed initiatives for refugees in order to eliminate what they see as the current high dependence in

refugee provision on specialist services often now provided by ill-resourced Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs) or other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or faith groups.

Wales: A Better Country

It is worth recalling here that the devolved Welsh Assembly Government has a unique (in the European context) statutory obligation to 'promote equality of opportunity for all people in the exercise of all its functions' (Williams 2003:141; CRE Wales 2004-6). *Wales: A Better Country* (WAG, 2003), makes a clear statement of these intentions:

> We will promote gender equality, good race relations and race equality and tackle discrimination on grounds of age and disability. We want to see people in public life reflecting the diversity in the population as a whole.
>
> (WAG, 2003: 12)

and outlines the following steps by which this might be accomplished:

- Developing a strategic vision for a fair, prosperous and healthy nation with a high quality education system.
- Embedding the Welsh Assembly Government commitment to social justice and sustainable economic equality in public policy.
- Demonstrating how radical reform of public services will deliver manifesto promises.
- Producing a framework for cross-sector collaboration to deliver effective and timely results.

It is clear from the document that the overarching aims are to boost the economy; tackle poverty through empowerment; maintain the built and natural environments; support the development of cultural diversity; aid the progression of children, and promote transparency and collaboration. Four main areas of focus in social and economic reform are also recognised: increasing levels of employment; improving healthcare; developing strong and safe communities, and; creating better jobs for a more skilled workforce. the *Better Country* document also highlights a desire to "establish a clear performance management and evaluation network for all our programmes" (WAG, 2003: 13) – an 'indicators' framework.

In addition, a number of specific initiatives are outlined which are designed to deliver positive outcomes in relation to each of the following areas:

- Development of education and training provision**:** *The Learning Country* programme administered by the Skills and Employment Action Plan and the Education and Learning Wales (ELWa) corporate plan, *Reaching Higher* and *Extending Entitlements* initiatives.
- Economic policy initiatives**:** *A Winning Wales* and the ten year vision for *Skills, Innovation, Entrepreneurship, Business, the Environment and Trade.*
- Supporting culture and sport: *Climbing Higher, Iaith Pawb* and *Cymru Greadigol.*
- Aiding the development of the countryside and the environment**:** *Planning Policy Wales, Wise about Waste, Planning: delivering for Wales* and *Farming for the Future.*
- Ensuring social justice**:** dealt with through the *Communities First* programme.
- Reform of health and social care services: managed through *Well-being in Wales,*[xxxiii] *Inequalities in Health Fund, Targeting Poor Health* and the *Strategy for Older People*.

These measures, whilst not explicitly referencing refugee provision, nonetheless provide a good basis for working towards refugee inclusion. Bridging from mainstream provision of this kind to refugee is provision is what is required (see ICAR above).

Communities First

The *Communities First Initiative,* included within the *Better Country* strategy aims to provide stability and security in existing communities and to tackle poverty and disadvantage. It represents a positive step forward in the development of community cohesion, as understood in the Cantle Report (Home Office, 2003b), primarily through:

- Tough action on anti-social behaviour.

- Support of quality services in areas of deprivation, such as improvements in Jobcentre plus services to assist with high unemployment levels and access to state support where needed.
- New licensing schemes for rented accommodation to ensure higher standards (WAG, 2003: 24).

Key to the practical integration/inclusion project in Wales is the *Communities First Support Fund* which forms part of the equal opportunities Community Regeneration and Safety framework. The fund offers support to :

- Provide and deliver culturally appropriate support services to minority ethnic groups and organisations, encouraging the formation of new community organisations; and to
- Build the capacity of the voluntary sector to influence regional and national public policies and strategies (WAG, 2005b: 31).

However, competition for scarce resources, and thus sustainability of initiatives as well as the promotion of a high and selective dependence on ill-resourced RCOs and the voluntary sector is a real issue which requires a long-term and stable solution if it is not to produce frustrations and divisions rather than integration/inclusion and social cohesion.

The Second *Race Equality Scheme for Wales*

The WAG commitment to racial equality and ethnic diversity in community safety, housing, education, health and social care is set out again more recently in the *Second Race Equality Scheme for Wales* (WAG, 2005b – a revision of the first scheme published in 2002), detailing equal opportunities and diversity strategy until 2008. There is a statutory obligation imposed by Central Government that devolved administrations ensure that equality of opportunity is integral to all institutions, extending beyond racial considerations to encompass gender, religion, sexuality, age and disability and working towards eliminating bullying and harassment in all contexts. This policy is informed by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 which places a responsibility on the Assembly to ensure the elimination of racial discrimination, the promotion of equal opportunities and the development of

harmonious community relations.[xxxiv] It is worth noting here that it has taken five years to get a far as publishing a comprehensive policy in Wales, and that many Welsh institutions and agencies are far from fully compliant with the legislation at the end of 2005. The promotion of diversity in public life, in terms of employment practices in particular, has a long way to go. The writing of the policy and the beginnings of its implementation remain however key to the ultimate reform of the institutions and structures which currently inhibit integration and inclusion. In order to meet stated objectivities for racial equality over the next three years, the Assembly Government has undertaken to:

- Hold consultations on the impact of policy
- Improve monitoring systems for racial equality[xxxv]
- Openly publish the results of assessments and consultations
- Ensure information and services are reformed to make them more accessible to ethnic groups
- Provide staff with required race equality training
- Promote race equality in the procurement of goods and services
- Aid capacity-building of minority ethnic groups
- Oppose racial violence and harassment
- Raise the profile of public appointments of members of ethnic minority groups (WAG, 2005b).

Third Annual Report for Social Inclusion in Wales

The Welsh Assembly strategy for the promotion of social inclusion, outlined in the *Third Annual Report for Social Inclusion in Wales* (WAG, 2005c), which builds upon the WAG *Plan for Wales 2001,* discusses future policy provisions for the regeneration of deprived communities through increased opportunities in employment and training, improvements in national healthcare and education, and reform of public services:

> [The commitment of the Assembly Government towards community empowerment] is a commitment which is driven by beliefs in social justice, in equality of opportunity for all our citizens and in the power of community to bring people together and enable each and every individual to fulfil their potential and contribute to the regeneration of their areas.
>
> (Edwina Hart, Minister for Social Justice and Regeneration, cited in WAG, 2005d executive summary)

The Assembly project to enhance social inclusion is influenced by a desire to combat social *exclusion* (something routinely faced by refugees), which is here understood as a disadvantage caused by lack of access – to employment, education, health care and training – and through social deprivation and lack of community cohesion generated by prejudice and misunderstanding (WAG, 2005c: 5).

Refugee groups are identified in the report as being at serious risk from "exclusion due to deliberate or unintentional discrimination" (WAG, 2004d: 3) Tackling poverty is seen as key to reducing social exclusion and will be pivotal to enabling refugees to contribute both to the community and the national economy on an equal level.

Conclusion

The inclusion strategy for Wales, evolving with policy commitments to BME housing strategies, racial and ethnic diversity, social inclusion and general reform as signalled in the documents assessed above, represents consistent and committed progress toward the goal of creating a more prosperous and united, therefore more inclusive, Wales.[xxxvi]

The agenda of the *Second Race equality Scheme for Wales* is significant in taking note of many of the criticisms levelled over the years at UK level policy but it is a race equality policy not an inclusion policy. It does involve several measures designed to monitor, inform and change behaviours of 'host' communities as well providing support for ethnic groups but it does, almost by definition, remain focussed on the management of difference and diversity as a problem. That is, it has not yet taken the step the Scottish executive has in its integration policy of changing the narrative and emphasising the normality, the value and the benefits of diversity. A refugee inclusion policy for Wales needs now to build on policies and initiatives already in place and to find ways of embedding this different narrative in policy and then in the frameworks constructed to implement it. The issue of the definition of the refugee and when that inclusion should begin remains problematic but bridges must be built between mainstream provision around social cohesion and the strategies for inclusion which would improve the lot of refugees in Wales.

