

GoWell is a collaborative partnership between the Glasgow Centre for Population Health and the University of Glasgow's Department of Urban Studies and the MRC/CSO Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, sponsored by Glasgow Housing Association, the Scottish Government, NHS Health Scotland and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

A large graphic consisting of two overlapping human silhouettes. The left silhouette is teal and the right one is grey. The teal silhouette is larger and partially overlaps the grey one. The title text is centered within the teal silhouette.

**Migrant
social integration
in Glasgow's
deprived
communities**

August 2015

GoWell is a planned ten-year research and learning programme that aims to investigate the impact of investment in housing, regeneration and neighbourhood renewal on the health and wellbeing of individuals, families and communities. It commenced in February 2006 and has a number of different research components. This paper is part of a series of Briefing Papers which the GoWell team has developed in order to summarise key findings and policy and practice recommendations from the research. Further information on the GoWell Programme and the full series of Briefing Papers is available from the GoWell website at: www.gowellonline.com

Key findings

- Levels of reported social integration were lower for migrants than for British-born citizens living in the same areas. Levels of trust and reliance, and rates of social contact were up to two times higher among British-born citizens as for migrants.
- Functional factors were positively associated with social integration for migrants. In particular: migrants with educational qualifications had better social relations than others; migrants in employment were more likely to feel part of the community; and migrants who could speak English without difficulty were more likely to have available practical social support than other migrants.
- Indicators in all three domains of social integration – trust, reliance and safety; social relations; and sense of community – improved with length of residence. Time spent in the neighbourhood had stronger effects than time in the UK.
- For refugees, time spent awaiting a decision had a negative effect upon available social support, while time spent since receiving leave to remain had a positive association with available social support.
- Living in a regeneration area had negative effects upon social integration, particularly upon trust, reliance and safety indicators, and to a lesser extent upon neighbourly exchange behaviours and levels of neighbourhood satisfaction. One benefit to migrants of living in regeneration areas was a higher level of available financial social support.

INTRODUCTION

Glasgow: a diversifying city

At the current time, around two-fifths of the neighbourhoods in Glasgow are officially defined as deprived; while this proportion is high, it represents a decline in deprivation over the past decade¹. Population change may be a factor in this, as over the same period the city's population has been on the increase and, within this, the ethnic minority population of the city has more than doubled from 7.2% in 2001 to 15.4% in 2011. Migration has accounted for some of these changes. At the national level, policy has sought to attract high-skilled, high-status migrants to Scotland. At the same time there has been lower-skilled migration to Glasgow from the EU². At the city level, Glasgow City Council has, since 2000, utilised parts of the city as a dispersal site for asylum seekers into the UK, under contractual arrangements with the Home Office. Up to 2,000 social housing units were used for asylum seekers from 2000 to 2006, and nearly 6,000 social housing bed-spaces were allocated for

this purpose from 2006 to 2011; these tended to be in low-demand, high-rise estates so as to minimise the impact upon housing opportunities for locals³.

The majority of asylum seekers in Glasgow have come from African and Middle Eastern countries, of which there had been very few in the city previously. Both the rapid arrival of migrants, their unfamiliarity to locals, and their allocation to deprived communities caused early tensions and incidents of racial harassment⁴. Official responses to this situation meant that up to £1m per annum was spent on integration activities to support asylum seekers and refugees and to ease their relations with host communities⁵. Following EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007, European migrants also arrived in the city in greater numbers than previously, with some groups concentrated in particular parts of the city. Correspondingly, public and voluntary agencies in these areas have expanded their efforts to support and integrate the new arrivals, for example, as has happened with Roma migrants⁶.

What is social integration?

Social integration is concerned with how migrants become part of the society in which they find themselves. It has both public and private dimensions, involving the legal and social environments as well as personal experiences⁷. It is also said to involve both social and structural integration, with the relationship between the two being possibly two-way⁸. Ager and Strang describe four parts to integration: public outcomes related to employment, housing, education and health; social connections with members of their own and other communities; personal competencies in language, cultural knowledge and security/stability; and status, or 'shared notions of nationhood and citizenship', implying membership and identification with the country of residence⁹. Phillimore defines three key themes to integration: the development of a sense of belonging to the host community; the development of social relationships and social networks; and the development of the means and confidence to exercise rights to resources such as education, work and housing¹⁰. There is a degree of ambiguity in these accounts, with functional factors (e.g. employment, education, health and housing) being considered both ends in themselves or 'markers of integration', and as means towards integration^{9,11}.

It is plausible that social integration may differ between migrant groups and between places (regions and neighbourhoods). Migrants of different legal status or routes of entry may vary in the degree to which they feel legitimate, accepted, or in their ability and confidence to engage with other people to develop familiarity and social relationships. Furthermore, the development of social connections also depends on the services and social environment of a place: people need places to meet, a safe public realm, and sense of security and stability in order to feel able to reach out to others.

