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Submission made by Dr Paulina Trevena and Prof Rebecca Kay on behalf of the Social Support and Migration in Scotland Project (University of Glasgow/Swansea University).
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Submission to the SP's Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Relations Committee Immigration Inquiry

This submission is based on the findings of research undertaken by the Social Support and Migration in Scotland project team (SSAMIS, http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/research/ssamis/):Prof. Rebecca Kay, Dr. Paulina Trevena, and Dr. Moya Flynn from the University of Glasgow, and Dr. Sergei Shubin, Dr. Holly Porteous, and Ms. Claire Needler from Swansea University. Our 5-year ESRC-funded study (2013-2018) focuses on experiences of migration and settlement among migrants from Central and Eastern Europe living in both urban (Glasgow and Aberdeen) and rural (Angus and Aberdeenshire) areas of Scotland, and covers a broad variety of topics relevant to their everyday lives, including issues of integration. In the course of the research we have spoken to over 200 migrants and 60 experts, and conducted observations at workplaces, sites of service provision and places where people meet socially. The majority of our study participants had low levels of fluency in English and were working in low-skilled sectors regardless of their level of qualifications, as is generally the case for migrants from this region in Scotland.[1] As part of our project, we have also carried out community initiatives aimed at facilitating local-level integration of migrants. Based on our research results and our community-based work, we would like to share some recommendations applicable to this call.

Also, one of the researchers on the SSAMIS project, Dr Paulina Trevena, will be carrying out a project with the Scottish Parliament exploring the rationale behind and opportunities for introducing a Scotland-wide integration strategy aimed at facilitating social integration of migrants arriving/living in the country. This project will run between September 2017 and July 2018 and Dr Trevena will be happy to share its results with the Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Relations Committee.

In view of Scotland's distinctive demographic and social (as well as economic) needs for migration, a regional migration policy would be the most beneficial option for Scotland. Nevertheless, considering this may not be an option (immediately) available to the country, our submission focuses on steps that can be taken by the Scottish Government under the current circumstances, and which would also need to accompany any implementation of a regional migration system aiming at successful migrant retention and integration. Issues of retention and integration are particularly salient given the potential repercussions of Brexit not only for new arrivals but also for the significant population of EEA nationals currently resident in Scotland. Therefore, we would like to respond to the first two proposals put forward by Dr Hepburn in her report, namely:

1. Developing Scottish Migrant Reception and Integration policies
2. International Outreach Activities in Immigration.

<u>**Ad.1. Developing Scottish Migrant Reception and Integration Policies**</u>

Considering the demographic and economic situation of Scotland and the essential need to retain migrants in the country, we strongly agree with the need for introducing a migrant reception and integration strategy across Scotland. As Dr Hepburn's report demonstrates, strategies supporting integration are of key importance to migrant retention, especially in 'less attractive' peripheral localities, where conversely demographic and economic need for migration is often highest.[2] Introducing such a strategy would also be possible in Scotland, even under the current legal framework (the Equality Act of 2010). One key aspect of any planned integration strategy for Scotland we would like to draw attention to is ***the essential need for supporting social integration and community building***. While we welcome the recently introduced Scottish Government integration strategy for refugees, our research on migrants from Central and Eastern Europe also highlights the need for social integration of this group at neighbourhood/local level in both large cities and small towns. Although migrants from this region are often well integrated in the labour market (i.e. in employment), they typically work in highly segregated workplaces (with a predominantly Eastern European/Polish workforce) where they have little scope for learning English or meeting people from the local community. A number of our interviewees mentioned the desire to make more Scottish/British friends but also enumerated the barriers to doing so, the major ones being the language barrier and lack of opportunities for meeting local people in a communal space. This was felt especially strongly in our rural research locations (Angus and Aberdeenshire) where many of our participants reported social isolation. Meanwhile, ***having strong links with others in the community is crucial to developing a sense of well-being and feelings of belonging in a new country***[3] which in turn impact positively on plans for long-term settlement.[4] Thus, providing family-friendly and safe public spaces where migrants could establish meaningful links with other people from the community as part of a local integration strategy would greatly improve the process of integration and foster good community relations. As follows from both our research and community work, ***a social integration strategy including all categories of migrants (asylum seekers and refugees, economic migrants, students, those arriving as family members) and engaging directly with members of the long-settled community which would be implemented at a local level would be highly beneficial for Scotland***. On the one hand it would ensure better integration at local community level for migrants across the board, on the other it would facilitate fostering mutual understanding and good community relations between different populations.