7. INDICATORS OF INTEGRATION / INCLUSION

The literature reviewed for this report clearly outlines six key indicators of integration or areas of inclusion, which must be addressed in practical responses to refugee exclusion and deprivation. In order of importance, these areas are:

1. Housing
2. Health and Social Care
3. The Welfare of the Refugee Child
4. Safety, Interaction and Community Cohesion
5. Employment, Training and Lifelong Learning
6. Education

There is a vast literature on each of the 'indicators of integration'. What follows is a very brief account of the major issues in relation to each of them, suggesting areas of relevance to the formation of the Welsh Refugee Inclusion Policy, and including a section on the importance of the voluntary sector which is integral to efforts translating policy into practice.

7.1. HOUSING

> The quality of housing and support services for refugees is an important determinant of successful integration.
>
> (WAG, 2005a: 88)

The right to adequate housing provision for refugees is defined in the following international legislation:

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 25(1)
2. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, article 11(1);
3. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, article 5(e)(iii), and;
4. The 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees article 21.

The following UK documents and policies deal with the specific issues to do with housing of refugees in the UK context:

1. *The End of Parallel Lives*, Home Office, 2004e
2. *Indicators of Integration* (Ager and Strang, 2004b)
3. Chartered Institute of Housing, *Providing a Safe Haven* (2003)
4. *Full and Equal Citizens* (Home Office, 2000)

Without a safe, stable and secure home, the Home Office acknowledges that the project of integration, the realisation of community cohesion and the empowerment of refugee social and economic autonomy is seriously affected (Home Office, 2005: 25). According to the *Indicators of Integration* (Ager and Strang, 2004b) strategy, the provision of safe, secure and suitable housing will provide the hub of the refugee's experience of integration. The health and prosperity of a community can be identified from the status of housing resources, which acts as a marker of cohesion and adequate provision by local authorities and other service providers.[xxxvii] The home is the epicentre of the family,[xxxviii] the geographic link between groups, the gateway to social connections and access to health care and employment (Ager and Strang, 2004b). Housing dictates the very "shape of communities" (Denham, 2001: 22), with 'community' as a constituent concept of integration understood to be:

> the web of personal relationships, groups, networks, traditions and patterns of behaviour that exist amongst those who share physical neighbourhoods, socio-economic conditions or common understandings and interests.
>
> ([www.cdf.org.uk/html/whatis.html])

For the specific purpose of aiding refugees, the Welsh Assembly Government is developing a Refugee Housing Action Plan which outlines the barriers facing refugees in terms of housing and suggests modes of address. Additionally, the use of the Social Housing Management Grants and Homelessness Grants have been extended to support refugees in the period immediately after gaining Refugee Status, who are in great need of accommodation. According to the Welsh Assembly Government, there is still:

> …considerable scope for development in refugee housing policy and practice which will positively contribute to the resettlement process.
>
> (WAG, 2005a: 88)

The Chartered Institute of Housing report *Providing a Safe Haven* (2003), listed a number of barriers to effective housing. Additional barriers identified more recently by the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG, 2005a: 91) include:

- Limited time between claim determination and the removal of NASS support
- Delays in the notification of local authorities concerning the status of decisions
- Current pressures on permanent accommodation
- Tensions between and within refugee groups
- Lack of support services employing trained staff
- Lack of promotion of good practice for the preparation of local receiving communities
- Delays in the allocation of National Insurance numbers, and
- Negative press coverage.

The following is a list of recommendations developed by the Chartered Institute of Housing (CIH, 2005: 7), which might help if they could be implemented:

- Ensure that accommodation is provided in secure, integrated communities (not fractured, deprived communities where work must be undertaken to restore equality, cohesion and prosperity), which have been informed and prepared for asylum seekers dispersal and / or refugee arrival (CIH, 2005: 7).
- Provide refugees with a 'Welcome to Britain' information pack with their letter of acceptance (CIH, 2005: 7).
- Review the possibilities of allowing new refugees to keep their NASS accommodation where desired and appropriate (CIH, 2005: 7).
- A joint protocol between NASS and the Benefits Agency must be developed ensuring immediate access to benefits and assistance with job-seeking and entrance to vocational training (CIH, 2005: 7).
- It is essential that Local Authorities and Housing Associations in Wales consider and provide for the needs of asylum seekers and refugees in their BME housing strategies (p. 7).

Across the literature, the period of transition between asylum-seeker and official Refugee Status has been identified as a time of great insecurity, instability and uncertainty. Both the Welsh Refugee Council and Cardiff County Council's Refugee

Housing Support Team are devising strategies to aid those most vulnerable during this time.[xxxix] There is general agreement in the literature that housing is the most urgent and important need of refugee families and individuals immediately after the notification of official status and that appropriate, adequate and sustainable housing will act as the base of all further inclusion activity. Yet we remain a long way from providing this basic need.

In sum, the evaluated literature suggests the following be taken into account when addressing refugee housing policy. Whilst not all directly related to refugee housing, the principles illustrated below are mutually reinforcing and part of a collectivised inclusion project:

1. *Community cohesion* should be encouraged through multilateral initiatives aimed at the regeneration and renewal of the wider neighbourhood. Opportunities should be provided for the celebration of mutual cultural heritage, of the indigenous population and that of refugees and other BME groups. Sporting and other arts-based events offer additional opportunities for this (Cantle *et al*, Home Office, 2003b). This will aid the development of safe, secure and stable communities and follows from the provision of housing resources of an appropriate standard.
2. The strategic monitoring of media and political discussion of immigration control and refugee issues may reduce local tensions building based on the dissemination of erroneous myths harming social stability (ICAR, 2004a).
3. The introduction and refinement of communication networks between all agencies with housing concerns and others providing additional welfare support services (the role for the Inter-Cluster Liaison Group) will significantly and positively impact the quality of service provided to refugees, based on the sharing of data, best practice and constructive collaboration (WAG, 2005a).
4. The availability of quality translation and interpretation services and trained staff capable of overcoming language barriers to the access of services is an overarching theme of housing provision, advisory and support services and must be written into guidelines (ECRE, 1999a).

5. Programmes in place to tackle disproportionately high levels of deprivation and disadvantage across communities will encourage higher levels of social inclusion, beneficial to community cohesion and refugee integration (WAG, 2005c).
6. The provision of accurate, detailed information in a number of languages for the use of refugees when moving between NASS accommodation and the private sector, coupled with support from initiatives such as SUNRISE and the Refugee Integration Loans system, will be vital when aiding initial transition from asylum status (Home Office, 2005b).
7. The development of capacity building projects for local groups aiding refugee involvement in local area improvement will provide positive benefits. These manifest in terms of services available for refugees and will help refugee volunteers themselves develop personal, social and vocational skills in an active, supportive environment (ECRE, 1999c).
8. The inclusion of references to refugees and asylum seekers in BME and equal opportunities policies will foster a greater appreciation of the complexity of the problems and barriers to integration faced by these groups, establishing them as different to the wider settled BME community (Rudiger, 2005).
9. The degree of current community cohesion between indigenous resident groups in areas of refugee settlement should be appraised and steps taken to prepare and educate the indigenous population to aid integration (ICAR, 2004a).
10. Where possible, the project of integration will be enhanced when refugees remain in their previous NASS dispersal areas. This will prove pivotal in building the capacity of pre-existing RCOs to be more representative of local racial and ethnic diversity whilst providing transitional and bridging services to new refugees.
11. Measures taken to tie housing support with homelessness legislation should be taken to ensure the protection of vulnerable refugee individuals, families and unaccompanied refugee children (CIH, 2005).
12. Steps must be taken to speed up the process of allocating financial and advisory support to refugees before the complete withdrawal of NASS support with devolved policy offering bridging solutions in the interim (WAG, 2005a).