Integration is often assumed to progress in a linear fashion over time, though this has rarely been tested and is contested by those who see integration as a negotiation between old and new identities and locations^{10,12}, or as being interrupted or impeded by events¹³.

Given the debate about the nature of integration, and about the factors which affect it, and given that Glasgow has experienced a rapid rise in its migrant population, we wanted to examine how social integration was progressing in the city, utilising the views of migrants collected in our surveys.



RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Our aim was to explore the effects of time and place upon the social integration of migrants in Glasgow, taking into account other influential factors mentioned in the literature. We addressed the following research questions:

- How do levels of social integration for migrants compare with the social integration of British-born citizens living in the same areas?
- Are different kinds of functional factors positively associated with self-reported social integration for migrants?
- Does social integration improve with time spent in the UK and in the neighbourhood of residence for migrants?
- What effect does living in a regeneration area, as many migrants do, have upon their levels of social integration?

In approaching the above questions we also sought to consider if there were differences in these regards between different types of migrant group (see below).



OUR METHODS

We combined the data from GoWell's wave 2 and wave 3 surveys conducted in 2008 and 2011 respectively; the surveys achieved response rates of 47.5% and 45.4%. Combining the datasets, we identified 1,358 migrants and 5,783 British-born respondents who had complete data for the variables of interest. (Migrants and British-born respondents surveyed in both waves were included only once in the analyses, using data from a randomly selected wave.)



Note that the GoWell study areas include a number of sites where asylum seekers and refugees have been accommodated in large numbers. The study areas also include a number of other migrants, from Europe and beyond, including economic migrants as well as students and others, but our study does not cover any of the parts of the city with large, new, European migrant groups.

Twenty-one self-reported indicators of social integration were identified from the survey, grouped into three domains: trust, reliance and safety; social relations; and sense of community. The indicators are shown in the box below. Our interest was in how many people gave positive answers to these questions.

<p>Social relations</p> <p>Visit neighbours in their homes</p> <p>Exchange favours with neighbours</p> <p>Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood</p> <p>Know many/most people in the neighbourhood</p> <p>Meet up with relatives weekly or more often</p> <p>Meet up with friends weekly or more often</p> <p>Speak to neighbours weekly or more often</p> <p>Have someone to go to the shops if unwell</p> <p>Have someone to lend money for a few days</p> <p>Have someone to give advice/support in a crisis</p> <p>Used one or more social amenities in last seven days</p> <p>Used social amenities within local area</p>	<p>Trust, reliance and safety</p> <p>Neighbours look out for each other</p> <p>Likely that lost purse would be returned</p> <p>Likely that someone would stop harassment</p> <p>Feel safe walking in the area alone after dark</p> <p>Do not identify antisocial behaviour problems</p>
	<p>Sense of community</p> <p>Enjoy living in the area</p> <p>Feel belong to the neighbourhood</p> <p>Feel part of the community</p> <p>Satisfied with neighbourhood as a place to live</p>

We identified four types of migrant: non-UK born British citizens; asylum seekers; refugees; and other migrants (including EU citizens, international economic migrants from beyond the EU, and overseas students). A total of 73 countries of origin were recorded in the survey. Although levels of social integration varied between the migrant groups, there were no consistent differences between the groups in terms of the effects of functional factors, time and place upon social integration, so the four groups were combined for the remainder of the analysis.

We compared levels of social integration between migrants on the one hand and British-born citizens on the other. Logistic regression was then used to explore the effects of functional factors, time and place upon social integration for migrants. Three functional factors were examined: whether the migrant had any educational qualifications; was in employment or not; and whether English could be spoken without difficulty. Two measures of time were examined: total time in the UK; and time lived in the area of residence. For the effects of place, we divided migrants into those

living in a designated regeneration area versus others. In all these analyses, we controlled for other factors including migrant group, gender, age group, and whether or not there were dependent children in the household. In the analyses of time and place, we also controlled for the three functional factors.

