# "Another home not another place to live": The discursive construction of integration for refugees and asylum seekers in Wales

# Samuel Parker

School of Social Sciences
Cardiff University

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

April 2018



# **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost, I would like to thank the 19 people who took part in the interviews for this study and made this research possible. I am indebted to each of you for taking the time to talk to me about your life in Wales, your stories have truly inspired me and this thesis. I hope that in some way this research can lead to positive change so that others arriving in Wales feel as welcome as you did but also that they do not have to face the struggles that many of you described. I have titled this PhD "Another home, not another place to live" and I do truly hope that, at least in some small part, you do see Wales as your home.

I must also thank the staff and volunteers at the Welsh Refugee Council, Unity in Diversity and especially Space4U Cardiff for not only your assistance with this research, but for also giving me the opportunity to meet so many inspiring people over the past four years. The work that you do is so important and the difference you make to people's lives is incredible. I hope that you continue to provide a warm Welsh welcome to new arrivals and that this research is the start of a more rigorous research base that can be used as evidence for bringing about positive change with the Welsh and UK Governments.

Many other people have also helped and supported me throughout the thesis and I am thankful to all of you for your love and support. Without you, this research would not have been possible.

## **Abstract**

Whilst, at the UK level, there has been some research into the integration experiences of refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. Phillimore et al. 2008; Kirkwood et al., 2015; Basedow and Doyle, 2016) there has been little research focusing on the devolved Welsh context. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna through applying Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework* to an analysis of qualitative interviews with refugees and asylum seekers living in Wales.

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with 19 refugees and asylum seekers from 13 different countries of origin. Interviews are analysed using a discursive psychological approach (Potter and Wetherell, 1987), and focused on the ways that participants' talk functioned in the interaction. In addition, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of seven UK and devolved government refugee integration strategy documents was also undertaken. Analysis of these policy documents revealed that each drew on notions of the individual nation having a 'proud tradition' of protecting refugees which worked to construct refugees as being in need of protection only, obscuring any economic or civic aspirations that they may have. Analysis of the interviews, by contrast, revealed that participants constructed integration in a more multi-faceted way in which they had aspirations of contributing to both the economic and civic life of Wales.

The research finds that these constructions point to a need for re-thinking the categories "refugee" and "asylum seeker" and that the term "forced migrant" better reflects the protection and aspirational needs that participants constructed. As such, it argues for a shift in focus from integration "processes" to situated "practices" of integration. A further ideological dilemma (Billig et al., 1988) is also discussed between the UK government's 'hostile environment' approach to migrants which seeks to deter asylum seekers from entering the UK and the stated aims of both UK and devolved governments of ensuring refugee integration. Policy implications are suggested including the need for the Welsh Government to better reflect the economic and civic aspirations of refugees and asylum seekers within its refugee integration strategies and to call for devolved responsibility over asylum support so that it can achieve its aims of seeing Wales become a 'Nation of Sanctuary'.

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Introduction	1
Overview and context	1
Structure of the thesis	3
1. Forced Migration in the UK and the Government policy response	10
1.1 Overview	10
1.2 Definitions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers	11
1.3 UK Migration Policy (1905 – present)	13
1.4 Asylum Policy under the New Labour Government (1997 - 2010)	19
1.4.1 Asylum policy and devolution	26
1.5 Global refugee and asylum seeker demographics	27
1.6 UK refugee and asylum seekers demographics	29
1.7 Forced Migrants in Wales	33
1.8 Summary	40
2. Acculturation and Integration	42
2.1 Overview	42
2.2 Acculturation	43
2.3 Models of citizenship and acculturation strategies of the larger society	46
2.4 The UK context: the rise and fall of multiculturalism?	49
2.5 Individual acculturation strategies	50
2.6 Defining Integration: An impossible project?	53
2.7 Indicators of Integration	55
2.8 UK Government Refugee Integration strategies (2000 – 2009)	62
2.9 Welsh Government Policy	66
2.10 Summary	70
3. Discursive psychological approaches to racism, categorisation and intergre	oup
relations	-
3.1 Overview	73
3.2 From 'old-fashioned' to 'new' racism?	75
3.3 Approaches to the study of intergroup relations in social psychology	81
3.4 Discursive Psychology and the study of racism	84
3.4.1 Discursive constructions of asylum seekers in media and political discourse	89

3.4.2 Defending against accusations of racism: discursive strategies in lay talk about asylum seekers	. 94
3.4.3 Analysis of the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers	. 98
3.5 Summary	103
4. Methodology	104
4.1 Introduction	104
4.2 Discursive approach	104
4.3 Policy document data	108
4.4 Interview data	111
4.4.1 Recruitment of participants	115
4.4.2 Interview participants	118
4.4.3 The interview schedule	119
4.4.4 Researcher positionality and reflection on interviews	121
4.5 Analytic strategies	123
4.6 Summary	127
5. Government Refugee Integration Strategies – Critical Discourse Analysis	
5.1 Introduction	
5.2 Background	
5.3 Analysis	
5.3.1 Structure of the strategy documents	133
5.3.2 How is the problem constructed? Defining integration and who it is for	
5.3.3 What are the obstacles to tackling the problem?	
5.3.3.1 Community relations – Integration with Whom?	140
5.3.3.2 Achieving full potential	143
5.3.4 Obligation: Proud tradition	146
5.3.5 Who is the "we" in the strategy?	149
5.3.6 Overcoming the obstacles: What the Government will do	151
5.4 Summary and conclusions	153
6. "Just teasing": Everyday racism and dilemmas faced by refugees and asylum	
seekers in Wales	
6.1 Introduction	
6.2 "It's ok they are child no problem": Constructing experiences of racism as "trivial"	157
6.3 "It's because I was wearing a scarf I was talking in Arabic": attributing blame in talk about explicit experiences of racism	165

6.4 "I didn't see anything like this, but I can feel it": constructing a "sense" of everyday racism	. 170
6.5 Discussion	. 176
6.6 Summary and conclusions	. 179
7. "Just eating and sleeping": Refugee and asylum seekers constructions of beir	_
7.1 Introduction	
7.2 "Just say hi": Neighbourhood belonging as the absence of conflict	
7.3 "Home country is home country": Belonging in Wales when it is not 'home'	
7.4 "Just eating and sleeping": Criticisms of the UK asylum system and its impact on integration and feelings of 'being' and belonging in the local area	
7.5 Discussion	
7.6 Summary and conclusions	. 213
8. Aspirations for a quality of life or just 'getting by'?: Forced migrants' constructions of self as potential in a hostile policy environment	. 215
8.1 Introduction	. 215
8.2 Contributing to the community: "You have a responsibility to be a good citizen here	"218
8.3 Accessing education: "It's so sad how the dreams were cut short"	. 221
8.4 Employment: "It's a very bad and sad idea to see refugees who are highly qualified working in a restaurant"	
8.5 "It's not enough but I really appreciate it": 'Just getting by' in a hostile environment.	. 233
8.6 Discussion	. 241
8.7 Summary and conclusions	. 244
9. Discussion and Conclusions	. 245
9.1 Summary of the thesis	. 245
9.2 Policy implications	. 255
9.3 Reflections	. 259
9.3.1 Future research	. 264
9.4 Why this research matters	. 266
10. References	. 269
List of Appendices	. 290
Appendix 1	. 291
Appendix 2	. 296

Appendix 3	298
Appendix 4	302
Appendix 5	304
Appendix 6	305
Appendix 7	306
Appendix 8	336

## Introduction

"We are facing the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time. Above all, this is not just a crisis of numbers; it is also a crisis of solidarity."

Ban Ki Moon, United Nations Secretary General (UNHCR, 2016a)

### **Overview and context**

When research for this thesis began in 2014, the war in Syria had already been ongoing for three years, and few expected that it would be ongoing three years later, when this thesis was in its final stages. Importantly, within this time we have witnessed what the above quote describes as "the biggest refugee crisis of our time" (UNHCR, 2016a), and which has seen millions of people attempt to enter the European Union (EU) by boat from transit countries in Africa and the Middle East. It is a 'crisis' that saw 3,692 people die attempting to make the crossing in 2015 alone (IOM, 2015). Indeed, pictures of three-year-old Alan Kurdi, whose body was photographed washed up on a beach in Turkey in September 2015, following a failed attempt to cross by boat from Turkey to Greece, were seen on newspaper front pages around the world and became a symbol of the unfolding 'crisis'. At the same time, the very nature of the "crisis" has been brought into question (Crawley et al., 2018), as has the UK's response to the 'crisis'. Gatrell (2017) suggests that references to 'crises' fail to take account of the long history of refugee movements and assume that such events are a temporary blip before things return to normal. The UK Government's response to the crisis saw a commitment made to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in the UK, from refugee camps in countries adjacent to Syria, by 2020. A number of leading charities have raised concerns about this approach (National Assembly for Wales, 2017) and argue that it has led to the development of a two-tier system in which resettled refugees are given more help to integrate than 'spontaneous' arrivals who apply for asylum following

arrival in the UK and are subject to the UK's 'hostile' asylum policy environment whilst a decision is reached on their claim for refugee status.

Whilst, at the UK level, there has been some research into the integration experiences of refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Kirkwood et al., 2015; Basedow and Doyle, 2016) there has been very little research focusing on the devolved Welsh context (cf. Crawley and Crimes, 2009; Crawley, 2013). Wales provides an interesting case study in relation to refugees and asylum seekers because many areas of their day-to-day lives are affected by devolved Welsh government policies, whilst immigration and asylum policy remains a matter reserved to the Westminster government. Crawley (2013) also argues that the Welsh context is of interest because asylum seekers and refugees in Wales come from a smaller range of home countries and are more concentrated in a small number of towns and cities than in other parts of the UK. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna through an analysis of government integration policy documents, from the devolved and national level, and interviews with refugees and asylum seekers currently living in Wales. This research therefore has two research questions:

- 1) How do refugees and asylum seekers in Wales discursively construct accounts of their experiences of integration? and
- 2) To what extent do these constructions have implications for refugee and asylum seeker integration policies?

In this thesis a discursive approach (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) is taken to analyse the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers living in Wales talk about their experiences of integration and their life in Wales. Following this approach an open definition of 'discourse' is employed that includes all forms of spoken language and written texts, and, which Potter and Wetherell (1987) regard as forms of social practice that have an 'action orientation'. Adopting such an approach I will be defining

discourses in the way that Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.90) use their term 'interpretative repertoires': "broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images". Although there are other key candidate ways of studying this field, such as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1984), Governmentality theory (Miller and Rose, 1990) and sociological approaches (e.g. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918) in this thesis I argue that taking a discursive approach allows for close analysis of the issues attended to by participants in the course of the interviews and allows their voices to be heard in the research process. Indeed, the voices of refugees and asylum seekers themselves are often missing from much of the research that is conducted in this area, which this thesis seeks to address.

### Structure of the thesis

Following this introduction, three chapters draw on various bodies of literature to provide an overview of the theoretical and policy context of the research in more detail. Chapter 1 takes a historical perspective to review the UK's approach to migration and asylum over the past 100 years, focusing particularly on changes to the asylum system that were mostly introduced by the New Labour governments of the early 21st century, that sought to create a "hostile environment" (Bloch and Schuster, 2005) for asylum seekers in the United Kingdom. Despite such a "hostile environment", I show that the numbers of asylum seekers coming to the UK has remained fairly constant in recent years, in contrast to some other European Union countries who have seen great increases as a result of the "refugee crisis". This is despite Berry et al.'s (2016) finding that media reporting of the "crisis" at this time portrayed those entering Europe as a growing threat to the UK. The focus of this thesis is the experience of refugees and asylum seekers in Wales and therefore this chapter outlines the political context in Wales, following devolution in 1999, and the responsibilities that the Welsh government has towards the growing numbers of asylum seekers who are dispersed to Wales.