> Refugee experience is essentially an experience involving loss. Loss of what is obvious, tangible and external such as possessions (e.g. a house), of a role in the work-place, status, a language, beloved members of the family or other close relatives); also a loss which is less obvious, internal and subjective: loss of trust in oneself and others, loss of self-esteem, self-respect and personal identity. You are suddenly stripped of things which link you with your community. The absence of all these links brings on stress, anxiety, depression and disorientation
>
> (ECRE, 1999b: 5)

To posses full health is not simply a matter of being free of disease or disability, but involves a state of "complete physical, mental and social well-being" (World Health Organisation, cited in ECRE, 1999: 5). The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (1999b: 16) identify the following barriers to effective healthcare which should be addressed in inclusion policy:

1. Difficulties in inconsistent service provision when attempting to overcome linguistic, cultural, social and faith-based barriers to communication requires the aid of trained interpreters, translators and cultural mediators.
2. The lack of clear translated information supplied to refugees about the functions of the NHS, their rights and responsibilities, and the procedures for accessing services leads to isolation and the inappropriate use of resources.
3. NHS staff have not received sufficient training to deal with refugee health concerns and negotiate with their expectations of treatment. This will need to be addressed at the level of national policy development.
4. There is a current issue of mistrust on the part of the refugee of the healthcare system and healthcare professionals generally which should be addressed through educational programmes and the support of Refugee Community Organisations and refugee mentors.
5. As refugees are not a homogenous mass, neither are their healthcare needs ubiquitous, with those of refugee women (a specific category requiring specialised sensitive attention) and children in need of identification and tailored programmes of support bridging into mainstream service provision.

In *Asylum seekers and refugees in Britain* published by the British Medical Journal (2001; 322: 544-547), Angela Burnet and Michael Peel assess current healthcare

provisions in the United Kingdom for this disadvantaged demographic. They suggest that the medical community have not acknowledged that 'refugees' are not a homogeneous population, but have diverse and often complex needs. The authors believe that integration/inclusion into healthcare provision can be facilitated through an acceptance of the current state of poor refugee health and a commitment to increase the quality of specialised services bridging access into mainstream support.[xl]

> Social isolation and poverty have a compounding negative impact on mental health, as can hostility and racism. If medication is indicated, it should be kept to a minimum. Reducing isolation and dependence, having suitable accommodation and spending time more creatively through education or work can often do much to relieve depression and anxiety.
>
> (Burnett, A. and Peel, M. 2001: 545)

The article believes counselling, whilst possibly an unfamiliar concept to refugees as it is very much a Western mode of treatment, could be very effective to aid settlement of individuals if refugees or Refugee Community Organisations provide the counselling services themselves, avoiding the fear or apprehension of accessing therapy, which can lead to isolation.

Due to cultural and linguistic barriers, many refugees find it extremely difficult to access primary health care (Home office, 2000: 10). NASS has responsibility for ensuring that all local authority consortia facilitate refugee access to the NHS. There are still, however, gaps in terms of the level of knowledge refugees possess about their rights and entitlements. This can lead to neglect, poor treatment or the inappropriate usage of services available (Home Office, 2000).[xli] Interpretation and translation remains an issue with many refugee children inappropriately acting as interpreters for older family members often around iintimate and difficult medical issues (Hewett et.al 2005).

The *All Wales Selected Minority Group* has undertaken a number of initiatives to meet the health needs of refugees, including the provision of funding to Local Health Boards to meet the costs of assessing the health needs of asylum seekers, which is a significant source of support for *refugee* healthcare concerns (WAG, 2005a: 34).[xlii] The Health for Asylum Seekers and Refugees Portal (http://www.harpweb.org.uk) provides information specifically for refugees on health care issues, as well as

immigration policy, standard appointment cards (in 32 languages) and specialist mental health guidance. All the literature argues that insuring the health and wellbeing of refugees will significantly aid inclusion by ensuring they have the personal strength and capacity both to recover from past trauma and to actively engage in their new social, economic, cultural and political roles in the country of settlement.

7.3. THE WELFARE AND EDUCATION OF THE REFUGEE CHILD

> Refugee and asylum-seeking children need the services that all children need and have a right to: somewhere to live, an education, healthcare, support and guidance. In addition, many will need specialist services, such as: therapeutic services to help children deal with the trauma they have suffered before coming to the UK; assistance in learning English and understanding the culture and mores of the society in which they now live; and legal advice and support on immigration issues.
>
> (Save the Children, 2005: 3)

This section is informed by the report *Uncertain Futures: Children Seeking Asylum in Wales* by Save the Children (Achub y Plant: 2005).[xliii] The report suggests that the reality of immigration policy and practice increasingly works against legislation developed to protect children, including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The report acutely illustrates that the life experiences of refugee children are often synonymous with great trauma. After arriving in this country following what may have been a harrowing journey both physically and psychologically, they will have experienced upheaval through the dispersal system in the United Kingdom and may encounter prejudice and bullying within schools. This will impact on their ability to develop into balanced, healthy adults with a positive perception of their nation of settlement. Negative experiences will affect their capacity for inclusion depending on their attitudes, beliefs and judgements concerning security, stability and possible prejudice from the indigenous population in the area of settlement.

The following table has been compiled from a list presented in the *Uncertain Futures* report (Save the Children, 2005: 3-5) documenting a number of concerns which need to be addressed in Wales through social inclusion policy. Column two provides evidence for some existing good practice within Wales.[xliv]

AREAS OF CONCERN HIGHLIGHTED BY *SAVE THE CHILDREN* IN WALES	AREAS OF POSITIVE SERVICE PROVISION IN WALES
Negative effects on the welfare of the children through dislocation from the dispersal system	Provision of specialist nurses to handle sensitive child-focussed cases
Shortage of school places	In one Welsh cluster area, a specialist mental health service has been developed which could be used as a model across Wales.
Lack of continuity in the quality of healthcare provision across the nation and communication networks between authorities	In areas of comprehensive health care, the level of service is very high
Lack of accurate information on asylum seeking and refugee children in Wales	Provision of specialist education services in a small number of catchment areas
Inconsistency in the provision and quality of public and private housing impacting child welfare	Operation of proactive mentoring programmes which can be developed across Wales
Delays with welfare payments made to parents and children	There are examples of innovative procedures in place which offer psychological counselling as well as practical and emotional support
The long wait for application decisions creates fear, uncertainty and anxiety	
Mainstream youth services need to include asylum seeking and refugee children in their activities and actively promote members from these communities joining in.	
There is an overall nationwide lack of specialist expertise dealing with refugee child issues with intermittent translation provision	

Table Five: Areas of concern and positive progress in service provision for asylum seeking and refugee children.

The Save the Children report subsequently makes a number of recommendations to the Welsh Assembly Government for policy provision for asylum seeking and refugee children. Those directly relevant to the project of social inclusion are outlined below:

- A strategic review of funding arrangements for services for asylum seeking and refugee children and their families, with service provision through the National Service Framework for Children, Young People and Maternity Services in Wales underpinned by the ethos of social inclusion;

- Consideration of child physical and psychological health needs in NASS contracts and guidelines, including health assessments of asylum seeking children on arrival (including a subsequent framework for monitoring);
- Local Health Authorities should ensure specialist provision for children within their racial and ethnic diversity frameworks;
- Provision of special needs funding to children as well as the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant;
- Implementation of a 'zero tolerance' policy against racially motivated bullying;
- Encouragement of children within school to attend extra-curricular social activities to build relationships with other children from a variety of culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds, and finally;
- Ensuring that service providers and frontline staff are supplied with up-to-date training and guidance on all issues including child protection and are provided with support from translation services which are regulated to ensure quality.[xlv]

According to the Department for Education and Skills report *Educating Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children* (2002)[xlvi], refugee children will have received interrupted education in their countries of origin, and as well as experiencing the affects of cultural upheaval, may be adjusting to a decrease in standard of living in their country of settlement. Integration structured around the supporting school environment could have significant positive benefits. It is suggested that Chief Education Officers or Directors of Education should ensure that:

- Information is provided to refugee families about local schools and admissions procedures;
- Support is provided for mid-term admissions;
- Schools have access to interpreting facilities;
- English as an additional language (EAL) frameworks are in place, and;
- Teachers are appropriately trained to meet the needs of refugee children (DfES, 2002: 10-11).