Since social integration happens primarily at the local level,[5] the responsibility for supporting it should lie above all with local authorities, especially as the local context differs greatly between councils (and wards within councils) in terms of levels of migration, resident populations, their needs and locally available resources. Nevertheless, these local policies (strategies) should be designed in line with a common vision of integration and linked to national level mechanisms which would support sharing of good practice and systems for addressing local issues, e.g. under the co-ordination of an Inter-departmental Committee, with close links to COSLA and local government through a Scottish Migrant Integration Forum as suggested in Dr Hepburn's report (p. 90).

Considering the majority of migrants in Scotland either are (and many of those who are not aim to be[6] in employment,[7] ***employers could play an essential role in facilitating both migrant reception and integration***. Work is an important part of migrants' lives and their relations with employers (and co-workers) and employment/work conditions largely shape their experiences of living in Scotland. We would like to point to **three potential aspects of an integration strategy in which employers could play a crucial role:**

- **migrant reception (in the case of migrants entering employment upon arrival);**
- **facilitating language learning in the workplace and/or access to further/higher education;**
- **ensuring fair and equal work conditions and treatment in the workplace for all.**

For EU migrants, especially those arriving through recruitment agencies, employers have often been the first point of contact in Scotland. A number of our interviewees mentioned how important the support they received from their employer was in the initial stages of migration. For example, some employers would help their staff in finding accommodation or arranging formalities, such as NINo registrations, opening a bank account or finding a school for their children. Therefore, employers are well placed to play a key role in the reception of those migrants who enter the labour market soon after arrival. However, one's workplace is much more than just a place of work; it is also a site of socialisation where migrant workers can meet other people, learn about formal structures, culture and customs, or improve their language skills. However, as mentioned earlier, many migrants in Scotland are clustered in industries which are operated by an overwhelmingly migrant workforce, mainly from Eastern Europe. In such work environments opportunities for acquiring English are typically limited and some migrants (re-)learn other languages instead, typically Polish or Russian, depending on the dominant language in the workplace.[8] At the same time, learning English outside the workplace is often challenging due to work hours, insufficient provision, or childcare and transport issues. Therefore, we suggest *businesses employing substantial numbers of migrant workers with low levels of English should support their language learning*. This could be done e.g. by co-operating with local language providers (such as the Workers Educational Association, WEA) who are able to provide language courses at a low cost. Nevertheless, we recognise businesses come across a number of practical and financial barriers to supporting language provision in the workplace. Therefore, *if language learning in the workplace was to become part of a national integration strategy, businesses would need to be supported e.g. in providing adequate premises for learning or receiving incentives to give staff time off during work hours to attend lessons* (our interviews with ESOL experts point to the fact that language learning either before or after shifts is highly challenging for the students and therefore inefficient).

Furthermore, employers can play a crucial role in facilitating (or conversely, blocking) access to further or higher education for employees, e.g. by providing opportunities for flexible working (including moving from full time to part time employment, or moving from day shifts to night shifts). As mentioned earlier, a significant number of migrants in Scotland work below their level of qualifications, insufficient language skills and issues around finances and combining employment with learning being major barriers to occupational mobility.[9] At the same time, many migrants have qualifications in professions that are in high demand in Scotland and these are not being used. Therefore, we suggest the Scottish Government could work with employers in finding ways to support the migrant workforce in accessing education and ultimately moving into employment more commensurate with their skills set and qualifications level.