Chapter 2 reviews previous research, predominantly from cross-cultural social psychology, on the processes of acculturation. As early as 1936 Herskovits, Redfield and Linton (p.149) had produced a definition of acculturation: "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". However, the first full psychological theory of acculturation was developed several years prior following Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918) classic study of immigrants in Chicago. Research in this area has tended to follow Thomas and Znaniecki's approach of seeing the minority culture as one which can be retained or abandoned, and the dominant culture as one which can be adopted or rejected. As such, acculturation typologies have been developed with Berry's (2005) classic taxonomy of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization the most widely cited and, in which, integration is seen as the preferred acculturation strategy. A different approach to acculturation has drawn on Stuart Hall's (1990) work on cultural identity and diaspora studies and is based mainly upon the study of post-colonial migrants into US and UK society. Such approaches (e.g. Bhattia and Ram, 2009) argue that the typological approach taken by many acculturation researchers is apolitical and too fixed; instead arguing that immigrant identity formation needs to be seen within historical and political contexts (such as those described in Chapter 1).

The chapter then proceeds to introduce the conceptual framework of integration developed by Ager and Strang (2004) which has had the biggest influence on the Westminster and devolved governments' refugee integration policy strategies since 2005 (also discussed in Chapter 2). This framework shares similarities with the typological approaches taken by acculturation researchers (e.g. Berry, 2005) but has been criticised by Phillimore and Goodson (2008) for focusing too heavily on the functional aspects of integration which are more tangible and quantifiable than social aspects of integration. The focus on measurement also means that the framework

predominantly relates to the outcomes of the process of integration, and is therefore a normative framework that seeks to define what "successful" integration looks like.

Because this framework has been influential (in policy terms) and useful in pointing towards "indicators" of integration, this thesis takes these "indicators" as the basis for a more thorough investigation of the ways in which social and identity issues may be a feature of the talk of those who are in the "process" of integrating in Wales. In doing so this thesis will show how a discursive psychological approach can be useful in developing research that has clear policy recommendations that seek to aid the "process" of integration, rather than seeking to define what "successful integration" might look like.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the key candidate ways of studying this field, which I outlined above, in relation to the topics of identity and racism, the absence of which is identified as a key measure of integration in Ager and Strang's (2004) conceptual framework. Here, I suggest that discursive approaches to the study of identity and racism that developed following the work of Wetherell and Potter (1992) also offer the potential for better understanding the integration experiences of refugees and asylum seekers. In contrast to the dominant cognitivist paradigm in social psychology, which explains social psychological phenomena in terms of 'internal' cognitive processes, discursive psychologists treat discourses (written and spoken language) as oriented towards action in specific social contexts. Thus, in this thesis when I talk of "experiences" I do so in line with other discursive psychologists who suggest that "language does not merely express experiences; rather, language also constitutes experiences and the subjective, psychological reality" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.102). To conclude this chapter, discursive research that has focused on refugees and asylum seekers is discussed and I suggest that there are gaps in the literature, which the thesis aims to fill, by focusing on the discourse of refugees and asylum seekers themselves, as opposed to media, political and lay discourses which have tended to

dominate this field (e.g. Lea and Lynn, 2003; Charteris-Back, 2006; Baker and McEnery, 2005).

In the fourth chapter, I describe the research design and tools used to generate the data presented in this thesis. The chapter begins by providing a justification for taking a discursive approach in this research and then outlines the approach taken in carrying out a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of UK and devolved governments' refugee integration strategy documents. I then describe the interview data; providing details of the participants interviewed for this study, how they were recruited and the interview schedule used. Ethical issues are also discussed here in addition to the difficulties of recruiting participants from a 'hidden' group. I also elaborate on the challenges of my position as a researcher who may be regarded as an "outsider" in the current research context. The chapter concludes with an outline of the strategies I used to analyse the corpus of interviews for this study drawing on the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987), Wetherell (1998) and Billig et al. (1988).

Chapter 5 is the first of four empirical chapters and reports on the CDA of government refugee integration strategy documents. I argue that the documents rely on historical notions of a "proud tradition" of providing welcome to refugees which both dialogically represses (Billig, 1999) earlier histories of not protecting refugees and more recent histories of attempting to deter asylum seekers from coming to the UK. As such, I argue that ambivalence is a key feature of such Westminster strategy documents that is a result of the inherent ideological dilemma (Billig et al., 1988) between the integration of refugees and the deterrence of asylum seekers. Integration in these documents is therefore found to be constructed largely as a "one-way" process in which it is the refugee who is expected to integrate because "we" already have a "proud history" of providing protection. Analysis reveals that the Westminster strategies also fail to consider the intimate linking of the categories of 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker', rendering the experiences of asylum seekers invisible and unimportant in

policy documents, despite the fact that they may eventually be awarded refugee status. By contrast, the devolved strategies do not suffer from these conceptual difficulties; they treat integration as a "process" which begins from day one of arrival in the country, regardless of status. But, I also suggest that they do face other dilemmas between their devolved powers and the reserved immigration matters.

Participants' talk about racism, which they report to have experienced in Wales, is the subject of Chapter 6. Taking a discursive psychological approach, I show that some participants drew on repertoires of cultural ignorance and of young children not knowing the norms of polite behaviour to explain the incidents that they talked about being of a racist nature. I argue that such a strategy allows the participants to put the issue of racism into play without appearing critical of the host country. I also show how other participants construct accounts of everyday racism in Wales, in which they can feel that they are being treated differently but are unable to give specific incidents of this. Again, this allowed participants to put the issue of racism in play without making any direct criticisms that would make them appear to be overly critical of the host country that has offered them protection. In methodological terms, this chapter also discusses the importance of the way in which the interviewer asks questions about potentially sensitive subjects. I show that questions framed using "any", orients interviewees towards giving more negative answers than other strategies for framing questions (Heritage and Robinson, 2011).

In Chapter 7, I discuss how participants talked about belonging in Wales and demonstrate that this also raised ontological questions (cf. Tileaga, 2007) of what it is to 'be' a person who is an asylum seeker or refugee in Wales. The chapter begins by looking at the neighbourhood level where I show that participants construct their neighbourhood relations on a continuum between "silence" and "inclusion", but where the banal "just saying hi" and the absence of conflict was constructed as a key feature of such relations. I then show how some participants constructed belonging using an

"economic" or "effort" repertoire in which being able to work and contribute to the economic life of the country was constructed as the key to belonging. In the final section of the chapter, I show how, particularly for asylum seekers, everyday life in Wales was constructed as "just eating and sleeping" and the ways in which restriction in the asylum system mean that participants construct accounts of not belonging in Wales. This chapter therefore begins to point towards integration being constructed in a more multi-faceted way than the "one-way" conception offered in the government refugee integration strategies analysed in Chapter 5.

The final empirical chapter, Chapter 8, focuses on the agency that participants showed within their talk about life in Wales, and in particular in relation to education and employment. I suggest that participants construct accounts in which they have "aspirations for a better quality of life" in which they actively seek out opportunities to develop themselves and improve the lives of others in their communities. In the final section, however, I show how for three participants, who were refused asylum seekers, a counter construction was produced in their talk, of "just getting by" within a restrictive and "hostile policy environment" (Zetter et al., 2005).

Chapter 9 discusses the main findings of the research project and concludes that forced migrants in Wales construct integration as a multi-faceted process and one in which both responsibility, "effort" and protection are positioned as being of great importance. The chapter also develops critique of Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework, as I argue that it is too mechanistic, normative and cannot adequately account for some of the identity constructions identified in the preceding chapters. As such, I will argue that taking a discursive psychological approach suggests that, in the context of research focusing on integration, a shift from "processes" to situated "practices" is useful where meaning is at stake. In this chapter, I also discuss the implications of the findings in the devolved Welsh context and offer some recommendations for future policies in this area. These include making changes

to the current immigration rules to allow asylum seekers who have been waiting for a decision on their claim for more than six months to undertake paid employment, developing a Wales-wide integration service and encouraging Welsh universities to offer scholarships to asylum seekers wanting to enter higher education. A policy briefing developed from this research is also included in the appendices of this thesis. Finally, I offer some personal reflections on the research process and discuss some possible limitations with the findings presented in this thesis, before offering some final conclusions about the findings of this research and providing some suggestions for further research.

# 1. Forced Migration in the UK and the Government policy response

"At sea, a frightening number of refugees and migrants are dying each year. On land, people fleeing war are finding their way blocked by closed borders."

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi (UNHCR, 2016b)

#### 1.1 Overview

In 2016 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017) estimated that there were 65.6 million people who had been forcibly displaced from their homes, the highest since their records began and an increase from 33.9 million in 1997. They attribute much of this increase to a rise in the number of conflicts in Middle-Eastern and Sub-Saharan African countries, particularly between 2012 and 2015. An increase in the number of people crossing the Mediterranean to seek safety in Europe, particularly from 2014 onwards, has been described as the 'refugee crisis' or 'European migrant crisis' (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017). This has led to debates amongst politicians, the media and academics that have focused particularly on the use of categories and how those "on the move" should be described or categorised (Goodman, Sirriyeh and McMahon, 2017). This chapter begins by critically discussing the use of a number of terms in forced migration research that have become particularly salient as a result of the 'crisis'. The section then offers definitions for the terms asylum seeker and refugee to situate this thesis within the current UK policy environment. Following this, I discuss the historical development of UK immigration policy and more recent changes to asylum policy to set the thesis within the current restrictionist policy agenda. Here, I also outline the relationship between the Welsh Government and UK government in terms of devolution and the implications for

refugees and asylum seekers who live in Wales. I then move on to provide an overview of global, UK and Welsh demographic trends in forced migration at the beginning of the 21st century and discuss these in light of the current 'hostile policy environment' (Zetter et al. 2005) and the ongoing 'refugee crisis' in Europe. Here, I show that, whilst Wales does have a long history of immigration, it has become increasingly "super-diverse" (Vertovec, 2007) since asylum seekers were first dispersed to Welsh towns and cities in 2001. Indeed, Vertovec (2007, p. 1025) argues that it is no longer sufficient to view diversity in the UK solely in terms of ethnicity and that diversity now needs to consider "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents".

### 1.2 Definitions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers

The current refugee 'crisis' has brought discussions around definitions and categorisations to the fore. Goodman et al. (2017) tracked the language used by the media in the reporting of the crisis and showed the shift in language from a 'migrant crisis', in which 'migrants' were constructed as a threat to Europe, to a 'refugee crisis', which presented 'refugees' in a more sympathetic and humane way. Crawley and Skleparis (2017) have also argued that use of the categories 'refugee' and 'migrant' has become deeply politicised during the 'crisis' and used to justify policies of exclusion and containment. They further suggest that the use of such categories assumes a linear migration, between two fixed points, that oversimplifies current migration patterns and that the categorization process is embedded within policy and legal frameworks. Zetter (2007) further argues that the distinction between 'migrant' and 'refugee' does not reflect empirical reality but policy intentions. Long (2013) shows that the introduction of the 1951 Refugee Convention was when 'refugee' became a separate legal category to that of 'migrant'. She suggests that, in contrast to categorisations prior

to the 1940s, the 1951 definition led to refugees being presented as figures of "humanitarian rescue, qualifying for protection only by the virtue of the absence of any explicit economic aspiration" (Long, 2013, p.7). Indeed, in the UK legal and policy context, this continues to be the case. Thus, in the context of the current thesis I define a refugee as someone who has been recognised by a national government as meeting the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees criteria of

"a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution"

By contrast, the term asylum seeker is less well defined but can usefully be thought of as a person who has crossed an international border in search of protection, but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been decided (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014, p.222). Those who have been forced to flee their homes but who have not crossed an international border are classified by the UNHCR as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), however, this group will not be the focus of this thesis.