In relation to the last point there is considerable evidence in the education literature that a failure to understand cultural difference can lead to the unwitting projection of failure by teachers onto minority children and groups or to misdiagnoses of conditions

such as dyslexia (Singh and Dooley 2001; Lo Bianco 2001; Luke 1993; Green 1993). This issue also requires attention in relation to teachers' perceptions and understandings of refugee children and their abilities.

Funding through the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (available in Wales) represents a significant source of support for children requiring additional English language tuition. Measures enforcing the development of anti-bullying and anti-racism policies within schools aim to enhance integration, raise awareness and understanding and encourage refugee children to participate in school clubs, sporting activities and other extra curricula activities.[xlvii] Again in Wales, outlined in the *Second Race Equality Scheme for Wales* (WAG, 2005b: 32) the Assembly states it's commitment to:

- Identifying inequality between ethnic groups in terms of achievement through the Pupil Annual School Leave Census (PLASC).
- Issuing guidance to all schools to tackle racist bullying
- Establishing targets and initiatives to increase the number of students from different ethnic groups.
- Increasing the proportion of young people participating in higher education, and
- Reviewing the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant to ensure it is effectiveness;

The Cantle Report (Home Office, 2003b) provided a negative 'expectations thwarted' view of second and third generation refugees, and their parents before them, 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 this report, later widespread civil unrest. There is little evidence that any of this has changed since 2003. But if it is to change, work done with refugee children now, in tandem with wider initiatives outlined in this review, can go a long way toward enriching their lives for the future benefit of all in the community.

The development of safe, secure and stable communities is essential to inclusion and community cohesion and dependent on the execution of local law enforcement strategies. 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.

The principle source of data and analysis on this topic is the 2003 Cantle Report by the Community Cohesion Review Team (CCRT) for the Home Office. Entitled *Community Cohesion* (Home Office, 2003b), the report was charged with an evaluation of the 2001 race riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in order to outline good policy practice which could reduce the likelihood of other such tragedies occurring in the United Kingdom.[xlviii] Whilst the level of physical segregation the research team encountered "came as no surprise", they were deeply concerned about the level of "polarisation" between communities (Home Office, 2003b: 9). The report observed groups living "parallel lives" (Home Office, 2004e) through separate arrangements for education, schooling, language development, places of worship and social interaction (Home Office, 2004e). The report argued that this 'segregation' had been the cause of the race riots and recommended strategies to develop 'social cohesion'. Other research has argued since that this was to ignore the racism and xenophobia which causes such segregation, and the generations of exclusion which the research also reports, to place the responsibility for integration and social cohesion on ethnic minority communities, and to assume that 'social cohesion' would somehow solve these problems (Ahmed 2004).

The Cantle Report (Home Office, 2003b) is however critical of the "plethora of initiatives and programmes" put in place by Local and Central Government to tackle the issue of race relations, which they argue have been without cohesion themselves, exhibiting a:

> …baffling array of outcomes, boundaries, timescales and other conditions [which] seemed to ensure divisiveness and a perception of unfairness in virtually every section of the communities visited.

(Home Office, 2003b: 10)

Their conclusion, supported by other reports, is that inclusion / integration policies must be multilateral and developed through the vertical and horizontal integration of service providers across housing, education, employment, health-care within and between the public and private sectors and, most importantly in the short-term for the development of community safety – *policing*, (ECRE, 1999c; Home Office, 2003b; ICAR, 2004a).

The following table reproduced in the Cantle Report illustrates the 'domains of community cohesion' as understood by Forest and Kearns (2000). It is useful here in showing how 'social order and social control' mechanisms become mebedded in the multilateral definition of social cohesion .[xlix]

DOMAIN	DESCRIPTION
Common values and a civic culture	Common aims and objective Common moral principles and codes of behaviour Support for political institutions and participation in politics
Social order and social control	Absence of general conflict and threats to the existing order Absence of incivility Effective informal social control Tolerance; respect for differences; inter-group co-operation
Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities	Harmonious economic and social development and common standards. Redistribution of public finances and of opportunities Equal access to services and welfare benefits Ready acknowledgement of social obligations and willingness to assist others.
Social Networks and Social Capital	High degree of social interaction with communities and families Civic engagement and associational activity Easy resolution of collective action problems
Place Attachment and Identity	Strong attachment to place Inter-twining of personal and place identity

Table Six: The Domains of Community Cohesion

The Experience of Integration project (Ager and Strang, 2004a), in which refugee community groups were surveyed as part of a qualitative research initiative under-pinning the development of the *Indicators of Integration* framework (Ager and Strang, 2004b) and the more recent Central Government Community Cohesion and Race Equality (CCRE) strategy (Home Office, 2005a) build on this model of achieving community cohesion. In all of them, 'healthy' social relationships are

understood to be realised through proactive effort from Local Strategic Partnerships in targeted neighbourhoods which are characterised by: *feeling safe from persecution* and threat from others in the community (listed as being of paramount importance, Ager and Strang, 2004a: iv); the tolerance of difference and diversity; and a neighbourly welcoming atmosphere. The promotion of citizenship rights and responsibilities and the celebration of citizenship ceremonies also comes to be seen as a key factor in social cohesion (Home Office, 2003b;Home Office, 2003a)

.

Key to the endeavour imagined in these reports is the role of the local and national police forces in combating racially motivated crime. The Association of Chief Police Officers (2000) published two working guides for police officers: *Breaking the Power of Fear and Hate,* a guide to combating hate crime and an *Operational Guide for the Management of Inter-Ethnic Conflict*, a resource for the police in effectively identifying the different needs of community groups and catering for them. The aim is to encourage the victims of hate crime to work with the police in tackling anti-social behaviour and thus to build the capacity of law enforcement to develop means and methods to maintain civil stability and prevent flashpoints such as the 2001 riots.

Initiatives aimed at educating the police on how to liaise with refugee communities and other black and ethnic minority groups are being developed in Wales to contribute to social cohesion and safety based on tolerance and respect for diversity, in policing and supported bi it, is a strong emphasis in the National Assembly for Wales Race Equality Scheme 2005-8. The safety agenda is also carried forward in the work of the Social Justice Committee. Among the factors that are fundamental to building strong communities, as outlined in the *Third Annual Report on Social Inclusion in Wales,* are: the encouragement of active citizenship,[1] and *ensuring communities are safe, secure and crime free* (WAG, 2005c: 13, emphasis added).

7.5. EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND LIFELONG LEARNING

It is currently estimated that in the United Kingdom 70% of refugees and asylum seekers *who are eligible for work* are unemployed (Tomlinson, F. and Egan, S. 2002:

1020). There are also significant numbers that are underemployed in terms of their qualifications and levels of education:

> Unemployment among refugees is estimated to be about six times the national average, despite the fact that refugees have, on average, higher levels of qualifications.
>
> (Home Office, 2005c: 21)

Employment is not only essential for the economic stability of refugees and refugee families, enabling them to rebuild their lives in the United Kingdom, but is also a significant method of enhancing self-esteem and notions of self-worth and represents a site of vital social and cultural interaction between peers (an opportunity to practice language skills and integrate into the work culture of the nation). Workplaces could well constitute a primary site for the formation of cohesive and diverse communities but first they will have to admit diversity.