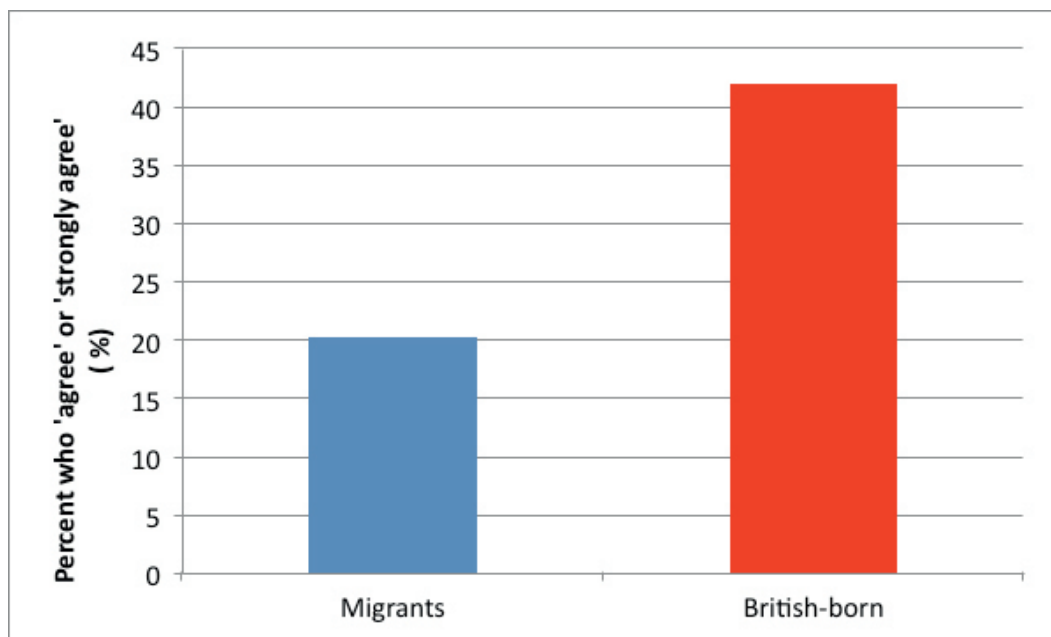
WHAT DID WE FIND?

How do levels of social integration for migrants compare with other residents?

Across the twenty-one indicators we examined, levels of reported social integration were lower for migrants compared with British-born citizens, in all but one case.

Levels of trust in the people around them were much lower for migrants; for some indicators, levels of trust were twice as high among British-born citizens, as illustrated in Figure 1 for reliance on others to exercise informal social control.

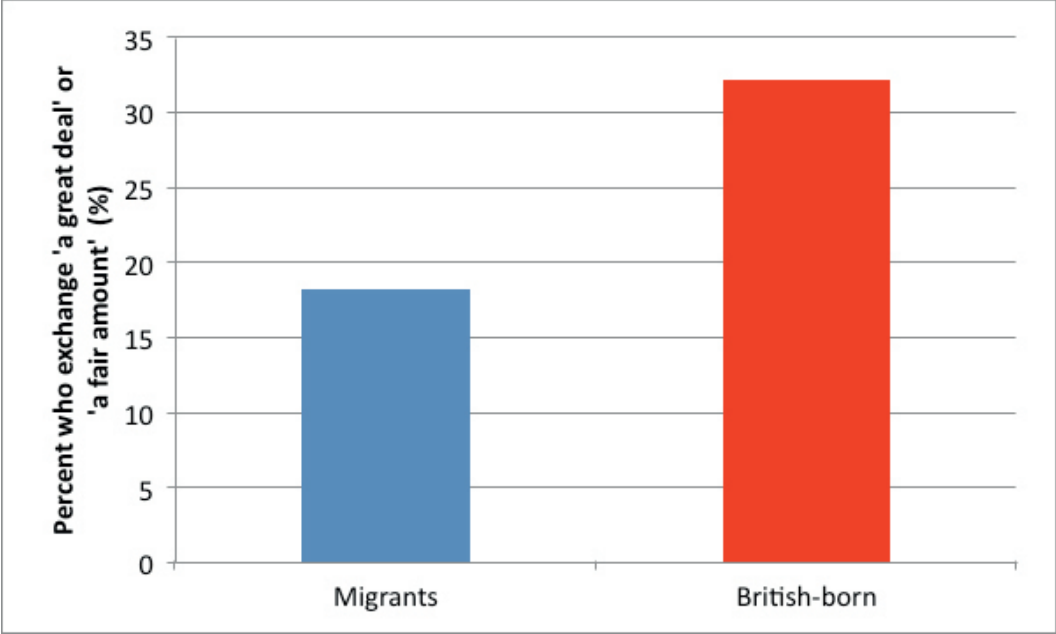
Figure 1: Reliance on others to exercise informal social control.



Respondents were asked: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is likely that someone would intervene if a group of youths were harassing someone in the local area'.

Neighbourly behaviours were also lower among migrants, by a little less than half, as illustrated in Figure 2 for exchanging things with neighbours.