In this thesis, I shall be using the term 'forced migrants' to describe refugees and asylum seekers, where it is appropriate to not distinguish between these two statuses. Firstly, because it emphasises that those who seek asylum cross borders and, secondly, because it distinguishes them from 'voluntary migrants' who have migrated for economic or other reasons, rather than to escape war or persecution. Migration scholars have, however, problematized this distinction, arguing that it creates opposing binaries and may not represent real world migration patterns where an individual may change status or belong to more than one category (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017). In Chapter 9, I shall return to this definition and discuss its use in relation to the findings of this study, particularly relating to issues of agency management discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The section which follows assumes the definitions outlined here and goes on to analyse UK immigration policy from the UK government's first attempts to control borders in 1905 up to present day legislation. Although it is important to consider this development it should be noted that, despite much of the early legislation referring to controlling immigration from within the Commonwealth<sup>1</sup>, many of the arguments that permeate the early debates on immigration are relevant today, particularly to the study of forced migrants, who did not enter this debate until much more recently. This section also demonstrates the ways in which the UK's Race Relations policies were developed in tandem with the tightening of border controls and how the idea of integration is one that has been on the political agenda for over half a century. Taking such a historical perspective I show that the dilemma between restriction and integration is one that has permeated UK migration policy since the beginning of the 20th century.

### 1.3 UK Migration Policy (1905 – present)

Current UK immigration policy can be traced back to the 1905 Aliens Act (and later 1914 Aliens Restriction Act and 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act) which was the UK government's first Act to implement controls on borders and restrictions for migrants. It gave officials the power to refuse entry to any aliens which they felt were 'undesirable', and was largely introduced to restrict the inflow of Jewish migrants that had been increasing since 1880. Following this the next large scale changes to immigration law did not come into effect until the introduction of the 1948 British Nationality Act, which sought to re-establish Britain's position as leader of the Commonwealth. Rather than aiming to impose immigration controls, in a response to labour shortages within Great Britain in the wake of the Second World War, this Act reaffirmed citizens of Commonwealth countries as British subjects in order to make it easier for them to come to the UK to fill gaps in the workforce. In many ways this Act

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Commonwealth nations here refers to those 52 states that are members of the "Commonwealth of Nations"

paved the way for later debates around 'race relations' that would form the basis of more wide-ranging legislative changes to immigration in the 1960s and 1970s and also saw the beginnings of what would later become known as 'multicultural Britain'.

These debates around race relations came particularly to the fore at the end of the 1950s, following many years of immigration from citizens of Commonwealth countries. Spencer (1997) estimates that the UK Asian and black population in 1939 was approximately 7,000, but, by 1953 had grown at a rate of 2,400 per year to 36,000, with many settling in established seaport communities such as Cardiff, Swansea, Liverpool and London. By 1956 immigration from the Commonwealth had increased to 46,850 before falling again in subsequent years, until a large increase in 1961 to 136,400 (Spencer, 1997), which was also coupled with immigration from Europe and other parts of the world during the same period (Somerville, 2007). The policy response at the time became one of restricting access to the UK, particularly 'coloured' immigration from the Commonwealth and was most notably focused upon following race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958 (Hansen, 2000). While it was four years later before any further Acts were brought into law, the period which followed saw a raft of legislation introduced which restricted the rights of British citizens from the Commonwealth which Hayes (2002) claims effectively ended black immigration for settlement by the 1980s.

The first of these Acts, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, imposed controls on immigrants via work vouchers that were skill-tiered and heavily restricted for those in the lowest tier, leading Somerville (2007) to suggest that the goal of this Act was in preventing further non-white immigration to the UK. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was introduced to strengthen the 1962 Act by introducing the notion of 'patriality' that ensured differences in citizenship rights according to one's ethnicity through an ancestral connection to the UK (Somerville, 2007). However, it was the 1971 Immigration Act which took this notion further, effectively abolishing the last

vestiges of the old Empire-embracing concept of British subject or citizen (Spencer, 1997) and ending the rights of non-white commonwealth citizens to migrate to the UK. Although white commonwealth citizens could still migrate to the UK under certain conditions related to patriality, many have seen this as the beginning of a zero-migration approach from the UK government (Hansen, 2000; Somerville, 2007).

Alongside tighter immigration laws, there was however, an increased emphasis on race relations and a desire to challenge what was perceived to be a widespread problem of racism (Hayes, 2002). Indeed, the Labour government, which was led by Harold Wilson, and came to power in 1964, was particularly unhappy with the manner in which race had been used by a Conservative MP in the Birmingham district of Smethwick during the election campaign. They set about introducing legislation that would prevent discrimination on the basis of race, colour or ethnic or national origin, whilst also maintaining its zero-immigration approach. This culminated in the 1965 Race Relations Act, which was later amended and strengthened in the 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Acts. Indeed, it remained in statute until being replaced by the 2010 Equality Act (although it was amended in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000) which brought together all anti-discriminatory laws under one single Act. Somerville (2007, p.18) suggests that it was during this period, 1948 to 1976, that the dominant policy model was created and entrenched, which also enjoyed bi-partisan agreement; "A bifurcated one: emphasising the integration of immigrants (through a 'race relations' approach) and restriction of immigration (a 'zero-migration' approach)".

Throughout the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher (1979-90) the policies implemented by previous governments relating to immigration were left largely untouched. However, the 1981 Nationality Act "brought nationality and immigration law into line by redefining British Citizenship more narrowly to match those who now had the right to live in the UK and creating subcategories of citizenship for many who did not" (Spencer, 2011, p.28). While this model is in some ways still the dominant one

within the UK, it was not until the early 1990s that the topic of refugees and asylum seekers started to dominate both political and media debates about immigration in a similar way to which immigrants from the Commonwealth had done in the 1950s and 1960s. Following the end of the Cold War and with major conflicts, religious persecution and 'ethnic cleansing' in countries such as Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Somalia, increasing numbers decided to claim asylum in the United Kingdom. While numbers were around 9,900 at the start of the 1980s, applications were growing at a rate of approximately 4,000 per year (Zetter and Pearl, 2000, p.5) and peaked at 44,840 (excluding dependants) in 1991.

Prior to 1993, asylum seekers were able to claim cash benefits (although at 90% of the rate paid to British Citizens), had access to local authority housing and were, in some situations, allowed to work (Sales, 2002). A raft of legislation from 1993 onwards disentitled asylum seekers from much of the welfare state which Sales (2002, p.456) argues created a clear division between asylum seekers (seen as undeserving) and refugees (seen as deserving). Before 1993, the UK had no specific asylum legislation, despite being a signatory of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees. Indeed, this convention was only incorporated into British law with the passing of the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act, which also brought a number of restrictive measures for asylum seekers into force. This included the removal of the right to permanent local authority housing, at a time, following the Thatcher government, in which this housing stock was already becoming more restricted due to large portions already having been sold off to private tenants and a freeze on the building of new properties (Dwyer and Brown, 2008).

From the introduction of the 1993 Act it was clear that policy relating to asylum seekers was that of restriction; of creating a 'hostile environment' and disincentivizing people from seeking asylum in the UK, particularly those who, both the print media and some politicians argued, were welfare seekers (McDonald and Billings, 2007). Indeed,

the Joint Committee on Human Rights (2007, p.110) have concluded that such disincentivizing measures, which began during this period, demonstrate that the government is "practising a deliberate policy of destitution" and Cholewinski (1998, p.494) suggests that it is a planned outcome of public policy also aimed at discouraging refused asylum seekers from remaining in the UK. It is from this point onwards that both policy and debate have been predicated against the notion that all asylum seekers are 'bogus', until proven otherwise.

Mayblin (2016) has argued that UK asylum policy has drawn on the push/pull factor theory of migration and that the focus has been on economic pull factors rather than political push factors, resulting particularly in restrictions on the ability of asylum seekers to work in the UK. Hayes (2002) also suggests that the term 'economic migrant' was introduced at this stage to further problematize those seeking asylum. These premises have permeated policies since the 1993 Act and with each act have further sought to restrict access to the welfare state and to the entitlements which citizens, residents and others with leave to remain (including refugees) are entitled. For example, the 1996 Immigration and Asylum Act further restricted the social rights of asylum seekers by transferring the responsibility for supporting them to local authorities (and their budgets), thus removing access to welfare benefits for asylum seekers. More controversially, vouchers were introduced to provide subsistence to those applying for asylum in-country, meaning that they did not receive any cash at all. These vouchers were only accepted at certain supermarkets, therefore placing a restriction on not only where, but also what they were able to buy. For example, halal meat (or other foods required for a particular diet) may not have been available in the supermarket and there may not have been anywhere locally accepting the vouchers which (due to receiving no cash to take public transport) would mean some asylum seekers had to walk many miles in order to purchase their shopping. Sales (2002, p.465) argues that 'in a cash economy, the voucher system excludes asylum seekers from society. They are

prevented from participating in normal everyday activities in which cash is taken for granted. Lack of cash also limits access to health care and other services, including legal advice, while the low level of the total package is insufficient to provide a healthy diet, particularly for children'.

The changes made in both the 1993 and 1996 Acts may well explain the sudden fall in the number of asylum applications made in the UK in 1996 (see Figure 1.1, below), as prior to this asylum applicants had increased steadily each year from the 1980s onwards (Allsopp et al. 2014).

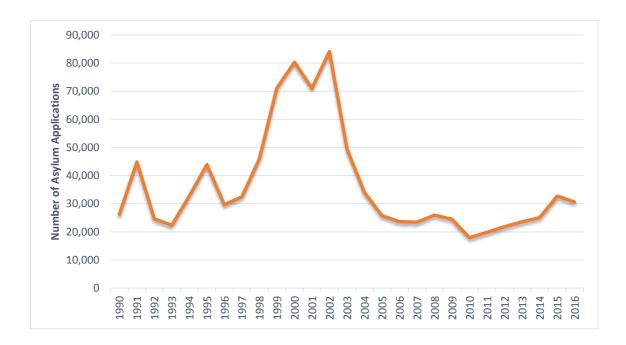


Figure 1.1 UK asylum applications 1990-2016 (Home Office, 2017)

Certainly Zetter et al. (2005) have suggested that this fall was in response to what they call the emergence of the 'restrictionist regime'. However, Figure 1.1 shows that, despite this fall in 1996, asylum applications increased again from 1997 to 2002, suggesting that this may be reflective of global asylum trends and world events, or 'push' rather than 'pull' factors (Mayblin, 2016). If this is the case, government policy aimed at creating a 'restrictionist regime' or 'hostile environment' may be misplaced.

### 1.4 Asylum Policy under the New Labour Government (1997 - 2010)

Following the Labour Party's return to government in 1997 under Prime Minister Tony Blair, the party went on to legislate on the issue of asylum on an unprecedented scale, no less than four times whilst in government. Somerville (2007) suggests that Labour's impact on immigration policy can be thought of in two distinct phases: an initial reactive phase to deal with a backlog of asylum claims that had built up under the previous Conservative government; and a second, proactive phase in which further restriction and 'managed migration' topped the policy agenda.

Labour's vision for immigration was made clear in its 1998 White Paper Fairer,

Faster and Firmer: A modern approach to immigration and asylum. Whilst reminding
the reader that the UK has a long and proud tradition of protecting those fleeing
persecution and is committed to the 1951 UN Convention (see Chapter 5 for further
discussion of use of the 'proud tradition' discourse in integration strategy documents), it
also introduced proposals for a number of measures that would further restrict asylum
seekers' access to welfare support, including to:

"create new support arrangements to ensure that asylum seekers are not left destitute, minimize the incentive to economic migration, remove access to Social Security benefits, minimize cash payments and reduce the burden on local authorities" (Home Office, 1998, p.5).

In this vision we see the government making a clear conflation of forced and economic migration, where economic benefits and access to the UK welfare state are seen as potential draws for 'migrants'. Again, this shows the approach of UK asylum policy has been to reduce economic pull factors (Mayblin, 2016). However, Crawley and Skleparis (2017, p.6) have argued that the distinction between forced and economic migration is a false one and that the "migration-asylum nexus ... suggests that political upheavals, conflicts and economic difficulties often occur simultaneously giving people multiple motivations for the decision to move". Such an approach is not recognised in the vision above and the legislation which followed the White Paper, the 1999 Immigration and

Asylum Act, removed asylum seekers from access to all mainstream social security benefits through the creation of a separate "support structure" that those seeking asylum could access.