Those who are unable to secure employment, already detrimentally effected by the period of inactivity during the asylum process, will be at serious risk of social exclusion and severe deprivation, as highlighted by *Full and Equal Citizens* (*F&EC*, Home Office, 2000: 7; Castles *et al*, 2002; EU, 2002). *F&EC* (Home Office, 2000) suggests that the many refugees who enter the UK have a strong professional background and are in possession of relevant qualifications, skills and high levels of motivation. This is substantiated by the Department for Work and Pensions report *Refugees' Opportunities and Barriers in Employment and Training* (Department for Work and Pensions, 2002) which found that approximately 56% of refugees over 18 held previous qualifications upon arrival (23% holding either a degree or other higher education qualification). However:

- Whilst 65% had previously studied English only 17% had an adequate degree of fluency.
- Research indicated that the conditions of refugee employment were poor and "notably worse" (Home Office, March 2005: 48) than those experienced by other ethnic minorities with 11% earning less than minimum wage, and;
- Knowledge of statutory provision in terms of Jobcentre guidance was limited (only 54% of jobseekers were aware of Jobcentre Plus (JCP) services).

F&EC suggests that, wherever possible, it may be most constructive for refugees to be provided with practical support to return to the area of work in which they have previous experience, (Home Office, 2000). In order to facilitate this transition, this report argues that it would be necessary to establish a framework for the formal recognition and reaccredidation of the previous qualifications of refugees.[li]

There is, as in other areas, no shortage of policy and reports making useful recommendations. There are a rather smaller number of instances of good practice which might provide models for an inclusion policy for refugees. The European initiative EQUAL is working with development partnerships in London, Liverpool and Glasgow, aiding refugees with the transition into work by providing a range of projects which: combat ingrained practices of discrimination or inequality; promote language and cultural training; improve employer relations; and offer frameworks for the recognition of refugee skills and qualifications from origin countries (Home Office, 2005c: 45). This cold prove to be highly constructive if implemented across the Welsh NASS dispersal areas of Cardiff, Newport, Swansea and Wrexham.

The most recent Central Government strategy for refugee integration, *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c: 22), outlines a similar list of refugee needs in terms of employment and training which should be taken into account when devising employment strategies:

- Proactive steps taken to combat and confront discrimination and prejudice.
- Development of structured routes for re-training and re-accreditation for those with practical or professional level skills.
- Local availability of English language courses with flexible class-times.
- Provision of a level of practical knowledge about the working culture of the United Kingdom and the provision of guidance for the writing of CVs and training in interview techniques.[lii]
- The provision of easily accessible and user-friendly information which details services and support available through JCP offices and elsewhere.
- The provision of official documentation confirming Refugee Status, and the level of relevant or UK based work experience currently held by the refugee (available through volunteering and other activities). This should be clearly

recognisable by employers, banks and Jobcentre Plus (JCP) offices to avoid delays in accessing services and needs to be accompanied by the allocation of a National Insurance number with the letter of confirmation.

Similar recommendations are made by the Department for Work and Pensions which has developed a refugee employment strategy entitled *Working to Rebuild Lives* (Home Office, 2005a). This aims to support individuals to access their vital first job through:

- Easing the transition to employment by enabling refugees to access Jobcentre Plus services as quickly as possible, which have been revised and updated to meet their needs
- Developing local *stakeholder partnerships* to plan and implement employment services, and
- Building on and supporting the role of the voluntary sector to aid the employment of refugee professionals (Department for Work and Pensions, 2005b: 9).[liii liv lv]

The preliminary report to the *Rebuilding Lives* strategy developed a number of similar recommendations for programmes aiming to support refugees into work (Department for Work and Pensions, 2005a: 15): The Home Office also argues that the employer has a significant role to play in refugee integration, again as part of a *two-way process*, and not simply through compliance with the principles of equal opportunities or a commitment to enhance the diversity of their workforce. There is a practical need to support refugees through childcare facilities or flexible practices which allow for attendance of day release or on-site English language courses (Home Office, 2005c: 36).

The availability and attainment of gainful employment will set the course of future integration progression toward great social inclusion and away from economic deprivation. Employment will enable refugees to participate in Welsh society on a more equal level. Where training centres and resources are scarce or at capacity, it is possible that national e-learning strategies could be tapped. The *Learn-direct* and UK Online initiatives both represent resources proactively and positively utilised by

refugees and asylum seekers made aware of their existence, aiding them to overcome the time, language and location-based restrictions of mainstream classes. Home Office statistics (Home Office, 2005c: 34) indicate that over twenty per cent of those using UK Online centre services are from BME groups, evidence which supports the need to also develop programmes raising awareness about, provision of and access to e-learning and e-support services.

All the evidence suggest that a viable, functional and flexible employment and training strategy, accompanied by bureaucratic reform and efforts to reduce levels of discrimination, may be the single most important element in a Welsh refugee inclusion policy.

7.6. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

> Volunteering provides an intensely practical way to promote social cohesion without resorting to authoritarianism. Through real and holistic responsibility in and for one another people can be connected in new and often unexpected ways to people from different backgrounds or from different parts of society…Volunteering provides a way to contribute to social cohesion without making people self-conscious…
>
> (Morrow, 2001: 3 cited in Home Office, 2003b: 72)

The participation of refugees in the work of the voluntary sector through Refugee Community Organisations, NGOs and other locally-based groups is seen at European level as essential to the "conception, development, organisation and evaluation of integration services and policies" (ECRE, 2005: 5). The role voluntary work can play in enabling refugees to use their own skills, knowledge and autonomy, aiding new arrivals and contributing to their communities is paramount to the development of self-esteem and notions of self-worth. It is suggested that national funding be offered to facilitate capacity building of such organisations (ECRE, 2005: 5).

The Central UK Government understands its relationship with the voluntary sector as being a "partnership of equals" in accordance with the Voluntary Sector Compact, both respecting and appreciating the indispensable aid RCOs and others provide to the integration process (Home Office, 2005c: 35). Core funding (from a £6 million fund) is provided to the following national and regional organisations for the promotion of

refugee welfare through information and advice services, advocacy, support provision and strategic consultation (Home Office, 2005c): The British Refugee Council; Refugee Action; Scottish, Welsh and Midlands Refugee Councils; North of England Refugee Service; Refugees into Jobs.

There is a commitment from the Government enshrined in *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005c: 36) to provide funding over the next few years to aid RCOs to boost capacity. To this end, the Refugee Community Development Fund (RCDF) provides grants of up to £5,000 for RCO development and the Challenge Fund (established in 2001) provides capital (£3 million in 2004) for innovative projects that address needs within refugee communities. The Challenge Fund provides 100% funding for a maximum of twelve months and is open to voluntary and community based organisations. Finally, established by the European Union in 2000, the European Refugee Fund (ERF – providing £6.7 million in 2004) encourages bids from RCOs developing initiatives that will: Provide appropriate reception conditions for refugees; Encourage social and economic integration, and; Enable those refugees who wish to return home, to do so.

The Praxis Network (www.praxis.org.uk) operates the RCOs Development Project (RCODP) which aims to provide a forum for RCO communication across the regions to exchange information and skills and participate in both the reception, settlement and integration of refugee supported by practical toolkits. Finally, the crucial role of the Refugee Council, in response to the Government integration strategy document *Integration Matters*, demonstrates the vital role the voluntary sector plays in regional, local and national integration (Refugee Council, 2004:8-9).

The voluntary sector is a key player in the development of policy to promote refugee inclusion and in the delivery of policy implementation. It remains nonetheless under-funded and funded in unsustainable and divisive ways. The market driven ethos of promoting competition for scarce resources in an area like refugee inclusion and social cohesion is unhelpful to the very agenda it sets out to promote. Such organisations must have long-term assured funding to actually carry through to success any of the admirable policy initiatives and recommendations of government funded research reports which set out so clearly and now so regularly what needs to

be done in this area. There also has to be bridging provided by government from this dependency on the voluntary sector to mainstream provision. This is an issue which the Welsh refugee inclusion policy must address.