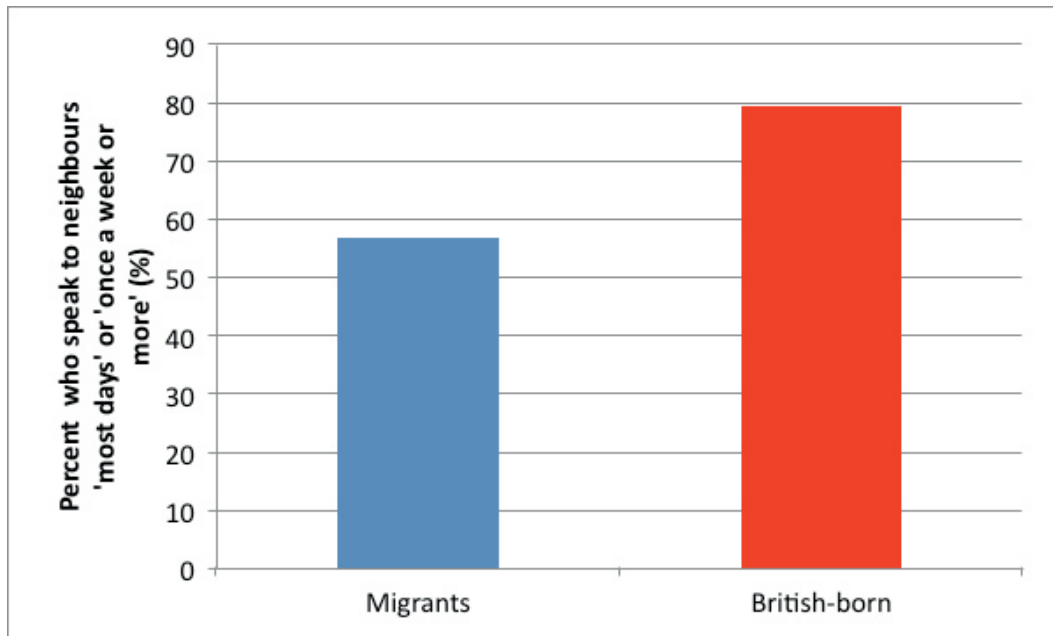
Figure 2: Exchange things with neighbours.



Respondents were asked: 'To what extent do the following apply to you: I borrow things and exchange things with my neighbours'.

Rates of social contact were at least a fifth (and sometimes more than this) lower among migrants compared with British-born citizens, illustrated in Figure 3 for speaking with neighbours weekly.

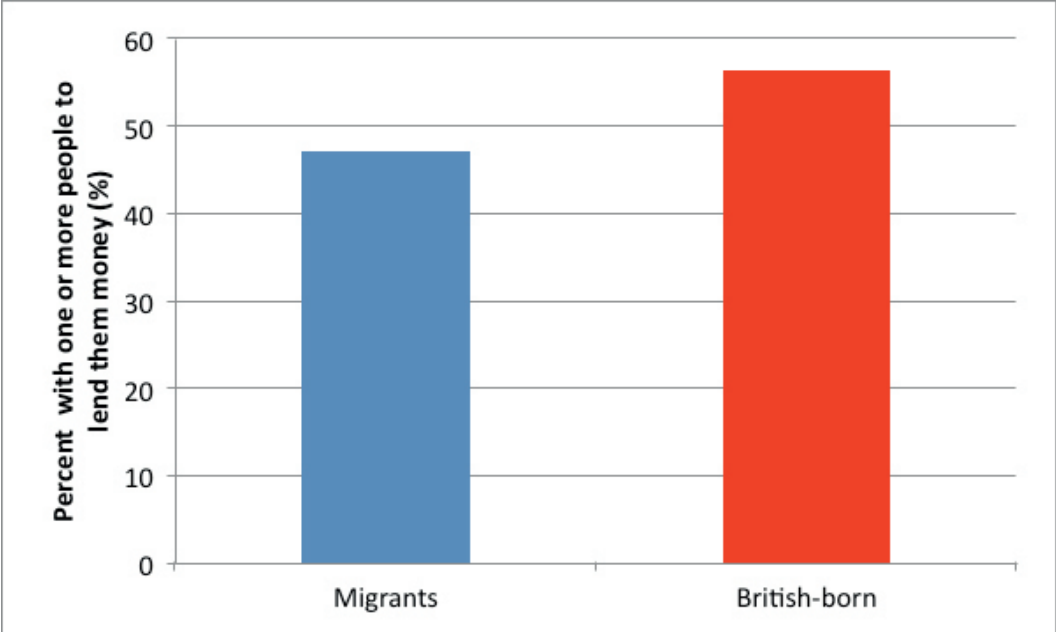
Figure 3: Speak with neighbours at least weekly.



Respondents were asked: 'How often do you speak to neighbours?'

Migrants had less available social support than British-born citizens, particularly for financial support, where the rate of availability for migrants was only four-fifths that for others, shown in Figure 4.