The creation of the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), charged with coordinating all accommodation and financial support for asylum seekers, under the 1999 Act had a number of significant impacts for both asylum seekers and, to a lesser extent, refugees. This was in terms of both access to welfare benefits and housing, and on the longer-term prospects for integration and settlement within a community. This is because under Section 95 of the Act applicants for asylum are given two options for support: subsistence only or accommodation and subsistence. For applicants choosing accommodation and subsistence, this accommodation was, and still is, offered on a "no choice" basis and includes dispersal to cluster areas within the UK, outside of London. At the end of 2016, 93% of asylum seekers receiving support under Section 95 were supported on this basis (Home Office, 2017). Applicants who choose subsistence only are likely to be those who already have family in the UK or friends who can support their housing needs, perhaps explaining why a much lower percentage choose this option. However, this may also be a difficult choice, with some asylum seekers perhaps feeling that they have to choose this option in order to avoid being dispersed to another part of the country. This may be particularly so where large ethnic communities currently exist, in cities such as London, that asylum seekers may perceive as being more desirable in terms of providing them with initial and on-going support that may be beneficial for their longer term integration needs. Indeed, at the end of 2016, 50% of those receiving subsistence-only Section 95 support were living in London (Home Office, 2017).

Dispersal to cluster areas was introduced in response to growing concerns from Local Authorities in London and the South East that they were shouldering more of the financial burden for supporting asylum seekers than other areas of the UK. Indeed,

Zetter and Pearl (2000, p.6) suggest this was a time of housing difficulties in these areas and that dispersal was already beginning to happen before the 1999 Act as boroughs in London struggled to find suitable accommodation for those they were supporting and sought arrangements with other local authorities who had suitable empty housing stock (Sales, 2002). With responsibility for all asylum support now resting with NASS, local authorities' direct roles in supporting asylum seekers ceased. Instead NASS created regional consortia in cluster areas (for example in the North West and Yorkshire and Humberside) involving both local authorities and other voluntary agencies (including refugee community organisations (RCOs)). Although Sales (2002) suggests that NASS, in practice, was effectively subcontracting its work to these consortia. Indeed, one of the consequences of removing asylum seekers' entitlements to access mainstream welfare benefits has been the "neo-liberalisation2" of asylum support. Loewenstein (2015) has shown how, via NASS, the UK Home Office has awarded large contracts to private companies, such as Serco and G4S, to provide housing for asylum seekers whilst their cases are decided. Such private companies have also competed to be awarded contracts to run the UK immigration detention estate demonstrating further "neo-liberalisation" of the asylum system in the UK.

Netto (2011a) has scrutinized the policy of 'no-choice' dispersal arguing that there are particular problems with its rationale and impacts. She argues that the principle of 'spreading the burden' (Robinson et al. 2003) contributes towards the wider exclusionary discourses of forced migrants and that being a 'no-choice' system it aims to deter new arrivals from claiming asylum in the UK. Other research on the impacts of asylum dispersal in the UK has shown that many asylum seekers are dispersed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Neo-liberalisation here refers to the increasing use, by Governments in the UK, of the free market to provide public services, particularly since the 1980s. This can be seen most clearly in the UK Government's current immigrant (asylum) policy in which private companies are awarded large contracts to provide housing services for asylum seekers.

areas of deprivation and social exclusion due to the availability of housing in 'difficult to let' areas (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Netto, 2011b). Much of the housing provided to them in these areas has also been found to be of poor quality (Phillips 2006, Phillimore and Goodson, 2008, Garvie, 2001). Further research has shown that many new dispersal areas lack the expertise (including RCOs) and community support for welcoming new migrants (Zetter et al. 2005; Netto, 2011b). Importantly, Netto (2011a) also highlights the contradiction between 'no-choice' dispersal of asylum seekers and the Home Office's aspirations for refugee integration (see chapters 2 and 5 for a discussion of such policies), arguing that integration is not promoted when new arrivals are given no choice in where they reside.

Under the 1999 Act financial support was provided as a single payment, at approximately 70% of income support, that was given in the form of vouchers (the problems with which were noted previously, and again here a private company (Sodexho) were sub-contracted to run this support system on behalf of the Home Office). Bloch and Schuster (2005) suggest that this was implemented as part of a 3pronged restriction regime consisting of dispersal, destitution and detention. Destitution was further enforced under Section 55 of the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, which excluded asylum seekers from support where they had not made their claim 'as soon as reasonably practical' after arriving in the UK. Again, this can be seen as being particularly targeted at those people whom the government believes are economic migrants attempting to abuse the asylum system as a means of extending their stay in the UK. For those not claiming asylum 'at port' (i.e. as soon as they enter the UK) the option to make their claim at only one possible location (Croydon) further increased the potential for enforced destitution through denying access to asylum support. Many of these changes can therefore be seen as reflecting neo-liberal ideas of both attempting to reduce reliance on the state and of opening up services to be run by the private sector.

Further restrictions on forced migrants' housing entitlements were introduced in the 2004 Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of New Claimants) Act, which, for the first time, created a link between the asylum seeker and the local authority area to which they were dispersed. The purpose of this was to make it more difficult for the asylum seeker, upon receiving refugee (or other) status, to move to another local authority. This is not to say that they are not able to move once they have received status, just that it may be more difficult, as the local authority to which they are moving could now refer them back to their linked local authority if they sought support for homelessness. The difficulties in finding suitable housing upon receipt of a grant of refugee status have been acknowledged by researchers (Gillespie, 2012; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Phillips, 2006) who have found this period to be one where both destitution and homelessness are common. Much of this difficulty can be attributed to the Home Office policy which requires newly-granted refugees to leave their NASS accommodation within 28 days of receiving their status. Basedow and Doyle (2016) carried out interviews with 11 newly-granted refugees and found that whilst nine had received their Biometric Residence Permit (BRP) within the 28 day move-on period, only six had received their National Insurance Number and only one had been able to claim welfare benefits. Thus, ten out of the 11 interviewees had experienced being without financial support at the end of the 28 day move-on period, a finding also confirmed by a survey of 100 refugees for the same project (Basedow and Doyle, 2016). The report also highlights how insecure housing, 'sofa-surfing3' and homelessness are common in the weeks following the end of the move-on period and the ways in which new refugees are forced to rely on charities and friends. However, if during their initial asylum claim period, the refugee has failed to develop sufficient social capital in their dispersal area, or has not been able to due to lack of developed services, there may be an increased risk of destitution and homelessness at the end of the move-on period (Phillimore et al.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sofa-surfing refers to a practice whereby a homeless person may stay temporarily with various friends or family members whilst attempting to find more permanent accommodation.

2008). Again this suggests a contradiction between the deterrence of asylum seekers and the protection and integration of refugees. Recent reports by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on refugees (2017) and National Assembly for Wales (2017) have noted difficulties faced by new refugees in the move-on period. The APPG on refugees report recommends increasing the move-on period to at least 50 days and the National Assembly for Wales report suggests an increase to 56 days to be in line with housing law in Wales.

The 2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act had a direct impact on both refugees and asylum seekers with the introduction of 5 years leave to remain being granted to those recognised as refugees. Prior to the 2006 Act, those recognised as refugees were generally given indefinite leave to remain, with no requirement to reapply or renew their status, however the 1951 Refugee Convention does not require, nor oblige, states to offer permanent residence or citizenship (McDonald and Billings, 2007). Such a practice has been a feature of Australian asylum law since 1999 for certain categories of asylum seeker, most notably those arriving by boat who do not have a valid entry visa and who are subsequently determined to have a valid claim for asylum. However, in discussing the effects of such a policy on longer term integration prospects, McDonald and Billings (2007, p.57) note that "those granted temporary protection visas in Australia not only suffer from insecurity and uncertainty about their future, but are also denied access to settlement services and family reunification". The impact of the 2006 Act was that refugees would be required to reapply for leave to remain at the end of the 5-year period and the government could, if they considered that conditions in their home country had improved sufficiently or that the individual posed a threat to the UK, refuse to renew this.

Research has shown that this policy change has had an impact on many aspects of refugees' day to day lives and prospects for integration. Stewart and Mulvey (2014) have shown that not only does this status create uncertainty for refugees and

affects their ability to plan for the future, but it has also created uncertainty for employers, with many of the refugees who they interviewed reporting that employers were reluctant to take them on or train them in new roles, when their status was not permanent. This has been exacerbated by the requirements of the 2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act which could result in large penalties for employers found to be employing illegal immigrants. Indeed, Allsopp et al. (2014) suggests that many employers are not clear about who they can and cannot employ. The 2014 Immigration Act, which introduced a compulsory right of residence check that landlords must carry out before letting a property to a tenant, has similarly been shown to disadvantage refugees, adding to the difficulties of the move-on period discussed above (APPG on Refugees, 2017; National Assembly for Wales, 2017). Basedow and Doyle (2016) suggest that the inability to save money during the asylum process, because asylum seekers receive only £35.95 per week, and difficulties in receiving an integration loan, also contribute towards difficulties in securing permanent accommodation during the move-on period. Dwyer and Brown (2008) also highlight difficulties arising from the change to granting 5 years leave to remain, rather than indefinite leave, for refugees attempting to locate permanent housing, in particular, being unable to obtain a mortgage due to the uncertainty over their status, which forces refugees to seek suitable housing in the social or private rented sectors. Difficulties obtaining suitable housing are therefore likely to impact upon refugees' longer term feeling of security and ability to integrate (Stewart and Mulvey, 2014). The Conservative government introduced a further Immigration Act in 2016 that continues to generate a 'hostile environment' for asylum seekers in the UK, with measures including the ending of support for families who have been refused asylum. However, it is perhaps too early to understand what the full impact of the measures introduced in this Act will be.

Recent policies may be indicative of a broader shift in thinking, also reflected in EU policy, aimed at moving away from refugee integration towards 'pathways to

citizenship' (Strang and Ager, 2010). Indeed, a focus on citizenship policy emerged in the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, following a relatively quiet period in this area since the 1981 British Nationality Act. The 2002 Act required those applying for British Citizenship to demonstrate an understanding of, and ability to use, the English language and to pass the 'Life in the UK' test. The 2009 Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act strengthened this policy further through the introduction of probationary citizenship and the concept of 'active citizenship', whereby applicants were encouraged to undertake voluntary work to assist their application for citizenship. This has sparked debate in recent years around whether citizenship should be used as a tool to encourage integration or as a reward for successful integration. Indeed Stewart and Mulvey (2014, p. 1026) suggest that in the UK "policy has therefore both reflected an assimilationist stance to citizenship acquisition and explicitly drawn upon the multicultural model of integration". Such changes have led Da Lomba (2010, p.17) to suggest that "the UK Government's current approach to the interface between legal status and refugee integration undermines the latter".

### 1.4.1 Asylum policy and devolution

In the context of the current thesis it is also important at this stage to draw attention to constitutional changes that began the process of devolution, and the creation of the National Assembly for Wales, in 1999. Chaney (2011, p.69) describes such changes as a "move to quasi-federalism" in the UK with the National Assembly gaining legislative powers in social policy areas such as health, education, housing and social services. Thus, this was a process that occurred at the same time as the changes to asylum policy outlined in this chapter and coincided with the beginning of asylum seeker dispersal to Wales in 2001. The creation of the National Assembly was not initially popular and lacked wider public support, despite being voted for by a majority in the 1997 referendum, but this has changed in recent years (Chaney, 2016), with a greater proportion of the population in Wales supporting greater devolved powers for the

National Assembly. Although the Welsh Government do have responsibilities to refugees and asylum seekers under the areas outlined above, immigration and asylum remain reserved matters, creating something of a paradox. Giudici (2014) argues that an inclusive rhetoric has been a feature of Welsh political discourse since the early days of the National Assembly along with the myth of tolerance (Williams, 2015, see Chapter 2). He argues that such "post-devolution inclusiveness can be seen as functioning as a national boundary between Wales and England, the former self proclaiming more 'welcoming' than the latter" (Giudici, 2014, p.1412). Chaney (2011) has further highlighted that a mainstreaming approach to equalities has been adopted by the Welsh Government, however, specific strategies relating to refugee and asylum seeker inclusion have also been published by the Welsh Government. The context faced by forced migrants in Wales is discussed further in Section 1.7, below, and in Chapters 2 and 5, I show how devolution has led to divergence in integration policies between the Welsh and UK governments.