8. CONCLUSION

In this review, we have discussed the contested nature of the meanings of the terms associated with inclusion and pointed to the need and opportunity to redefine it in the making of devolved policy. We have looked at the recent history of policy around integration, inclusion and social cohesion in the European Union, in the UK and in Scotland and Wales.

The Scottish Executive and the Welsh Assembly Government have already undertaken a number of constructive initiatives towards integration/inclusion of refugees based around responsibilities to Central Government programmes. This report has shown how future efforts might be structured to ensure a continuation of this positive work in ways that would benefit not just the minority, but the majority population in Wales.

We have reviewed the literature on indicators of integration/inclusion and identified four regularly emphasised cross-cutting themes that must impact on every area of a refugee inclusion policy and indeed on the experience of inclusion itself. They are:

1. Combating the effects of poverty and deprivation that lead to social exclusion, affecting refugees as one of society's most vulnerable groups.
2. Providing initial high quality support in translation, interpretation and cultural mediation services across public and private sector organisations and then comprehensive and free English language training for refugees
3. Educating the receiving community in preparation for the settlement of refugees, providing information about the meaning of refugee status, the needs of refugees, the benefits of settlement, building community cohesion by offering support for the indigenous population in coping with and understanding new arrivals.
4. Combating negative public attitudes and media myths / stereotypes through the provision of accurate, balanced and positive information.

In addition, a number of other less regularly identified factors directly related to the making of policy around these issues have emerged from this review. They involve the urgent need in constructing new policy to:

5. Take a serious look at the official political language and discourse on immigration which feeds the myths and stereotypes in the media and to make conscious efforts to change it and the narrative it promotes as well as providing education and information at all levels for members of the 'host' community.
6. Define for refugee communities what it is that they need to integrate and be included *into*. This requires at least as much focus on so called 'host' communities, not least in terms of identifying who and what they are, as has been devoted in recent years to researching and governing ethnic minority and refugee groups.
7. Define when the refugee experience begins and ends and when integration/inclusion as process and policy direction needs to begin.
8. Deal with racism and zenophobia in 'host' communities and provide secure, safe and welcoming environments which will make people want to be included.
9. Recognise the gendered nature of much current policy and address gender issues in the construction of new policy.
10. Provide for, and take account of, the effects of trauma in the country of origin, the often very negative effects of the asylum experience itself, the effects of prolonged interruption of normal patterns of schooling and employment, and the effects of prolonged exclusion in minority communities within the UK.
11. Ensure consultation with refugee communities and begin to trust them and fund them, to help themselves.

A refugee inclusion policy for Wales which makes a difference will need to be alert to and aware of all these issues as well those that dominate the literature in the field. If it can manage this it will take us rhetorically a long way forward. If it can also provide the structures and frameworks, and the funding, to implement the policy, it will make a remarkable difference which will enact, and make real, in embodied and emotional,

as well as policy and practice terms, the spirit of the Welsh Assembly Government's equal opportunities agenda.

Appendix 1: *Table 2: The Indicators of Integration Framework – Practice and Policy Level Indicator*

THEME	PRACTICE LEVEL INDICATORS	POLICY LEVEL INDICATORS
HOUSING	Comparative figures between refugee and receiving community populations living in owner-occupied secure tenancy (or assured tenancy)	Comparative figures between refugee and receiving community populations living in owner-occupied secure tenancy (or assured tenancy)
	Following the 'Index of Multiple Deprivation' measuring the percentage of refugees living in the most deprived local authority wards	Proportion of refugees living in areas targeted for renewal and support
	Reported satisfaction with housing conditions	Refugee households: capacity and overcrowding compared to general population
	Homeless statistics	
HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE	GP registration take-up	Morbidity and mortality rates compared to general population
	Utilisation rates of specialised services	Immunisation, antenatal care and cervical and breast screening
	Reported satisfaction with service provision	Number of refugee doctors and nurses on national register
	Refugee involvement in Patient Advisory and Liaison Services	Strategies identifiable at health authority/board level for addressing priority health needs amongst refugee populations
	Provision of information in a 'culturally appropriate' form	

COMMUNITY SAFETY, INTERACTION AND COHESION	Proportion of refugees reporting experiences of racial, cultural or religious harassment	Proportion of refugees living in areas with high reported crime rates
	Number of racial incidents involving refugees recorded by *local* police	Number of racial incidents involving refugees recorded by *local* police
	Perception of area compatibility and cohesion	Mean length of residence at current address
	Level of reported fear/insecurity from refugees	
	Reported levels of police trust from refugees	
	Reported incidents of bullying and racist abuse in schools involving refugees	
LANGUAGE	Enrolment in English language courses	Demonstration of English language fluency at ESOL level two within two years of receiving refugee status
	Proportion of refugees requiring the provision of interpreting services to aid interaction with public services	Belief that ethnic difference is accepted and welcomed in areas of settlement
	Knowledge of local services and facilities amongst refugees	Availability and up-take of public sector translation services
	Refugees reporting access to English language media	
	Knowledge of refugee customs, cultures, diversity and history within non-refugee population	
EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING & LIFELONG LEARNING	The provision of access to and uptake of services from Jobcentre Plus, vocational training initiatives, local enterprise initiatives and professional accreditation programmes by refugees	Comparative analysis of employment rates between members of the wider receiving community and the refugee population

	Local statistics for refugee employment	Average annual income for refugees and refugee households on a comparative basis
	Mean timescale between the formal offer of refugee status and securing employment	Rates of under-employment
	Under-employment: rates of skilled refugees holding low-level positions	Rates of self-employment within refugee communities
	Qualitative evaluation of refugee satisfaction	
EDUCATION	Statistics of achievement for children of refugee families advancing between academic milestones (key stage progression, GCSE, A-Level, university admission etc)	Statistics of achievement for children of refugee families advancing between academic milestones (key stage progression, GCSE, A-Level, university admission etc)
	Number of refugees completing vocational qualifications	Number of refugees completing vocational qualifications
	Number of refugee children enrolled in pre-school initiatives	
	Number of refugee children participating in school-administered extra-curricular activities comparative to the general population	
	Level of satisfaction with the school experience from refugee children	
	Extent to which school rolls reflect ethnic distribution	

Appendix 2: *Table 4: Best Practice Guidelines Developed from the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum Policy* (SRIF, 2003

KEY THEMES	BEST PRACTICE DEVELOPMENT AND GUIDANCE
Translation and Interpretation	1. Ensure full access to translation services for the public sector 2. Evaluate, identify and rectify gaps in service provision 3. Establish a national accreditation framework for the translation industry 4. Maintain a database of emergency and stand-by interpreters
Information and Advice	It is recommended that an organisational body be established to: 1. Provide training on legal and support issues to advisory services 2. Enhance integration industry networking 3. Facilitate the dissemination of information on current legislation and the sharing of best practice 4. Support the development of funded local initiatives to support the needs of refugee communities 5. Support resources that enable refugees and asylum seekers to become more independent when access services via enhanced levels of confidence and social/cultural literacy Additionally, it is strongly suggested that Government agencies put in place routine audits of their services to maintain quality and appropriateness of provision.
Community Preparation	1. Information should be provided to communities in advance of dispersal by NASS and the Home Office, enabling planning and reception 2. Local Strategic Partnerships should be encouraged to develop a range of inclusive activities to aid 'mixing'
Positive Images, Community Development and the Media	1. National and local politicians must play a key role in the promotion of refugee integration, mobilising the public political agenda away from immigration control toward positive social cohesion 2. A 'Dialogue Framework' should be implemented which provides refugees and asylum seekers with opportunities to play an active role in decision-making processes, capacity building in local RCOs, informing refugees of their rights and allocate appropriate resources for development 3. Work in conjunction with the Office of National Statistics and other organisations to maintain geographic and demographic information vital to service planning and regulation 4. Community Planning Partnerships, Learning Plans and Budgeting in areas of resettlement should make refugee matters an integral part of race equality schemes, taking action towards promoting integration, strengthening local networks and promoting cross-cultural activities and mutual celebrations of difference and diversity