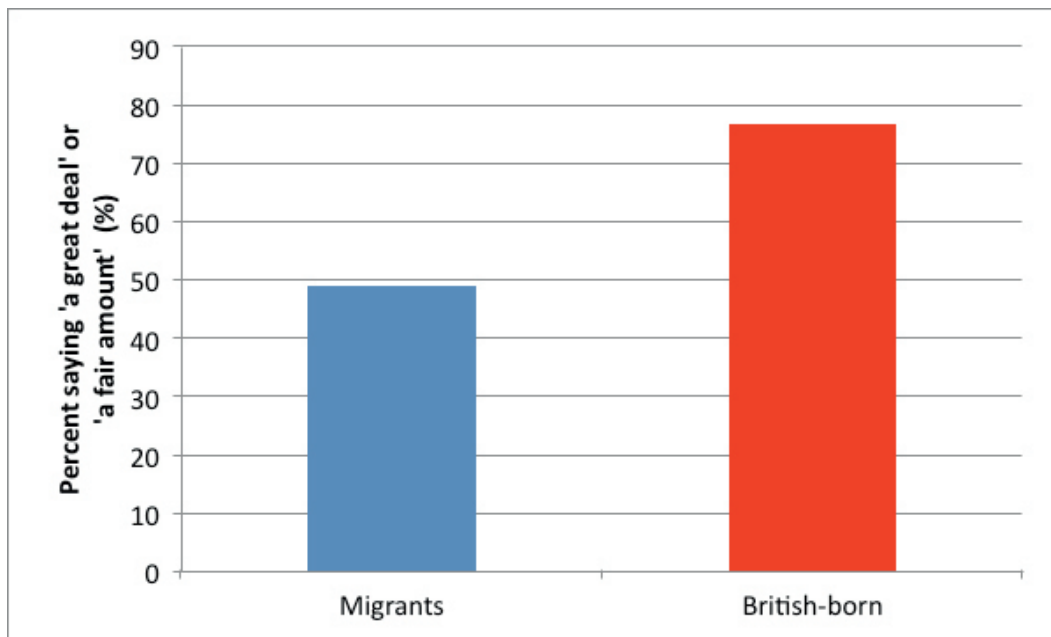
Figure 4: Available financial support.



Respondents were asked: 'How many people [not counting those you live with] could you ask for the following kinds of help: to lend you money to see you through the next few days'.

Finally, migrants felt lower levels of neighbourhood belonging (as might be expected given that they had left their place of origin) and lower levels of inclusion than British-born citizens. Figure 5 shows that the number of migrants who felt part of the community was approximately a third lower than among non-migrants.

Figure 5: Feel part of the community.



Respondents were asked: 'To what extent do the following apply to you: I feel part of the community'.

The only exception to this general pattern of lower social integration among migrants was that migrants reported slightly higher rates of use of social amenities (such as parks and play areas, libraries and community centres) than British-born citizens (by 4 percentage points).

The effects of functional factors: are indicators of social integration associated with education, employment and English language ability?

Generally, associations with the three functional factors were such that those migrants who had educational qualifications, who were in employment and who could speak English without difficulty reported better social integration than others, although some associations were more marked than others, and there were a few exceptions to this pattern. The tables that follow show only those associations that reached statistical significance at the $p < 0.05$ level or higher.

Migrants with educational qualifications had better social relations than others, with the likelihood of positive indicators being typically 30-50% higher for this group (Table 1). Most notably, migrants with educational qualifications were twice as likely as others to have used local social amenities in the past seven days. Conversely, migrants with educational qualifications were also twice as likely as migrants without qualifications to identify antisocial behaviour problems in their local area.

Table 1. Effects of educational qualifications on social integration indicators.
(Increased likelihood, unless otherwise stated)

Trust, reliance and safety	Social relations	Sense of community
Identify antisocial behaviours	Visit neighbours in their homes Exchange things with neighbours Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood Meet up with friends weekly Have available practical support Use social amenities Use local social amenities	-

Controlling for: migrant group; gender; age group; presence of dependent children.

Being in employment was the only functional factor to have a positive association with indicators of a sense of community, with employed migrants being 30% more likely than others to belong to the neighbourhood and feel part of the community (Table 2). Employed migrants were also more likely to have regular social contact with relatives and friends (by a half and a third, respectively) and 50% more likely to feel safe walking alone after dark.

Table 2. Effects of employment on social integration indicators.
(Increased likelihood, unless otherwise stated)

Trust, reliance and safety	Social relations	Sense of community
Feel safe walking alone after dark	Meet up with relatives weekly Meet up with friends weekly	Belong to the neighbourhood Feel part of the community

Controlling for: migrant group; gender; age group; presence of dependent children.

Migrants who could speak English without difficulty were 40% more likely to feel they could rely upon their neighbours to exercise informal social control, and a third more likely to have available practical social support (Table 3). On the other hand, migrants who could speak English were also more likely to identify antisocial behaviour problems in their area and a third less likely to be satisfied with their neighbourhood.

Table 3. Effects of speaking English without difficulty on social integration indicators.

(Increased likelihood, unless otherwise stated)

Trust, reliance and safety	Social relations	Sense of community
Rely on neighbours to exercise, informal control Identify antisocial behaviours	Have available practical support	Reduced likelihood of neighbourhood satisfaction

Controlling for: migrant group; gender; age group; presence of dependent children.

The effects of time: is duration of stay in the UK and in the neighbourhood associated with improvements in social integration?

There was no evidence that the effects of time varied for migrants living in regeneration areas and those elsewhere, so the two groups are combined for analysis. In all three domains, many of the positive indicators of social inclusion increased with length of residence, with the effects of time living in the area usually being greater than the effects of time since arrival in the UK. Table 4 shows those indicators positively associated with the two time measures, after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics and functional factors.

Table 4. Social inclusion indicators positively associated with length of residence.