In this section, I have outlined the current "hostile policy environment" faced by forced migrants in Wales and other parts of the UK. This policy environment sets the context for this thesis because all of the participants interviewed for this study are currently, or have been, living their day-to-day lives within this policy environment. I have also shown that whilst immigration and asylum remain matters reserved for the UK government, the devolved Welsh Government do have devolved responsibilities for refugee integration. In the final sections of this chapter I provide more discussion of current migration trends, particularly in the context of the current 'refugee crisis' but also with a spotlight on forced migration in Wales, the focus of this thesis.

### 1.5 Global refugee and asylum seeker demographics

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017) estimate that at the end of 2016 a total of 65.6 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide, the highest since their records began. This figure is comprised of 22.5 million refugees, 2.8

million asylum seekers whose cases are still in process and 40.3 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Table 1.1, below, shows the 10 largest sources of refugees at the end of 2016. For nearly three decades (until the end of 2013), Afghanistan was the world's largest source country of refugees (UNHCR, 2014), with particularly large numbers fleeing the country at the beginning of the 21st century due to the rule of the Taliban and the US-led invasion that followed the September 11th terrorist attacks in New York in 2001. However, the UNHCR (2015) report that the on-going conflict and civil war in Syria now means that it has overtaken Afghanistan as the largest source of refugees. This is particularly problematic for a country which used to be one of the top 5 major refugee hosting countries as recently as 2012 (UNHCR, 2013) owing to its geographical position and proximity to other major source countries of refugees such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

Table 1.1 – Major source countries of refugees at end-2016 (UNHCR, 2017)

Country	Number of
	refugees
Syria	5,524,377
Afghanistan	2,501,445
South Sudan	1,436,719
Somalia	1,012,323
Sudan	650,640
Dem. Rep. of Congo	537,473
Central African	490,892
Republic	
Myanmar	490,289
Eritrea	459,430
Burundi	408,085

Table 1.2 – Major refugee hosting countries of refugees at end-2016 (UNHCR, 2017)

Country	Number of
	refugees hosted
Turkey	2,869,421
Pakistan	1,352,560
Lebanon	1,012,969
Iran	979,435
Uganda	940,835
Ethiopia	791,631
Jordan	685,197
Germany	669,482
Dem. Rep of	451,956
Congo	
Kenya	451,099

Whilst both Afghanistan and Somalia have been major source countries of refugees for many years, their numbers have held steady in this time. This is in contrast to countries such as Syria, South Sudan, Sudan and Eritrea, which have continued to see growth in refugee numbers as continued civil war and religious persecution have caused people to flee. If Table 1.1 is compared with Table 1.2 above, which shows the largest refugee hosting countries at the end of 2016; it becomes clear that most forced migrants do flee to the closest safe country, crossing the closest border, rather than attempting to make it to Europe or the UK, as the print media has often suggested (Lynn and Lea, 2003; Baker et al., 2008). Such evidence also calls into question UK asylum policies that have focused heavily on reducing economic 'pull factors' for migrants (Mayblin, 2016) and shows that despite the 'refugee crisis', most are choosing to remain in the region of their home country. For example the majority of refugees from Afghanistan are, and have been for many years, living in Pakistan, explaining its position as the world's second major refugee hosting country (UNHCR, 2017). However, this is likely to change in the future as the UNHCR (2014) report that increasing numbers of Afghan refugees are choosing to return to Afghanistan. Table 1.2 also shows that 3 of the countries in the top 10 (Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan) are there as a result of the ongoing civil war in Syria. Indeed, in 2011, Lebanon was only the 69th largest host of refugees globally but now has an average of 169 refugees per 1000 inhabitants (UNHCR, 2017), by far the highest rate as a percentage of the population, followed by Jordan and Turkey. In terms of European countries, Germany hosts the most refugees, however, only Sweden and Malta rank as major refugee hosting countries when looked at in comparison to population (UNHCR, 2017).

# 1.6 UK refugee and asylum seekers demographics

Despite politicians frequently proclaiming that the UK has a 'proud history' of offering protection to refugees (Kirkwood, 2017; Darling, 2013) the UNHCR (2017) show that the UK was hosting only 118,995 at the end of 2016. This figure is much lower than

those countries shown in Table 1.2 who each hosted over 450,000 refugees and equates to less than 1 refugee per 1000 inhabitants. Within the context of the current 'crisis' the UK's response has been to offer protection to 20,000 Syrians by 2020 as part of its Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS), arguing that this approach does not encourage people to risk their lives attempting to cross the Mediterranean. By the end of 2016, 5,706 people had been resettled by local authorities across the UK. Other European countries have taken differing approaches to the 'crisis' ranging from closing its borders and building fences to keep 'migrants' out (Hungary) to opening its borders to forced migrants (Germany). European Union plans to ensure fair distribution of those coming to Europe have also been difficult to agree.

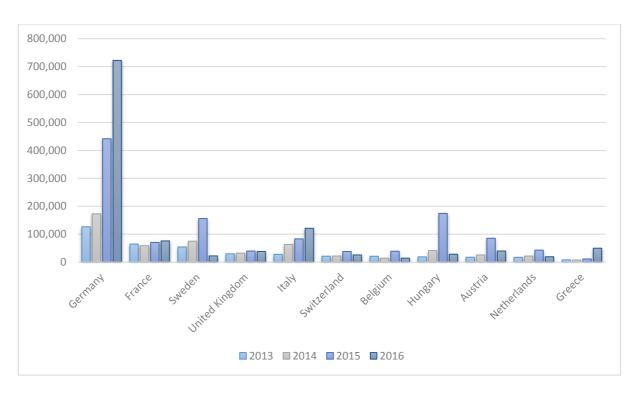


Figure 1.2 – Number of asylum applications in EU countries (inc. dependants) 2013 – 2016 (Eurostat, 2017)

Figure 1.2, above, shows the European countries which received the highest numbers of asylum applications (including dependants) during the ongoing 'crisis' period and reveals that the UK received the sixth highest number in 2016 (Eurostat, 2017). The 38,290 applications made in the UK accounted for 3.2% of all asylum applications submitted in EU-28 countries in this period. By contrast, applications made in Germany accounted for 60% of the total applications made in EU-28 countries in 2016. The figure also shows that asylum applications in the UK have remained relatively consistent in the UK throughout the crisis, despite media reports of the crisis which have been shown to portray those entering Europe as a growing threat to the UK (Berry, et al., 2016).The long-term UK asylum application trends (excluding dependants) are shown in Figure 1.1, on page 18. This reveals that the number of asylum applications received in 2016 (30,603) was only just above the level recorded some two decades earlier in 1996 (29,642) and is considerably less than the 84,132 received in 2002. The figures, while in some ways can be seen as being in line with global displacement trends at the beginning of the 21st century, show that during the

'crisis' the number of applications has risen only slightly. This may be as a result of the UK government's asylum policy (discussed in section 1.4), particularly from 1999 onwards, which has sought to create a 'hostile environment' (Zetter et al., 2005) that discourages asylum seekers from coming to the UK and encourages refused asylum seekers to leave the UK.

Table 1.3, below, reveals that Iranian nationals submitted the largest number of applications for asylum in the UK for year-ending 2016 (Home Office, 2017). This was a change in 2016 as for many years the highest number of asylum seekers had been Eritrean nationals, reflecting the continued human rights abuses reported in the country (Human Rights Watch, 2014). This table also reveals that successful refugee status grant rates for the seven countries with the highest numbers of applications were low or very low and only Syria, Sudan and Eritrea had grant rates above 50%.

Table 1.3 UK asylum applications and grant rates by country year-ending 2016 (Home Office, 2017)

Country	Number of new asylum applications in UK year-ending 2016	Grant rate of refugee status (2016)
Iran	4,162	37%
Pakistan	2,857	14%
Iraq	2,666	12%
Afghanistan	2,341	35%
Bangladesh	1,939	6%
Albania	1,488	27%
India	1,488	0.77%
Syria	1,409	86%
Sudan	1,314	85%
Eritrea	1,238	67%

## 1.7 Forced Migrants in Wales

Whilst there have been various studies of the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK context, there has been little research which explores these experiences within the devolved context. This thesis attempts to address this lacuna and contribute to the existing literature through a consideration of forced migrant integration in the devolved, Welsh, context.

Dunkerely et al. (2006) investigated the experiences of children seeking asylum in Wales and found that despite having a "quality-of-life" that was below that of their non-asylum-seeking peers, their participants were hopeful about their future in Wales and saw it as a safe place to live. Maegusuku-Hewett et al. (2007) similarly showed the resilience and aspirations of asylum-seeking children in Wales attributing this to the individual agency<sup>4</sup> of their participants. The largest study of forced migration in Wales was commissioned by the Welsh Government and conducted by Crawley and Crimes (2009). This study looked at a number of the 'means and markers', identified by Ager and Strang (2004), in their *Indicators of Integration* framework (discussed further in the next chapter) in the Welsh context. Analysing responses to 123 questionnaires Crawley and Crimes (2009) found that over 80% of the respondents reported problems with their accommodation including lack of permanency, cost, condition and problems with their neighbours. Homelessness was also an enduring issue reported. In terms of education, 75% of respondents had arrived in the UK with at least secondary education from their home country, 25% with an undergraduate degree and 9% with a postgraduate qualification. Since living in Wales a third of respondents had completed an English language course and just over 10% an undergraduate or postgraduate degree. Vocational training in areas such as ICT, catering, forklift truck training and

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In this thesis 'agency' is understood as "the property of being the source or cause of action or events" (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, 274).

health and safety were more commonly reported, reflecting the types of employment roles where refugees were most likely to be employed. However, for many respondents a number of barriers to education were identified such as illness, childcare responsibilities and funding.

Half of Crawley and Crimes' (2009) respondents reported experiencing some form of racism whilst living in Wales including verbal and physical abuse by youths and damage to property, although respondents did not have faith in the police when such incidents were reported. Despite this the results showed that over 60% felt they belonged in their neighbourhoods and that 75% wanted to remain in Wales. The incidents of racism reported in Crawley and Crimes' (2009) study may be indicative of Welsh attitudes towards immigration, although this may be in opposition to the often cited idea of Wales being the 'tolerant nation' (Williams, 2015). Indeed, Lewis (2005) has suggested that attitudes towards asylum seekers in Wales are more favourable than in other parts of the UK. To investigate this further Mann and Tommis (2012) analysed responses from the 2008 and 2010 European Social Survey. They found an increasingly less positive attitude towards immigrants between the 2008 and 2010 surveys. Attitudes in Wales were found to be less favourable towards immigrants than in Scotland and the South East of England and more in line with patterns found in the North of England and the English Midlands. But, when analysing responses to the Citizenship Survey of 2007/8 and 2008/9 they found that there appeared to be no less opposition to immigration in Wales than in areas of England. However, their results point more to opposition to immigration being linked to how respondents identified with nationhood. For those who identified as either Welsh or English only, opposition to immigration was higher than for those who identified as British. Further, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010) found that most of the asylum seekers and refugees they interviewed described Wales as a very welcoming place. However, the

study also found instances of racially motivated hate crime which made some asylum seekers and refugees feel unwanted in Wales.