Housing	All citizens must be provided with access to independent support, advice and advocacy enabling them to access local adequate housing. All local authorities and housing associations have a duty to ensure their polices take refugee needs into account. 1. New 'Codes of Guidance' should be developed referring specifically to refugees as a 'vulnerable group' 2. All Homelessness and Housing Strategies must include refugee provisions 3. Refugees should be given more than one offer of housing that is reasonable and appropriate 4. Temporary housing should not be used for permanent re-housing unless the refugee has expressed a preference for this 5. Provision of information explaining the welfare and housing systems of Wales should be provided upon acceptance of refugee status
Justice, Community Safety and Access to Justice	The needs of refugees and asylum seekers in relation to community safety, security and justice must be recognised by all institutions engaged with the civil and criminal justice system. It is recommended that a community advocacy project be developed training refugees within communities to educate and assist others when accessing services and obtaining information about their legal rights and responsibilities. All local authorities must develop comprehensive and transparent systems for dealing with racially motivated crime.
Children's Services	Asylum seeker and refugee children are perhaps one of the most vulnerable groups in society and their needs must be considered and provided for in all Children's Service Plans, with refugees consulted during the process of policy development. Service agencies should evaluate the standards of information provided to refugee parents and the wider community to ensure both its appropriateness and usefulness. Additionally, local authorities should improve mechanisms for disseminating research and best practice guidelines which support school boards, staff, children and parents. Community-based youth groups should be both developed and encouraged.
Health and Social Care	1. There is an urgent need to clarify the mechanisms for resource allocation and cultural mediation in dealing with refugee health issues 2. With the implementation of the Fair for All and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, there is a need to undertake substantial work to raise awareness of asylum seekers and refugee health issues across the medical and social service professions. 3. Guidance should be published on effective methods of networking and the sharing of information and support frameworks 4. Health Boards must take refugee health matters into account in service planning.

Enterprise, Lifelong Learning, Employment and Training	1. There is a need to implement a national strategy for an *English for Speakers of Other Languages* (ESOL) framework, with adequate resources allocated enabling refugees to overcome this most significant barrier to accessing employment and training.

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Endnotes

[i] The Welsh Assembly Plan for Wales (WAG: 2001) placed the concept of social inclusion at the centre of its guiding principles for 'Attacking Poverty' (WAG, 2001: 3).
[ii] It was the decision of the Welsh Assembly Government early on in the development of the Social Inclusion Policy for Wales, developed by the All Wales Refugee Policy Forum that 'inclusion' be used instead of 'integration' (deployed by the Central Government strategy *Integration Matters*) in a progressive attempt to move away from the possible connotations of 'integration' to mean 'assimilation'.
[iii] The Central Government Department for Work and Pensions *National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003* (DWP, 2001: Annex B, p.3) established the following as challenges faced by Wales in the pursuit of full social inclusion: high rate of children living in poverty; low levels of educational achievement; poor quality housing; low life expectancy; low rates of pay; high rates of households with nobody in employment; high proportion on income benefits, and; high mortality rates.
[iv] Based on the definition of community cohesion provided by the Social Cohesion Network, Government of Canada (1996) cited in Cantle, 2003: 69.
[v] Based upon the concept of community cohesion advanced by Ferlander and Timms (1997: 7) cited by Cantle *et al* 2003: 70.
[vi] The final two principles are based upon the concept of 'domains of community cohesion' advanced by Forest and Kearns, cited by Cantle *et al* 2003: 13.
[vii] It is suggested that "policies to combat discrimination and racism should be more strongly linked to the integration strategies of governments" (ECRE: 2005h: 20).
[viii] It is essential that members of the receiving communities respect the right of the individual to retain a strong sense of self influenced by their past culturally and social experiences, with respect for the fact that individuals can inhabit 'multiple' or 'transnational' identities and should not be expected to 'assimilate' (ECRE, 2005: 8).
[ix] The ECRE recommends that the "phase of reception be recognised as an integral part of the integration process for refugees" (ECRE, 2002: 4).
[x] It is recommended that all refugees granted leave to stay in any European nation be provided with a minimum numbers of hours in free language tuition (ECRE, 2002: 5).
[xi] In Wales, it is a stated goal of the Assembly Government to assist the groups listed in the above quotation in the project of achieving integration (WAG, 2005). It is suggested that regional Assemblies should develop "time-limited refugee-specific" programmes with clear paths of progression acting as bridges between initial support and mainstream provision informed by equal opportunities policy (ECRE: 2005h: 37). Such projects should be developed with cooperation, "input, knowledge and expertise" of refugee communities themselves (ECRE: 2005h: 37).
[xii] Moloutas, T. and Malouta, M. (2004: 450) understand social cohesion to be a metaphor for the creation of strong social bonds, conveying "an inherently positive meaning" often stressed in relation to the "negative impact of its absence". It is seen as the direct opposite to "social exclusion", and thus a mobilising goal of the integration project.
[xiii] This would include reforms to teacher training initiatives.
[xiv] *Full and Equal Citizens* was the forerunner of IM, which subsequently developed as a response to the race riots arising in the North of England triggered by social deprivation, racial segregation and ethnic prejudice.
[xv] This means and markers matrix forms the backbone of literature review assessing best practice which takes into account advancement in other key areas such as community development and social justice.
[xvi] The importance of adequate provision of housing and healthcare in additional to access to education and employment was fore-grounded by refugees in the qualitative focus groups undertaken in Ager and Strang, 2004.
[xvii] According to Stuart Hall: "Maintaining racialised, ethno-cultural and religious identities is clearly important to self-understanding in these communities. 'Blackness' is as critical to third-generation Afro-Caribbean's identity as the Hindu or Muslim faiths are to some second-generation Asians. But these are certainly not communities immured in an unchanging Tradition" (Hall, in Hesse 2000: 220).
[xviii] The *F&EC* strategy provides additional guidance in the areas of accommodation, housing, employment, education and community development.
[xix] The Home Office understands that there is potential for "preparatory work" to be undertaken for asylum seekers preparing for integration in accommodation centres, such as language tuition and cultural mediation (HO, March 2005: 62).
[xx] Policy initiatives are spearheaded by the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) with support from relevant Government departments in primary areas of service provision such

as housing, health, welfare, education and employment. The eleven established Consortia for Asylum Seeker and Refugee Support, which operate under their own independently developed integration strategies, provide network links between C. Gov., Local Government and the voluntary sector. It is the responsibility of the National Refugee Integration Forum (through nine sub groups) to provide a forum for Government representatives to practically asses integration process and aid to future strategic planning and provision. At the highest level, policies are co-ordinated by the Cabinet Committee on Migration, chaired by the Home Secretary.

[xxi] A report will be published in the Spring of 2006 detailing progress made in advancing the recommendations of the policy.

[xxii] Lisa Schuster and John Solomos advise that that politicians take responsibility for the "tone of the discourse" on asylum and refugee issues, which can, if not kept in check, feed the "problems of racism, xenophobia, racism and discrimination" encountered by these groups, reinforced by negative media coverage mimicking official comment on the issue (Schuster, L. and Solomos, J. 2004: 283).

[xxiii] At present, voluntary sector organisations can apply for funding from: the Refugee Community Development Fund, the Challenge Fund, and the European Refugee Fund. A total of £11 million was distributed to voluntary organisations in the period 2004/5 and the Government has stated intentions to evaluate funded projects to ensure that they offer cost-effective solutions to integration matters (Home Office, March 2005: 7).