Finally, employers play a crucial role in ensuring fair working conditions (or not). In our research, we have often come across the 'they take our jobs' rhetoric among the local populations. However, what we found is that migrants often take jobs which native workers shy away from because of difficult working conditions and/or low levels of pay. This is an issue that should be addressed to guarantee fair working conditions for all rather than lead to certain industries being dominated by those who are willing to accept bad working conditions (typically migrants). Moreover, our study found breach of employment law among employers in Scotland is not uncommon (e.g. not giving workers employment contracts, not paying out full wages, not paying sick leave or holiday leave), especially with regards to seasonal workers. Therefore, taking the example of Australia and the Basque Country[10] and *implementing fair and equal treatment of all workers in*

practice, ensuring neither migrant nor native workers are discriminated against should be an essential policy goal for the Scottish Government. Currently, much EU legislation sets minimum standards regarding employment rights, wage levels etc. As these powers are repatriated under Brexit it is crucial that the Scottish Government retain control of these in currently devolved areas and ensure that there is not only no lowering of current standards, but where possible these are improved upon. A scheme similar to the Living Wage where employers are given information about and encouraged/supported to meet a set of standards and provisions to support migrant workers might be introduced by the Scottish government, whether or not it were to be made a statutory requirement.

Finally, we would like to make the point that *implementing an integration strategy in Scotland should be accompanied by a social campaign on the need for and benefits of migration*. The SSAMIS team strongly agrees with Dr Hepburn's proposal of a 'One Scotland, Many cultures Campaign'. Our research shows that people coming to live in the UK often come across negative portrayals of who they are; these are supported by the overwhelmingly negative discourse on immigration dominant in the mainstream British media. 'They come here and they go on benefits, they steal our jobs, they get our housing' is the dominant rhetoric and it is sometimes reflected in the attitudes of individuals and communities towards migrants, especially in localities which have historically had little experience of migration. Meanwhile, the experiences and perspectives of migrants themselves, as well as the benefits they bring to Scotland, often remain little understood. Therefore, we strongly support the idea of *a Scotland-wide campaign aimed at educating residents as to the need for and benefits of migration for Scotland on the one hand, and busting myths around immigration on the other*. However, local-level initiatives and events which people can relate directly to their lives and surroundings are likely to be more successful than bombarding audiences with a barrage of (potentially conflicting) 'facts'. Thus, *such a campaign should run alongside and be supported by a nation-wide integration policy, implemented primarily through local-level integration initiatives*. Significantly, *a dedicated stream of funding should be allocated to such initiatives ensuring their sustainability*, as is in the case of Quebec or the Basque Country.[11] At present it is most often third sector organisations who are running local integration initiatives and these are frequently funded from EU funds (e.g. the European Social Fund), which Scotland will no longer be eligible for once the UK completes the process of leaving the EU. Therefore, the Scottish Government will need to consider how this stream of funding is going to be replaced post-Brexit.

One example of locally-led initiatives supporting community building and a positive campaign around migration at local level were the SSAMIS 'Make It Happen' cafes ran in Peterhead (Aberdeenshire) and Arbroath (Angus). In co-operation with local partners, SSAMIS ran pop-up cafes open to all (but targeted especially at migrants) during which people participated in a range of activities together, such as arts and crafts, music and dance workshops, or discussion groups. These initiatives provided a space for people to come together and establish links. Following a trial run of 'Make It Happen' in both locations these initiatives developed organically in line with local needs and forged partnerships: in Peterhead this led to establishing a language café (supporting speakers of other languages in learning English), while in Arbroath it developed into a series of cultural pop-up cafes ran by volunteers and providing a setting for gaining employability experience for them, and at the same time a social space for various communal activities. In both cases the initiatives have contributed to changing people's lives.[12] Therefore, such *small-scale initiatives could be* shared as models of best practice and *built on to cover a broader variety of needs, both of the long-established and migrant populations*. We would like to underline that there are many cross-overs between migrants' and natives' needs locally and while we believe some targeted support needs to be allocated to migrant populations specifically (e.g. for English language learning), other support (e.g. access to community

spaces, advice on housing, accessing education, provision of free developmental activities for children) is needed across the board in local communities. We believe that *integration initiatives can and must be led in such a way that they are inclusive to everyone and help grow both the newcomers and longer established populations.*

Ad. 2. International outreach activities in immigration

We support the idea of outreach activities as a way of attracting migrants to Scotland.