Despite some (limited) research, it is difficult to know how many of the 118,995 refugees in the UK reside in Wales, although Crawley (2013) estimates that it may be between 6,000 and 10,000 people and Robinson (2006) that it may be significantly more than 10,000. This difficulty in accurate reporting arises for two reasons; firstly, because, once refugee status has been granted, individuals have the option to move away from the area in which their asylum accommodation was provided and, secondly, because the decennial census does not specifically record if the respondents are a refugee. Crawley (2013) argues that the Welsh context is of interest because asylum seekers and refugees are more concentrated in a small number of towns and cities than in other parts of the UK and come from a more limited range of nationalities. However, this picture may be changing as a result of the UK Government's response to the 'refugee crisis', and the creation of the SVPRS, which (by the end of 2016) saw 397 Syrian refugees resettled across 21 of Wales' 22 local authority areas (Home Office, 2017).

Race Council Cymru (2012) report that the population of Wales grew by 5.3% between 2001 and 2011 and that migration to Wales made up 90% of this increase. They further highlight that the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population of Wales rose from 2.1% in 2001 to 4.1% in 2009. They attribute the increase in migration to Wales to both migrant workers arriving from the EU following accession in 2004 and to a change in policy from the UK government that saw some asylum seekers dispersed to Wales whilst their claims for refugee status were assessed. Dispersal of asylum seekers to Wales began in 2001 following the 1999 Immigration and Asylum act in an attempt to relieve pressure on housing in areas of London and the South East which had traditionally been the areas in which asylum seekers settled. As such, the Home Office keep records of the numbers of asylum seekers receiving Section 95

support under the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act who have been dispersed to Wales and other parts of the UK, meaning that we have a better idea of how many asylum seekers may be currently living in Wales.

Table 1.4 – Number of asylum seekers supported under Section 95 (Home Office, 2017)

Year ending	Number of Asylum Seekers in Wales	% of UK total
2005	2,348	4.7
2006	2,601	5.4
2007	2,270	5.3
2008	1,692	5.4
2009	1,780	6.2
2010	1,437	6.5
2011	1,436	6.9
2012	1,471	7.3
2013	1,777	7.6
2014	2,090	7
2015	2,856	8.3
2016	3,009	7.6

Table 1.4, above, shows that at the end of 2016 there were 3,009 asylum seekers (main applicants, supported under Section 95 of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act) living in Wales. Of these 3,009 receiving Section 95 support, 99% were receiving both subsistence and accommodation with only 1% receiving subsistence only support, showing that 99% of asylum seekers in Wales at the end of 2016 had been dispersed there on a no-choice basis (see section 1.4 for a discussion). Of the four dispersal locations in Wales, Cardiff has traditionally hosted the largest proportion of asylum seekers (46.8% at end of 2016), followed by Swansea (30.7%), Newport (17.2%) and Wrexham (4.9%) (Home Office 2017). Crawley (2013) has argued that a significant proportion of those asylum seekers dispersed to Wales are housed in areas with high relative deprivation in these four towns and cities. A small number of subsistence only supported asylum seekers were also living, in very small numbers, in these areas as well as in Neath Port Talbot (1), Bridgend (4), Gwynedd (3), Merthyr Tydfil (2),

Monmouthshire (1) and Conwy (1). These asylum seekers will not have been dispersed to these locations and it is therefore likely that they had chosen themselves to live in these areas with friends or family.

Table 1.4, above, shows that Wales (at the end of 2016) was hosting 7.6% (3,009) of the UK's total number of asylum seekers supported under Section 95. This was a lower number than had been dispersed to many individual cluster areas of England: North West (9,491), West Midlands (5,207), Yorkshire and Humberside (4,920) and the North East (3,411). However, Table 1.4 shows that there has generally been an increasing trend for a greater proportion of asylum seekers to be housed in Wales (despite falling numbers of asylum applications from 2002 to 2012).

There exists a complication with using this estimate (3,009) as a reliable figure for the number of asylum seekers in Wales as it does not include those receiving Section 98 support (initial support before application for Section 95 support), nor does it take account of failed asylum seekers who may either be destitute (not receiving any form of asylum support) or receiving Section 4 support. The Home Office do not release figures by region for those receiving Section 98 and Section 4 support, however, for the whole of the UK at the end of 2016 there were 1,990 applicants supported under Section 98 and 2,424 (excluding dependants) receiving Section 4 support. This would suggest that the actual total number of asylum seekers living in Wales may be considerably higher than the 3,009 reported by the Home Office (2017).

Despite increasing numbers of asylum seekers being housed in Wales it is not clear how many of those who are given refugee status choose to remain in Wales. Stewart and Shafer (2015), in a comprehensive study of UK dispersal and onward migration, found that the increasing diversity of cities such as Cardiff was leading to more newly-granted refugees remaining in the city. However, they also found that being unable to find work in Cardiff was the most likely reason for refugees to leave Wales. There may be further reasons why refugees choose to remain or move from

Wales. Firstly, the government introduced the dispersal policy in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act as a means of reducing the pressure faced by local councils in London and the South East as these had been the areas that asylum seekers had typically settled in during the 1990s. For many there may be a hope to return to London or other parts of the UK due to family or community connections or the perception of better job prospects. Similarly, dispersal may have meant that family members or friends had been dispersed to other areas of the UK that the refugee may wish to re-join once given status. Likewise, it may be that specific communities have formed in areas, outside of Wales, that the refugee may then perceive as being more attractive to live in.

Table 1.5, below, shows the numbers of asylum seekers in Wales by nationality. These data suggest that for many of those dispersed to Wales there will be existing communities for them to be a part of who may be able to offer support during the initial weeks and months of living in Wales. However, this may not be the case for all dispersal locations in Wales, most notably Wrexham, which receives less than 5% of Wales' asylum seekers (see above).

Table 1.5 – S95 supported asylum seekers living in Wales by Nationality at end- 2016 (Home Office, 2017)<sup>5</sup>

Country	Number on Section 95 support in Wales at year-ending September 2016
China	370
Iran	330
Pakistan	323
Nigeria	228
Afghanistan	204
Iraq	192
Albania	171
Eritrea	160
Sri Lanka	133
Sudan	70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> China and Nigeria do not appear in Table 1.3 showing the nationalities of new asylum seekers in the UK in 2016. The reason for their significant numbers in Wales is unclear.

38

Data from the Wales Strategic Migration Partnership (2015) also reveal that each of the four dispersal areas in Wales saw a greater number of people moving out of that area to other parts of the UK than moved into the area from elsewhere in the UK, between 2012 and 2013. Whilst these figures do not reflect only forced migrants it may be indicative of many forced migrants leaving their dispersal area once refugee status has been granted and also perhaps that refugees living elsewhere in the UK are not choosing to move to Wales. As shown in Table 1.3, several of these nationalities, have grant rates of refugee status which are very low, suggesting that many who seek asylum will be unable to plan for a longer term future in Wales.

Stewart (2011) reviewed the impact of the dispersal policy on Scotland and concluded that the policy has been largely unsuccessful because those granted refugee status had not settled in the area on a long-term basis. Stewart (2011, p.45) cites lack of availability of housing and no pre-existing BAME ethnic communities as a key factor which has seen onward migration to larger cities such as London and Manchester. Indeed, Robinson (2003) has found that secondary (onward) migration to London averaged between 18 and 20% for those who had waited for an asylum decision for 18 months or more. This is not the case for Robinson and Coleman (2000) who found that very few of the Bosnian refugees resettled in locations across the UK between 1992 and 1995 engaged in secondary migration. They report that this was due to an absence of social networks because there were no pre-existing Bosnian communities in the UK prior to this resettlement programme. This suggests that social networks may be an important factor in determining whether or not forced migrants choose to remain in their dispersal location and may impact upon their ability to integrate.

Whilst little may be known of the experiences of forced migrants in Wales, what can be argued is that Wales, in recent years, is a country that has become increasingly 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007), in part as a result of the dispersal of asylum seekers

to towns and cities in Wales since 2001. However, as Crawley (2013, p.3) points out, asylum seekers and refugees have generally been concentrated in urban areas in Wales' largest towns and cities, and do not have a visible presence in the more rural areas of Wales. Asylum seekers and refugees in Wales are therefore of interest because they are at the intersection between hostile asylum and immigration policies created by the UK Government and a more tolerant and inclusive social policy environment long espoused by the Welsh Government (Williams, 2015).

### 1.8 Summary

This review of recent policy changes has highlighted how the UK government, through an on-going process of legislation, has created what has been termed a 'hostile environment' for forced migrants in the UK. Evidence has been presented that shows the UK government have sought to create this 'hostile environment' through both immigration policy and, more recently (and particularly for forced migrants) through its immigrant policy. However, I have also begun to suggest that forced migrants in Wales may be subject to more inclusive social policies than other parts of the UK, as a result of devolution and the Welsh Government's inclusive rhetoric (developed further in Chapter 2). But, there is currently a gap in the research relating to forced migrants in Wales, and their experiences of integration in particular, which this thesis seeks to address.

The 'hostile environment' is suggested to be one of the ways in which Sivanandan (2006) and Fekete (2001) propose that a new form of racism, 'xeno-racism', has come to be prevalent in the UK over the past two decades. The idea of 'xeno-racism' and the dilemma that is apparent in UK government policy between the deterrence of asylum seekers and integration of refugees will be a key feature of the chapters that follow in this thesis. In this chapter, I have begun to suggest that the creation of a 'hostile environment' may impact on longer term integration prospects for forced migrants. In the next chapter, I will consider the subject of acculturation and

integration in more detail; first of all considering why the term 'integration' has been a contested one before moving on to examine how the UK and Welsh governments have conceptualised integration. Here, I will argue that an ambivalent approach is taken to refugee integration as a result of the focus on hostile policies that aim to simultaneously deter asylum seekers from coming to the UK and encourage refused asylum seekers to leave the UK.

# 2. Acculturation and Integration

"'Integration' is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most"

(Robinson, 1998, p.118)

In Chapter 1, I suggested that UK immigration policy has, particularly in recent years, focussed on deterring asylum seekers from entering the UK (and encouraging refused asylum seekers to leave the UK) through the creation of a "hostile environment" (Zetter et al., 2005). As asylum seekers became increasingly restricted in many social policy areas, implemented by the UK Government in order to reduce "pull factors" (Mayblin, 2016), those recognised as refugees, and given leave to remain in the UK, became the focus of a separate, less publicised, area of policy relating to 'integration'. Thus, it is important at this point in the thesis to consider how 'integration' has been defined by both academics and policy makers, if it is indeed the "chaotic concept" described by Robinson (1998, p.118) above.

#### 2.1 Overview

In the preceding chapter, I charted the development of UK immigration and asylum policy since its inception in order to set the historical context for this thesis. I also provided background on current global, UK and Welsh migration trends and contextualised this within a discussion of the current 'refugee crisis'. There, I suggested that the concept of integration is both difficult to define and a contested subject, which is explored further in the current chapter through a review of the literature on acculturation and integration. This chapter begins by exploring research in the area of acculturation and, focuses on Berry's 'Acculturation Framework' (Berry et al. 1997, 2005), which argues that integration is the optimal acculturation strategy for migrants. I

then consider why integration has been a difficult topic for researchers to agree upon. Following this, I review different conceptions of integration, including the model of integration upon which both the UK and Welsh Governments' integration strategies are based (Ager and Strang, 2004). I take the "indicators of integration" identified by Ager and Strang (2004) as both the basis for understanding integration in this thesis but also as a means of critiquing such cognitivist perspectives to integration and, in Chapter 3, outline in further detail how a discursive psychological approach can assist in transcending the individual/society dualism inherent in previous cognitivist research. In Appendix 1, I provide a glossary of terms, defining some of the key terms that appear frequently throughout this chapter and indeed the thesis.

#### 2.2 Acculturation

I begin this section with a discussion of research into acculturation, which was defined in 1936 by Herskovits, Redfield and Linton (p.149) as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". However, the first full psychological theory of acculturation developed several years before this following Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918) study of immigrants in Chicago.