[xxiv] After a five year period, if the situation in the refugee's country of origin has not settled and they are still unable to return, they will be granted Indefinite Leave to Remain in the United Kingdom. After a further year, they will be eligible to apply for British citizenship. It is the opinion of the European Council on Refugees and Exiles that citizenship be granted as soon as reasonably possible to aid the refugee sense of 'belonging' to the community and enhancing the sincerity of the integration project (ECRE, 2002)

[xxv] As of 2005, the Government has announced it's five year strategy *Controlling Our Borders*, which expects all applicants for settlement to pass tests in language and knowledge of life in the United Kingdom. It is hoped that tuition provided and information accrued to pass these tests will acts as a "powerful driver for integration, helping newcomers' knowledge of English and ability to prosper in their new permanent home country." (HO, March 2005: 69).

[xxvi] Steps taken to facilitate refugee access to services include measures to improve the quality and availability of supportive advisory services and information materials for refugees available subsequent to confirmation of their status. It is the Government's aim that such positive steps are continually revised and built upon through commitment to on-going independent research carried out by the Home Office, the academy and the voluntary sector, taking positive steps to further advance policy and practical provision (*ibid*: 7).

[xxvii] Yuval-Davis *et al* suggest, with reference to the Cantle Report on Community Cohesion, that racial segregation in housing, employment and education deteriorates the project of social cohesion and breeds insecurity, suspicion, racism and xenophobia (Yuval-Davis *et al*, 2005: 524).

[xxviii] ECRE and EU literature stress that in order to ensure the development of services based on consistent good-practice, it is essential that service providers are aware of the specific local cultural, social and economic factors which will influence their activities and maintain communication with a central coordinating body, which can disseminate examples of both positive and negative procedures across regional areas. This is tied with the dissemination of best-practice and the maintenance of strong links between all integration concerns.

[xxix] SUNRISE caseworkers may work under the umbrella of Jobcentre Plus, however the Government is also open to bids from other organisations to carry out work with refugees during the intensive 28 day period subsequent to official acceptance.

[xxx] RILs are subsidised through the "abolition of payments of back-dated benefits to those granted refugee" status (Home Office, March 2005: 8), approved through the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2004. RIL will be repaid through channels provided by the Department for Work and Pensions. RILs are only available to those granted Refugee Status, not Humanitarian Protection or Discretionary Leave thus removing a source of financial aid from those groups who will still be able to claim mainstream benefits.

[xxxi] The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) administers the Supporting People programme which provides support for people encountering disadvantage and deprivation who need assistance securing accommodation.

[xxxii] Can be accessed at: http://www.wales.gov.uk/themesbettercountry/index.htm

[xxxiii] http://www.wales.gov.uk/subihealth/content/wellbeing/wellbeinginwales-e.htm

[xxxiv] The Assembly has established an Equal Opportunities Committee which will ensure effective arrangements are in place to promote the principle of equality in the "conduct of its business and the exercise of its functions (section 48 and 120 of the Government of Wales Act 1998)" (WAG, 2005b: 7).
[xxxv] Research will be commissioned to evaluate how the WAG can communities more effective concerning race and equality opportunities programmes with refugees and asylum seekers (WAG, 2005b: 21).
[xxxvi] However, one area in need of urgent address according to Vaughan Robinson, is the lack of official data on refugees in Wales which impacts upon the voluntary sector when trying to access service provision for unknown numbers with varied 'social-demographic characteristics' (Robinson, V. 1999: 1).
[xxxvii] The Government has committed to improve the conditions in areas of high deprivation and poor housing quality through the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (Home Office, Jan 2005).
[xxxviii] The need for housing is not purely physical, as observed by Roger Zetter and Martyn Pearl (2000) who identity it as vital to re-establishing social structures (like family) and creating linkages to the wider community, minimising dependency on welfare support.
[xxxix] Wales is host to one of the 10 NASS funded regional consortia. The Welsh Local Authorities Consortium for Refugees and Asylum Seekers (WLACRAS) did not enter into an accommodation contract with NASS so has broadly developed in line with the National Local Authorities Consortia Co-ordinating Group for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (NLACCG).
[xl] The report cites evidence to suggest that up to one in six refugees have a serious health issue in need of treatment and two thirds of refugees have experienced anxiety and depression.
[xli] Refugees may have been used to attending hospital for all health needs and will be unfamiliar with the General Practitioner system.
[xlii] With the aim of aiding refugees with vocational skills and experience in health care to access employment, the Department of Health has allocated £1.2 million to over 40 projects (throughout England) to which offer language tuition, clinical skills courses (to prepare doctors for the clinical competence exam), work shadowing, clinical attachment and mentoring programmes (Home Office, March 2005: 46). Additionally, in strategic partnership with the British Refugee Council, the British Media Association holds a Refugee Doctors Database which lists over 1,000 names. Other databases have been generated for the dental and nursing industries.
[xliii] The report states that there is currently a lack of sufficient data available on the number of asylum seeking and refugee children in Wales currently in need of assistance. It is suggested that this complicates the work undertaken by *Save the Children* and other such organisations, and is therefore in need of rectification with Government assistance.
[xliv] NB – the columns of the table are not horizontally linked, as areas of concern have yet to be address by service provision in Wales, and thus are independent of each other.
[xlv] It should be noted that unaccompanied refugee children will require more sustained and structured support than those existing within family networks, and should therefore be attributed special attention.
[xlvi] This report was revised for the 2004 Department for Education and Skills publication: *Aiming High: Guidance on Supporting the Education of Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children* (DfES, 2004).
[xlvii] The Department for Education and Skills document *Aiming High: Guidance on Supporting the Education of Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children* offers comprehensive advice on the creation of a welcoming and productive school environment (DfES 2004).
[xlviii] Ted Cantle is the chair of the CCRT and is an Associate Director of the Improvement and Development Agency (IdeA) for Local Government.
[xlix] The Cantle Report also provides a comprehensive list of 62 recommendations for building community cohesion, see Home Office, 2003b: 46-52.
[l] The importance of attaining citizenship is a concept highlighted throughout the literature assessed. According to David Morley, citing Phil Cole, the real challenge of citizenship is not membership, which is a legal question, but an understanding of exactly what citizenship entails, its rights and responsibilities and therefore, the expectations inherent to it (Morely, 2000: 209).
[li] In the document *Working to Rebuild Lives* (DfWP, 2005a), the Department for Work and Pensions outlines it Refugee Employment Strategy to work in collaboration with the voluntary sector and other public / private partnerships to increase levels of refugee employment. In addition, the Refugee Operational Framework currently being implemented within Jobcentre Plus is providing frontline staff with comprehensive training on methods and resources available to meet the needs of refugee clients. In SUNRISE pilot areas, caseworker duties are undertaken by JCP operatives.

[lii] In *From Marginalisation to (dis)Empowermnet,* Francis Tomlinson and Sue Egan suggest that "preparing portfolios and CVs can be understood as opportunities for refugees to rebuild identities through self-narrative – a recasting of their previous experience in a new context" (Tomlinson, F. and Egan, S. 2002: 1034).

[liii] The National Refugee Integration Forum employment subgroup will be monitoring the execution of this strategy.

[liv] The voluntary sector can play a facilitating role providing refugees with advice on access benefits and obtaining work experience and employment through initiatives such as the One Stop Services (run in Wales by the Welsh Refugee Council) (HO, 1999: 9). Advice and guidance is also needed for employers, who may be wary of hiring refugees because they are unaware of their legal obligations and possible civic responsibilities (Tomlinson, S. and Egan, F. 2002).

[lv] The Home Office report comments (p. 13) that Jobcentre Plus staff do not have the expertise to advise refugee professionals and will therefore need to develop strong relationships with the voluntary sector in order to facilitate this. RETAS, the Refugee Education and Training Advisory Service is a charitable organisation set up to empower English-speaking refugees to access training and employment and may assist with this matter.