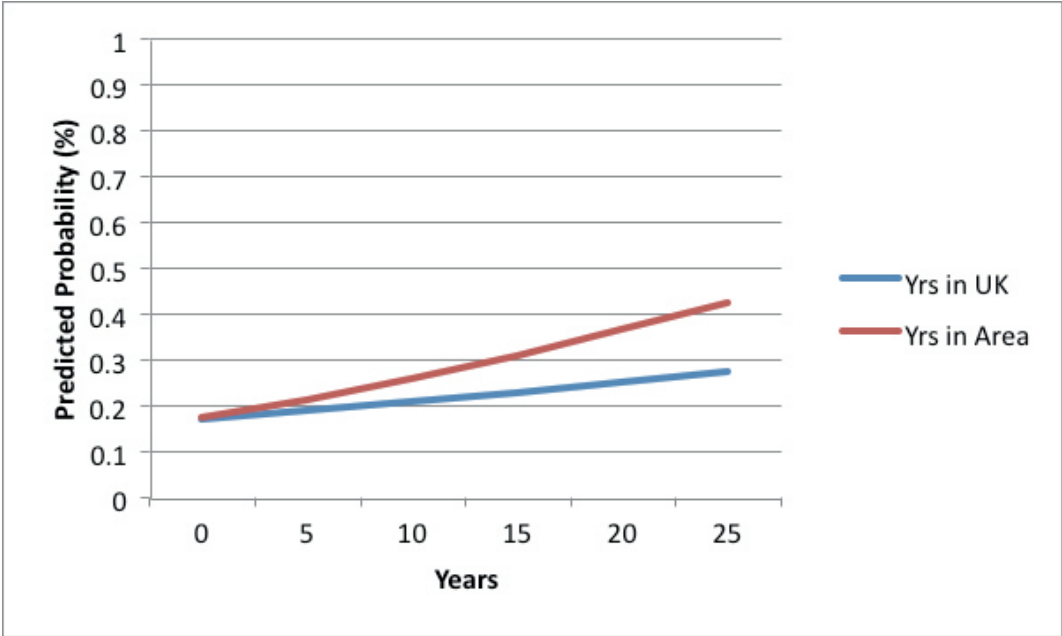
	Time in UK	Time in area
Trust, reliance and safety	Neighbours look out for each other Neighbours can be relied on for informal control	Neighbours look out for each other Neighbours can be relied on for informal control
Social relations	Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood Know many/most people in the neighbourhood - Meet up with neighbours at least weekly - Have available financial support -	Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood Know many/most people in the neighbourhood Meet up with relatives at least weekly Meet up with neighbours at least weekly Have available practical support Have available financial support Have available emotional support
Sense of community	Enjoy living here Belong to the neighbourhood Feel part of the community	- Belong to the neighbourhood Feel part of the community

Controlling for: age; sex; dependent children; education; employment; difficulties speaking English.

The different effects of the two time measures on the social inclusion indicators are illustrated in the following charts which show the predicted probabilities of the positive outcomes from our statistical models for all migrants.

In Figure 6 we see that migrants' trust in their neighbours to exercise informal social control in the neighbourhood increases slowly with time spent in the UK, but increases rather more quickly with time in the neighbourhood: the probability that a migrant would feel they could rely upon local people to exercise informal social control doubles over a 20-year period spent in the area.

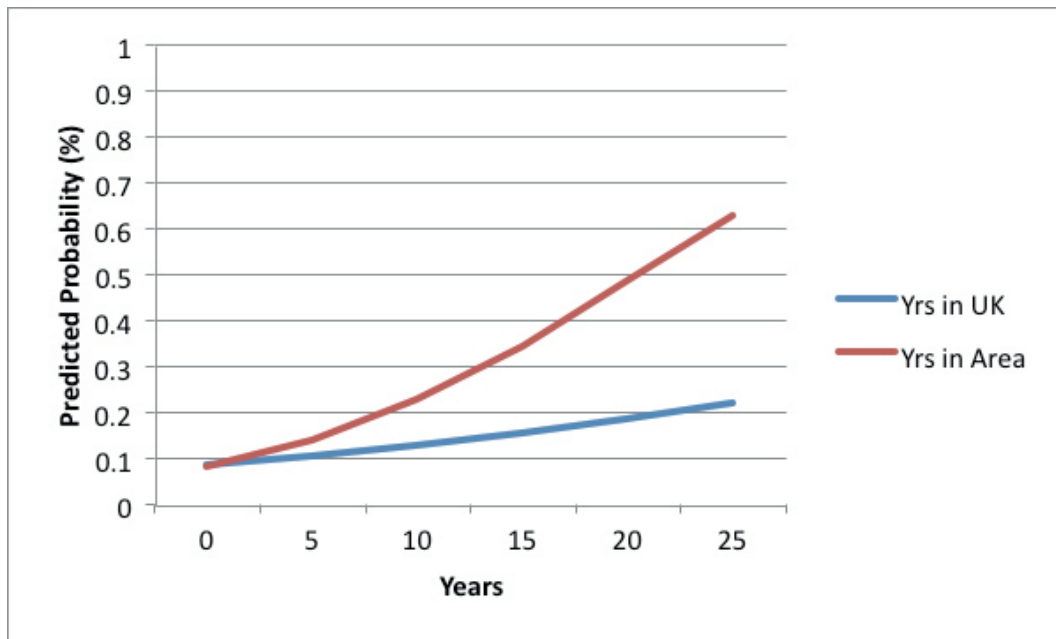
Figure 6: The effects of time on the expectation that neighbours can be relied on to exercise informal social control.