Much of the research into the process of acculturation has been within the field of cross-cultural psychology and has traditionally taken a positivist stance to develop linear theories and models of how psychological processes such as acculturation and immigrant identity may vary across cultures and nation states. Tonks (2014) draws attention to the ways in which definitions of 'culture' have been debated and have shifted over time. He suggests that historically, within cross-cultural psychology, such conceptualizations of 'culture' have been tied to 'race' or perceived biological differences among peoples (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of 'race' and the shift

from 'old-fashioned' to 'modern' racism). However, he argues that, more recently, cross-cultural psychologists have tended to define 'culture' through "descriptive accounts of behaviours, rules and norms, structural accounts of organizations and historical traditions" (Tonks, 2014, p.338). Keith (2011, p.4) defines culture as "a group of shred behaviours, values and beliefs that are passed from generation to generation" As such, recent definitions of culture tend to treat it as something can be easily quantified leading Ratner (1997) to suggest that cross-cultural psychology is based upon faulty ontological and epistemological assumptions, whereby culture is too often "reduced to observable properties of a shared environment" (Tonks, 2014, p.338).

Berry (2005, p.698), a prominent cross-cultural psychologist, defines acculturation as "the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more groups and their individual members". Figure 2.1, below, shows an outline of Berry's (2005) framework, which, upon initial inspection, would appear to locate it as a model of acculturation resting within the positivist tradition of social cognition research (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of the social cognition approach) that attempts to explain the process of acculturation in different social (cultural) situations.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL/INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

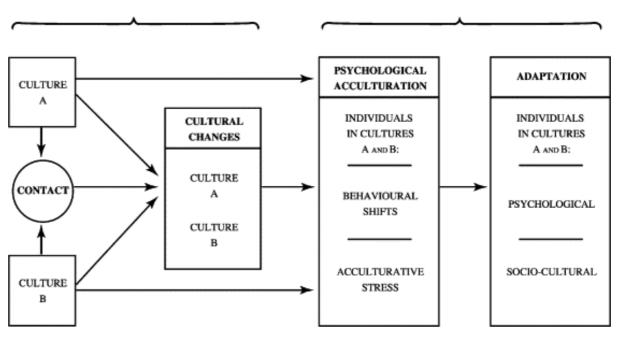


Figure 2.1 – General Framework for understanding acculturation, taken from Berry (2005, p.703)

Figure 2.1 shows that this framework predicts that contact between culture A and culture B leads to changes at the cultural (or group) level, which may include changes in social structures and cultural practices. This in turn may lead to changes at the psychological (or individual) level that involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire. In this framework, Berry (2005, p.702) stresses the importance of distinguishing between the cultural (social) and psychological (individual) levels of acculturation, arguing that they are two distinct levels of phenomena and that caution needs to be exercised when assuming that all individuals will participate in or change in the same way as a result of cross-cultural contact. However, this does therefore assume that these are variables which can be easily separated and distinguished from one another, reflecting the criticism of operationalism within cross-cultural psychology mentioned above.

This general framework (figure 2.1) led Berry to coin the term 'acculturation strategies', to refer to the ways in which individuals engage in the acculturation

process. These will be discussed further in Section 2.5, below, where I will outline Berry's (1997) argument that integration is the preferred strategy of acculturating individuals before going onto argue that it has also become a government policy goal. However, it is important to begin by considering the role of, and conditions within, the larger society into which the individual may be acculturating and, in particular, what model of citizenship is promoted there. Failure to consider this, according to Berry (1997), would be to not fully understand the process of acculturation or adaption. Indeed, it is of relevance for this thesis because of the historical context that I outlined in Chapter 1 where successive UK Governments have sought to restrict the ability of immigrants to enter the UK whilst at the same time protecting the rights of those who are permitted to enter the UK, through strengthened race relations (and equalities) legislation.

### 2.3 Models of citizenship and acculturation strategies of the larger society

Castles, De Haas and Miller (2014) identify four models of citizenship, each of which has different implications for the rights of all individuals and groups within the nation; the imperial model, ethnic model, republican model and multicultural model. The imperial model was arguably the dominant model in operation in the UK until the passing of the 1981 Nationality Act. It stemmed from the dominance of the UK as head of the Commonwealth and thus national belonging was defined in terms of this power. Whilst citizens of the Commonwealth (although increasingly restricted over time) had rights within the UK based upon being members of the Commonwealth, the policies for those who did settle in the UK were essentially assimilationist. By contrast, the multicultural model, followed in countries such as Canada, Australia and Sweden emphasises maintenance of cultural heritage, respects ethnic diversity and is based on the notion of the nation as a political community (Castles et al., 2014, p.67). As I discussed in Chapter 1, this has also been the dominant approach in the UK since the

1980s. Adopting such a model it may be that integration is the key policy goal, however Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010, p.4) state that "multiculturalism can at best be described as a broad set of mutually reinforcing approaches or methodologies concerning the incorporation and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities and their modes of cultural/religious difference".

The republican model, used in countries such as France and the USA, also defines the nation as a political community where citizenship is more strongly based on constitution and law. In this sense it is perhaps the most overtly assimilationist model since new members of the nation are expected to take on both the culture and language of the nation. Finally, Castles et al. (2014, p.67), describe an ethnic model of citizenship, such as that used in Japan and in Germany until 2000, as "belonging to the nation in terms of ethnicity (common descent, language and culture), which means exclusion of minorities from citizenship and from the community of the nation". Rather than being assimilationist this particular model is likely to see the use of policies which seek to segregate or exclude immigrants. However, the decision of Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel, to open its borders to refugees during the height of the 'migrant crisis' in 2015, and the rapid arrival of over 1 million refugees that year (Eurostat, 2017), may now lead to this model being questioned.

Berry's (1997, 2005) bi-dimensional model of acculturation strategies, shown below, in Figure 2.2, takes a similar approach to classifying the strategy of the society into which the individual is acculturating. For both the larger society and the acculturating ethnic group, Berry conceptualises the available strategies along two dimensions; the extent to which relationships are sought amongst groups and whether maintaining existing aspects of the individual (or group's) culture and identity is sought or encouraged. When maintenance of heritage, culture and identity are valued and relationships between ethnic groups promoted, the larger society can be said to be pursuing a strategy of multiculturalism. Berry (2005) uses the term 'melting pot' to refer

to societies in which relationships amongst groups are promoted but maintenance of heritage culture and identity is not encouraged. Although he uses the term 'melting pot' it is clear that by this he considers that policies in such a country would be assimilationist in nature. In the situation where the larger society encourages maintenance of heritage culture and identity but not relationships between dominant and acculturating groups, the society in which the individual is acculturating may be said to have a strategy of segregation. In contrast, a strategy of exclusion may be employed if the larger society does not allow relationships amongst cultural groups or, for those in the minority group, to maintain their cultural identity.

# ISSUE 1: MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

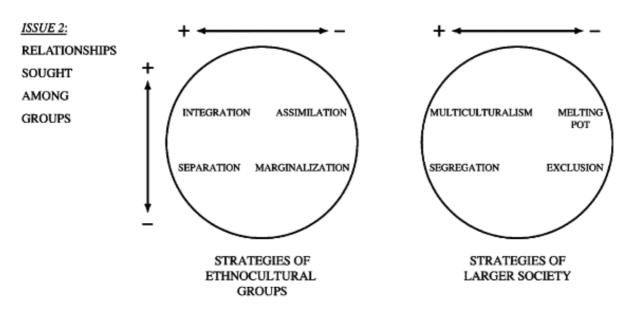


Figure 2.2 – Model of Acculturation Strategies, Berry (2005, p.705)

In the next section, I briefly discuss contemporary debates about multiculturalism in the UK, particularly in light of the historical context outlined in Chapter 1. These debates are of particular relevance for the government policy responses to the integration of refugees and asylum seekers, which will be discussed in sections 2.8 and 2.9.

#### 2.4 The UK context: the rise and fall of multiculturalism?

In chapter 1, I described how multicultural policies were increasingly utilized in the 1970s and 1980s, in both the UK and elsewhere. However, the first signs of a potential backlash against such policies was observed in Canada during the 1990s when concerns of marginalization were cited by ethnic minorities themselves (Ley, 2010). In the UK it was not until the start of the new millennium that this rhetoric gained momentum following key events such as race riots in the North of England, terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London as well as debate around whether Muslim women should be allowed to wear veils which cover the face (following a ruling to ban this form of dress in France). At this time political rhetoric as well as media discourse combined to give increased voice to the view that multicultural policies were not working. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) cite a number of core idioms that came to reflect the backlash against multiculturalism witnessed during this time; that multiculturalism is a single 'doctrine', stifles debate, had fostered separateness, refuses common values, denies problems, supports reprehensible practices and provides a haven for terrorists. Joppke (2004, p.244), focusing on the whole of Europe, suggests that there had been a 'wholesale retreat' from official multiculturalism policies for reasons including the lack of public support for official multiculturalism policies and these policies' inherent shortcomings and failures, especially with respect to the socioeconomic marginalization and self-segregation of migrants and their children. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) highlight that the increased backlash against multiculturalism led to the disappearance of the term from most UK government policies by the end of the New Labour governments in 2010. However, they also make the striking point that, while the term multiculturalism is itself no longer explicitly used, terms such as integration and, more prominently, 'diversity', have come to be included in its place, suggesting that it is still 'multiculturalism by any other name' (2010, p. 18), despite the rhetoric and backlash. Indeed, Kymlicka (2010, p.33) summarizes this debate in saying

that we may now be in a 'post-multicultural' era, despite there being disagreement about what comes "after multiculturalism".

The backlash against multiculturalism does raise some important questions that are relevant to the model of acculturation proposed by Berry (1997, 2005), particularly as to whether his model would see the UK as a society which has pursued a strategy of multiculturalism or, whether it may in fact have been one of segregation (as claimed by David Cameron in the Economist (2007), when, as leader of the opposition party, he suggested that policies at the time were contributing to a 'deliberately weakening of our collective identity'). Much of the criticism of multiculturalism has been around allowing migrants to maintain their own cultures and identities, however, less attention has been paid to the second dimension of Berry's model, that of promoting relationships amongst social groups. Whilst there has been a greater push in the UK towards 'social cohesion' and migrants achieving rights through citizenship, it could also be questioned whether contact between different social groups has been promoted in policies to the same extent as maintenance of culture and heritage for the acculturating individual/group. In Chapter 1 I suggested that recent discourses around asylum and refugee policy have seen a shift towards 'pathways to citizenship' (Strand and Ager, 2010). Alibhali-Brown (2004) and Vertovec (2010, p.91) suggest that such a shift may be indicative of a move towards 'post-multiculturalism', where an "obligation is being placed on immigrants and ethnic minorities to take up the values and cultural practices of the host country and to actively demonstrate their desire to belong". In the context of the current thesis, in Chapters 7 and 8, I identify the ways in which participants in this research did construct their belonging in Wales through such discourses of effortfulness and a need to contribute to the economic life of the host country.

### 2.5 Individual acculturation strategies

Whilst Berry (2005) in his model of acculturation strategies (see figure 2.2, above) rightly highlights the importance of considering the acculturation strategy of the larger

society into which the individual is acculturating, it is the strategy of the individual that is seemingly the greater focus in his writing on acculturation. Again, conceptualizing the strategies along the same two dimensions as for the larger society, Berry's model predicts that the acculturating individual could choose one of four strategies depending on the degree to which they wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek relationships amongst other cultural groups. Berry (1997, 2005) refers to these strategies as integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. According to Berry migrants choose to 'integrate' when they seek to not only maintain their original culture but also to take part in daily interactions with members of the host group, while those who seek to 'assimilate' do not attempt to maintain their original cultural links. For those who do not mix with the indigenous population, Berry suggests either a strategy of 'separation', where cultural links are maintained, or 'marginalization' where they are not, can be employed.