SSAMIS research (as well as other literature[13]) points to the importance of recruitment agencies in shaping certain migration channels to Scotland. For example, following the 2004 EU Enlargement, a number of recruitment agencies were set up in various Eastern European countries and brought people over to work in various parts of the UK. These agencies were operating in given locations and often spurred migration between that locality/the surrounding region to a certain locality/region in Scotland. Our and other research points out that workers recruited from abroad for temporary jobs have often extended their stay and eventually become long-term residents.[14] Moreover, (under free movement law) they may 'bring over' their family members and friends to work, which was quite common among our interviewees. This in turn resulted in further migration and the development of a migrant community with strong attachments to and a higher likelihood of remaining long-term in a particular locality. *This points to the effectiveness of outreach activities* (in this case direct recruitment) *set up in given regions where there is migration potential (and the scope for legal entry into the country of migration).*

Significantly, many people arriving in the UK through recruitment agencies (as well as other migration channels) often had little awareness of where they were going to and did not make a conscious choice of their location – this was usually dictated by work opportunities arising at a given point in time, and this is how many EU migrants arrived in various parts of Scotland, including areas with very limited previous history of inward migration.[15] Typically, these workers were only planning to stay in Scotland short-term, earn money and return to their home countries. Nevertheless, their appreciation of (their locality/Scotland and) the opportunities offered by living in Scotland had often led them to change plans, bring their families over and stay long-term. Moreover, Dr Trevena's earlier research on Polish migrants living in England and Scotland demonstrated that there was much more support for newcomers in Scotland than in England but most migrants living in England were totally unaware of the differences between the countries.[16] In some cases where migrants living in England had networks in Scotland or where migrants had experienced living both North and South of the border, certain Scotland-specific factors, such as greater availability of given welfare provisions (e.g. social housing), the natural beauty of Scottish landscapes, or the friendliness encountered in Scotland encouraged migrants to move from England to Scotland. Therefore, if Scotland wishes to attract migrants, *an advertising campaign for potential migrants on working and living in Scotland might be beneficial, especially if supported by a reception and integration strategy as Scotland's 'unique selling point' within the UK.* Such a campaign might encourage both migrants living in other parts of the UK as well as people wishing to migrate to the UK from abroad to move to Scotland. Importantly, in view of migrant retention, an advertising campaign for Scotland should be based on an understanding of the diverse (demographic/social/economic) migration needs of the country as a whole but also of particular regions/places within it. On this note, so far recruitment to Scotland has been driven primarily by short-term sectoral employment needs (as currently pursued through the MAC and the UK PBS). Meanwhile, the longer-term needs of Scotland for growing its population, especially in certain regions, need to be considered. In the longer term, as part of Scotland's migration strategy a separate (or adapted) PBS for Scotland could be

introduced, where points might be awarded on the basis of a fit to local demographic needs (age, language skills, ties to the region) rather than purely on employment fit.

Other suggestions and recommendations

With regards to migrant retention in (given localities within) Scotland, SSAMIS and other research demonstrates that employment and housing opportunities along with having school age children largely determine migrants' plans for staying in a given place. [17] If there is (satisfactory) employment and housing in the area and children are at school, the likelihood of the family uprooting again is low. Other aspects of living in a certain place, such as friendliness and community safety also feature in our findings as important factors in making the decision to stay. Nevertheless, a crucial issue, especially in view of Brexit, is feeling secure in legal terms. Following the Brexit vote, many EU migrants living in Scotland have completely lost their sense of security and faith in being able to live in Scotland long term.[18] While we understand the decision on the (conditions of) rights to stay of EU migrants in the UK is dependent on the Westminster Government, many other rights are within the control of the Scottish Government under their devolved powers, the right to social housing, to the NHS, and to further and higher education, to name a few. Therefore, we believe that *if the Scottish Government wants to retain EEA migrants who are already living in Scotland (and to potentially attract those currently living in other parts of the UK), ensuring rights to welfare, healthcare, and education should be an essential part of its integration strategy, along creating a positive social climate around migration.*