Respondents were asked: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is likely that someone would intervene if a group of youths were harassing someone in the local area?'

In Figure 7 we see that the probability that a migrant will be familiar with many or most people in their local area increases by a half after ten years spent in the UK (from 9% to 13%), but triples after ten years spent living in their neighbourhood, from 8% to 23%, and then doubles again over the next ten years in the area, to 49%.

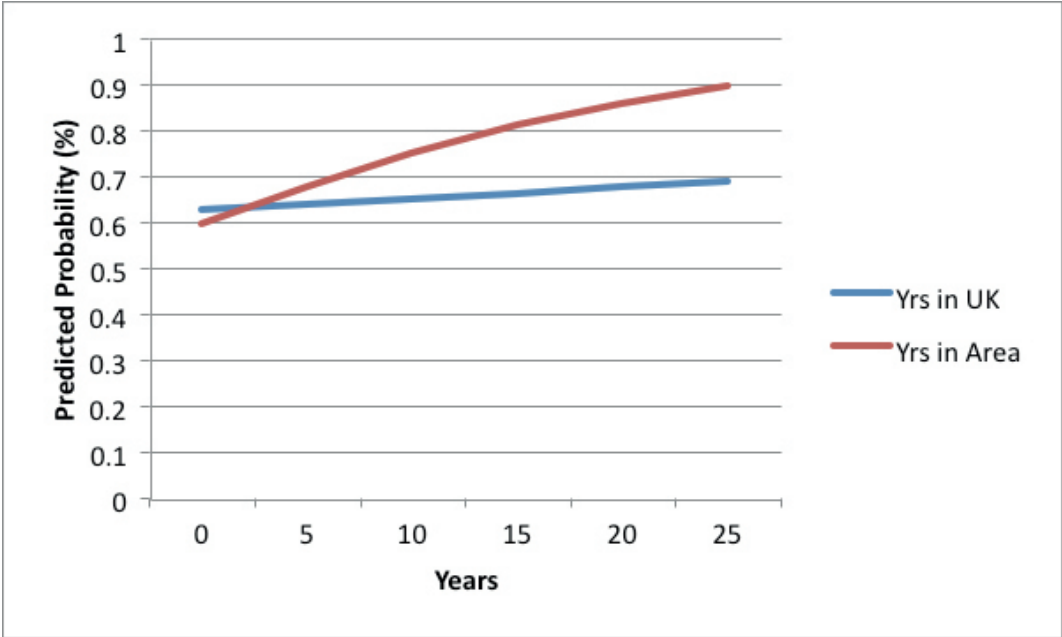
Figure 7: The effects of time on knowing many or most people in the neighbourhood.



Respondents were asked: 'Would you say that you know: most, many, some, very few, none... of the people in your neighbourhood?'

Figure 8 shows that there is only a very small effect on the availability of practical social support to migrants according to time spent in the UK. However, for every additional five years spent living in their neighbourhood, the probability of migrants having practical support available increases by 7-8% in the first decade and by 5-6% in the second decade.

Figure 8: The effects of time on available practical support.