A final aspect to consider are migrants' political rights. The Scottish Government gave the right to vote to all longer-term residents of Scotland in the 2014 Independence Referendum. Our research shows that while not everyone who was entitled to do so had used this right (for a variety of reasons), the gesture of being granted this right was highly appreciated: migrants felt equally included in the Scottish society. Many people who live and work in Scotland believe that since they are contributing to the country's economy and society, they should have full political rights. Our research shows that *having political rights facilitates building a sense of being part of the society and belonging to the country*. In view of this, we would recommend that following the examples of Catalonia and the Basque country cited in Dr Hepburn's report[19] *the Scottish Government considers options for introducing the idea of a (regional) Scottish citizenship based on the 'jus domicili' model, i.e. open to anyone who is a (longer-term) resident of Scotland.*

[1] Hepburn, E. (2017). 'Options for differentiating the UK's Immigration system'. Report prepared for the Scottish Parliament Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Relations Committee, April 2017, p. 14; SPICE Briefing 16/86 (2016). 'EU nationals living in Scotland';

[2] Hepburn, op cit, p.41.

[3] Ager, A. & Strang, A. (2008) Understanding Integration: A conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* No. 21, vol. 2.

[4] SSAMIS Second Interim Report (November 2016). 'Living and Working in Scotland: Employment, Housing, Family and Community' [Available online: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_500297_en.pdf];

[5] Practice to Policy. Lessons from Local Leadership on Immigrant Integration ~(2012). They Maytree Foundation, Toronto, p. 9. [Available online: http://citiesofmigration.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Practice-to-Policy.pdf]

[6] SSAMIS Second Interim Report, op cit.

[7] Hepburn, op cit., p. 13.

[8] SSAMIS Interim Report (January 2016) [Available online: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_481930_en.pdf]; Flynn, M. and Kay, R. (2017). 'Migrants' Experiences of Material and Emotional Security in Rural Scotland: Implications for Longer-Term Settlement', *Journal of Rural Studies,* Volume 52, pp. 56–65.

[9] SSAMIS Second Interim Report, op cit.

[10] Hepburn, E., op cit, p. 24 and p. 54.

[11] Ibid, p. 36 and p. 53.

[12] For more information on the SSAMIS Make It Happen cafes and their spin-offs, please see: http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/research/ssamis/initiatives/; http://www.europenowjournal.org/2017/01/31/language-cafes-as-a-site-of-wider-cultural-integration/;

https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/cms/farnet2/on-the-ground/good-practice/short-stories/local-cafe-helping-integrate-migrants-improve-languages_en

[13] Trevena, P., McGhee, D. and Heath, S. (2013). 'Location, location? A critical examination of patterns and determinants of internal mobility among post-accession Polish migrants in the UK.' *Population, Space and Place*, 19(6), pp. 671-687.

[14] Flynn, M. and Kay, R., op. cit; Kay, R. and Trevena, P. (forthcoming), 'In/security, Family and Settlement: Migration decisions amongst Central and East European families in Scotland', *CEEMR*.

[15] Jentsch, B., de Lima, P., MacDonald, B., 2007. Migrant workers in rural Scotland: 'going to the middle of nowhere'. Int. J. Multicultural Soc. 9 (1), 35-53; Trevena et al., op cit.

[16] Trevena et al., op cit.

[17] SSAMIS Second Interim Report , op cit.; Trevena et al, op cit.; Hepburn, E., op cit, p. 25.

[18] c.f. SSAMIS blog: https://gramnet.wordpress.com/2016/07/04/which-exit-after-brexit-supporting-eu-nationals-in-the-post-brexit-reality/); Sime, D.; Tyrrell, N.; Kelly, C.; McMellon, C.; Moskal, M. (forthcoming, Sept 2017) Here to Stay? Identity, citizenship and belonging among settled Eastern European young people in the UK, Interim Report, Glasgow: University of Strathclyde; Feniks (2017) Report on EU nationals' reaction and long-term consequences of the EU Referendum; Feniks (2017). Report on EU national's reaction and long-term consequences of the EU Referendum [available online: http://www.feniks.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Feniks_Report_EU_nationals_reaction_to_Brexit.pdf]

[19] Hepburn, E., op cit., p. 49 and p. 52, respectively.