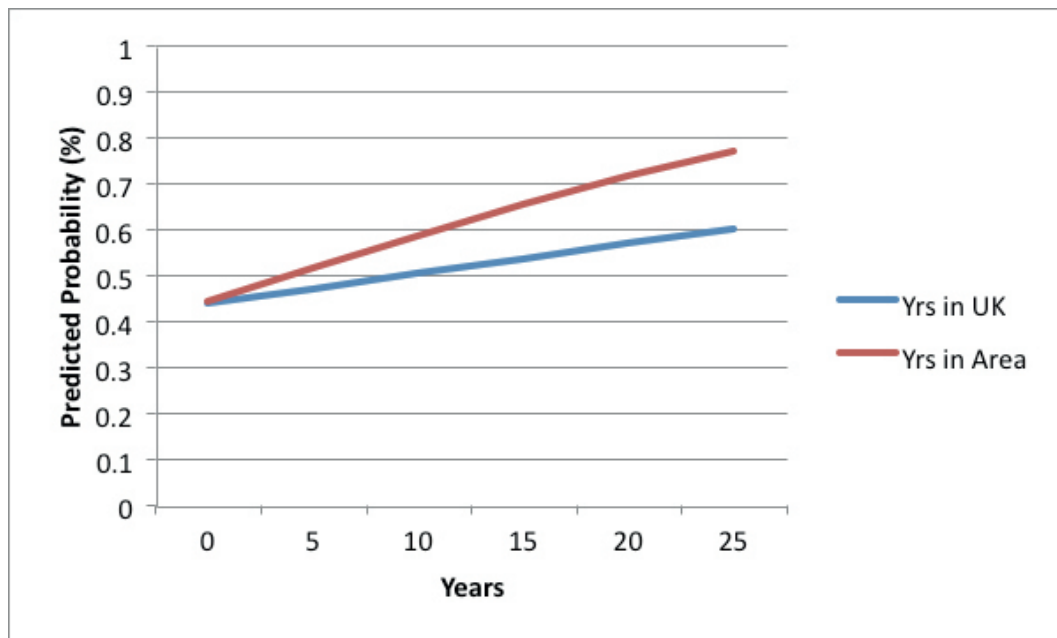


Respondents were asked: 'How many people [not counting those you live with] could you ask for the following kinds of help: to go to the shops for you if you are unwell'.

We also found that time measures had particular effects upon the availability of all three types of social support (practical, financial and emotional) for refugees. Each extra year spent waiting for a decision on status *reduced* the probability that refugees would have social support available, while every year since obtaining leave to remain *increased* the probability of available social support.

Figure 9 shows that the effect of time in the area on migrants feeling part of the community is twice as great as the effects of time spent in the UK. Over the first decade of residence in the UK, the probability that migrants would feel part of the community increases by 7%, whereas for the first decade spent living in a particular neighbourhood, the probability that they will have a sense of inclusion increases by 14%.

Figure 9: The effects of time on feeling part of the community.



Respondents were asked: 'To what extent do the following apply to you: I feel part of the community'.

The effects of place: how is living in a regeneration area associated with social integration indicators for migrants?

Living in a regeneration area, as over 70% of the migrants in our study did, was associated with negative effects upon a number of social integration indicators. Three main effects were evident:

- Migrants living in regeneration areas were half as likely as migrants living elsewhere to give positive responses to all five of the items concerned with trust, reliance and safety.
- Migrants living in regeneration areas were a third less likely than those living elsewhere to report that they engaged in neighbourly exchange behaviours.
- Migrants living in regeneration areas were half as likely as those living elsewhere to derive enjoyment and satisfaction from where they lived.

There appeared to be one benefit to migrants from living in a regeneration area: they were 50% more likely than migrants elsewhere to say that they had an available source of social financial support if needs be.



IMPLICATIONS OF OUR FINDINGS

Our main findings on levels of social integration for migrants contain a mixed message. On the one hand, after living in the UK for between four and 12 years, migrants participating in our study in Glasgow have lower levels of social integration than British-born citizens living in the same areas, so there is more progress to be made.

On the other hand, we have shown that social integration for migrants improves with time. Integration projects, particularly those which have operated in some of the main areas of migrant settlement, are likely to have made a difference to this over the years, but there is a case to be made for their continuance given current levels of social integration for migrants.

The positive effects of functional factors upon social integration indicators emphasise the importance of access to English language classes, education more generally, and to employment for all migrant groups. There may also be reinforcing effects between these functional factors that we have not been able to examine in detail here.

The fact that social integration for migrants improves with time is a welcome finding, and suggests that early problems due to rapid migration are being overcome. The findings on refugees in particular also suggest that rapid decision-making on asylum cases would be beneficial.

Our finding that time in the area of residence had stronger positive effects than time in the UK suggests that secondary, onward migration, necessitated by processes of regeneration, may be detrimental for migrants as they may lose some of their social connections and the sense of trust and belonging they have developed over the years, having to begin again in a new area.



LIMITATIONS OF OUR ANALYSIS

Although we have used a wide range of social integration indicators, some of the functional factors are crudely measured; thus our measures of education, English language and employment lack range to enable us to directly examine how increasing ability aids social integration.

As regards the social integration indicators, we do not know the true scale or extent of migrants' social networks. It is likely that migrants form connections mainly to other migrants rather than to members of the 'host' community and this may explain why the indicators for social relations for migrants are sometimes closer to those of British-born citizens, than are the indicators of sense of community and belonging.

We do not have a large enough sample of all migrant groups to allow analysis by geographical or national origin, where important differences may exist. Thus, we are unable to examine the effects upon social integration of either visible differences or cultural distance from British-born citizens, nor of the effects of circumstances in the migrant's country of origin, either pre- or post their departure.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been produced on behalf of the GoWell team. The current GoWell team is as follows:

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Suggested citation

Kearns A, Whitley E. *Briefing paper 23. Migrant social integration in Glasgow's deprived communities*. Glasgow: GoWell; 2015.

Research publication

This briefing paper is based on research published in the following article:

Kearns A, Whitley E. Getting there? The effects of functional factors, time and place on the social integration of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 2015 doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2015.1030374.



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