Berry (1990) and Berry and Sam (1997) have suggested that integration is the preferred acculturation strategy and that it "appears to be a consistent predictor of more positive outcomes than the three alternatives" (Berry and Sam, 1997, p.318). However, others (e.g. Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh, 2001) have questioned the empirical basis of this claim. In response, Berry et al. (2006) completed a wide-ranging study of over 5000 immigrant youths who had settled in 13 different countries. The aim of this study was to answer three key questions: "How do immigrant youth deal with the process of acculturation? How well do they adapt, and are there important relationships between how they acculturate and how well they adapt?" (Berry et al., 2006, p.304). Cluster analysis of responses to questionnaires designed to assess a range of variables relating to acculturation was carried out. Their results not only provided evidence to support the bi-dimensional model initially proposed by Berry (1997) but also for the four acculturation strategies identified. This cluster analysis also revealed that the highest proportion of respondents (36.5%) fell within the integration cluster

making this the preferred acculturation strategy among individuals, followed by separation and then assimilation and marginalization. Again, Berry (2005) tells us that the ability of individuals to pursue the strategy of their choice is dependent upon the general orientations in the host society towards immigration and pluralism and posits the term 'acculturative stress' to acknowledge the difficulties that the individual may face when acculturating. Similarly, in terms of reducing this stress, Berry highlights that integration is the most effective strategy.

Berry's work, and in particular his model of acculturation strategies, features heavily in the literature on acculturation and draws attention to many of the factors which may contribute to acculturation and how these interact with one another. However, other theories of acculturation have also been posited, particularly from those who see Berry's model as "fixed, invariant and apolitical" (Bhattia and Ram, 2009, p. 140). In many senses Berry's model is seen as far too simplistic and linear, reflecting a general criticism of Berry's work within the positivist tradition. They instead propose that "negotiation with multiple cultural sites is fluid, dynamic, interminable and often unstable [..]The acculturation journey is not a teleological trajectory that has a fixed-end point but instead has to be continuously negotiated" (2009, p.148). Bhattia and Ram's (2009) work is influenced by Stuart Hall and other work in diaspora studies which view identity as being constructed through cultural discourses, power and history (particularly colonial history). Bhattia and Ram (2009, p.143) in a further criticism of the individual/society dualism inherent in this model suggest that "rather than proceed from the assumption of a fixed, stable, unified cultural self that goes through various acculturation trajectories, we call for a more fluid and politicized understanding of migrant identity. Such an approach brings in the broader sociological landscape that produces material and structural conditions that situate both the acculturation process and migrant identity and is open to continuous engagement and negotiation". In

Chapter 3, I will similarly argue for adopting such an approach when I critique further the realist epistemology that dominated social psychology for many years.

While Berry's model suggests that integration is both the preferred acculturation strategy and the one that leads to the most positive adaptation, use of the term and its definition has very much been a contested topic. The next section will consider why this is and how integration has been conceptualized in different arenas. Berry et al. (2006) have argued for governments in immigrant receiving countries to encourage and support the integration path. Following consideration of how integration has been conceptualized, I shall discuss the model of integration that was commissioned to inform the Labour Government's 2005 *Integration Matters* strategy document (Ager and Strang, 2004). The *Indicators of Integration Framework* has not only informed the refugee integration strategies in the devolved governments of Scotland and Wales, but also the interviews for this study.

### 2.6 Defining Integration: An impossible project?

Robinson's review of the term (at the beginning of this chapter) suggests that integration is a complex, contested and multidimensional concept (Dwyer, 2009; Phillimore, 2011; Castles et al. 2014); likewise exactly what an 'integrated community' might actually look like is also heavily contested. Stewart and Mulvey (2014) suggest that previous research differentiates between structural integration (participation in society's main institutions) and acculturation (changes in identity and culture). Indeed, Phillimore (2012), in reviewing literature on what might be classed as successful integration found that access to public services, developing social capital and seeing integration as a two-way, multi-dimensional, process were commonly reported. The criticism of Berry's (1997) model, as being too linear, mentioned above by Bhattia and Ram (2009) can perhaps be taken as evidence for those arguing in favor of seeing integration as a "two-way process". Zetter et al. (2002), Schibel et al. (2002), Korac (2003) and Ager and Strang (2008) similarly argue for such a perspective to be

adopted. According to Phillimore (2011) such arguments developed to counter the school of thought that saw integration as a linear process which all migrants must pass en route to assimilation (e.g. Favell, 1998). One reason for this may be due to the UK's immigration policies in the 1950s and 1960s that encouraged white immigration from Commonwealth countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, whilst restricting access and rights to live in the UK for non-white Commonwealth immigrants. In this period therefore, assimilation may well have been the end goal and integration may have been a step in the process to achieving this (Castles et al. 2014). However, the free movement of citizens within the EU and increasing numbers of forced migrants throughout the world has meant that it is increasingly difficult to view integration in such linear terms. Castles et al. (2014) highlight, however, that many policy agendas and lay conceptions of integration continue to treat integration in this "one-way", linear fashion whereas researchers and experts in the area of refugee integration have argued for a "two-way process".

The UK Government published its first refugee integration strategy (*Full and Equal Citizens*) in 2000, but in it, they did not offer a definition of integration.

Subsequent to this, the Home Office commissioned research to better understand the process of refugee integration in the UK. The culmination of this research was Ager and Strang's (2004) '*Indicators of Integration*' report which sought to "investigate different understandings of 'integration' as a concept and to establish a framework for a common understanding of integration that could be used by those working in the field and by policy makers and local projects to assist them with the planning and evaluation of services for refugees" (2004, p.1). The next section outlines this framework and discusses the ways in which it has been both applied and critiqued since its original publication. Despite such criticisms, I argue that this framework is the most convincing model of integration and thus one of the aims of this research project was to study what

happens when this framework is used to design questions for individual interviews with refugees and asylum seekers.

# 2.7 Indicators of Integration

In line with the commitment that they made in *Full and Equal Citizens* (2000), the New Labour Government commissioned academics in psychology and public health from Queen Margaret University, to carry out research that would better enable them to understand refugee integration and to develop future, measurable, policies in this area. Ager and Strang's (2004, 2008) research began with a review of relevant literature in the area of refugee integration. As has been noted above, definitions of integration are both many and varied, and indeed Ager and Strang identified 200 indicators of integration in the Council of Europe (1997) report '*Measurement and Indicators of Integration*' as well as a further 49 other definitions. From this review they were able to extract a number of recurring discrete themes that informed their conceptual analysis of integration.

The definition of integration formulated by Ager and Strang (2004, p.5-6) was that:

An individual or group is integrated within a society when they: achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities; are socially connected with members of a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities and with relevant services and functions of the state; and have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship.

Whilst a comprehensive definition, it is important to note that each aspect of the definition is clearly contained within the *Indicators of Integration Framework*, which was the main output of this research. This definition also appears to cover both the functional aspects of integration and social participation in the wider community which Korac (2003) suggests is consistent with how refugees themselves perceive integration. Indeed, the second stage of Ager and Strang's (2004) research was to ensure that their conceptualization did reflect the integration experiences of current

refugees and were not simply theoretical ideas. To do this they conducted qualitative interviews with refugee and non-refugee members of the community in two locations; Islington (London) and Pollokshaws (Glasgow) as well as analysis of a national cross-sectional survey. Ager and Strang (2008, p.167) describe their framework as a "middle-range theory" that provides a basis for considering what constitutes the key components of integration. As such, they see it as a basis for structuring academic debate and as a means for refugee practitioners seeking to assess the outcomes of policy at the local level. In this sense, it is an example of "applied" social psychology that has clear policy and impact outcomes. However, as Ager and Strang (2008) acknowledge, their framework is a normative one, which sets out what "successful" integration should look like. Thus, in contrast to Berry's (2005) model, in which 'integration' is seen as a two-way process and one of several 'strategies' that acculturating migrants can choose, here integration is more focused on the outcomes of the process than the process itself.

The Indicators of Integration framework, shown below in Figure 2.3, consists of 10 domains grouped into four categories: Means and markers, Social connections, Facilitators and Foundation. The framework derives from both the theoretical and empirical work undertaken as part of their research.

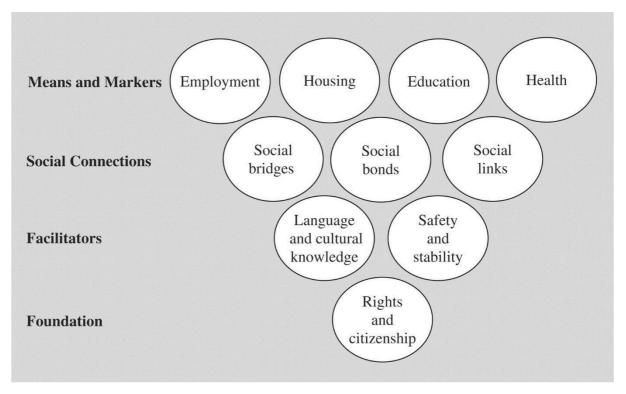


Figure 2.3 – Indicators of Integration Framework (Ager and Strang, 2004, p.3)

The first category Ager and Strang (2004, p.28) define as 'means and markers' because "success in these domains is an indication of positive integration outcomes and 'means' because success in these domains is likely to assist the wider integration process". Phillimore (2012) reviewed outcomes for forced migrants based on these four functional domains and concluded that greater focus needed to be placed on these functional indicators of integration rather than economic indicators due to the poor outcomes faced by many refugees and asylum seekers in each of these areas. Indeed, results of the Survey for New Refugees (SNR) indicated that housing was the second highest scoring integration priority for new refugees (after safety and stability) and that all means and markers were higher priorities than developing social networks (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013). Recent research by Dwyer and Brown (2008) and Stewart and Mulvey (2013), discussed in Chapter 1, has shown how changes in the past 10 years to policy have not only impacted upon forced migrants' short-term abilities to access key services such as housing and employment, but are also impacting upon their longer-term prospects for integration. Such work highlights the key relationship

between integration and policy and draws attention to the continuing dilemma faced by the UK government between deterrence of asylum seekers and integration of refugees.

Ager and Strang's second category, Social Connections, can in many ways be seen as being broadly similar to the "relationships" dimension of Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies model. However, they distinguish between three types of social connection, drawing on Putnam's (2002) work on social capital. Social bonds (connections within a community defined by family, ethnic, national or religious identity); social bridges (with members of other communities); and social links with institutions, including local and central government services (Ager and Strang, 2004, p.4). Here, social bonds are important for refugees and asylum seekers to ensure a sense of belonging that without could feel more like assimilation than integration. The importance of social bridges is also clearly highlighted and draws attention to the fact that integration within this framework is seen as a "two-way process". Access to 'bridging' capital is also seen as important for enabling access to the means and markers of housing, health, education and employment. Indeed, Ager and Strang (2008, p.180) found, from their qualitative interviews, that "small acts of friendship appeared to have a disproportionately positive impact on perceptions. Friendliness from the settled community was very important in helping refugees to feel more secure and persuading them that their presence was not resented". Spicer (2008) found that in 'excluding' neighborhoods, forced migrants were more likely to become fearful and isolated, whilst also not developing key language skills and local knowledge. Phillimore (2012, p.534) described social connectors as the "foundations for integration" and her evidence also supports having social bonds and social bridges as discrete elements in an integration framework having found that the development of social bonds enabled many participants in the initiatives to also further develop their bridging capital. In this sense, Ager and Strang's framework appears closely aligned to Berry's (1997) model of acculturation strategies in indicating the importance of the host location's strategy.

The third domain in this category, social links, refers to the connections that refugees and asylum seekers have with structures of the state, such as government services. Ager and Strang (2008) cite interview respondents from London who lived in an established refugee resettlement area (Islington) and reported having positive experiences of accessing public services. This may be because services in such established areas have adapted over a longer period of time to ensure those refugees living in the area are able to access services. Or, it may be, such as is the case in Scotland where there is only one dispersal area (Glasgow), that resources are able to be clustered in one location and not spread out across the whole of the country. This, therefore, raises serious questions for the newer dispersal areas in the UK that may lack the necessary expertise to ensure that refugees are able to access such services. It is not just newer dispersal areas that may suffer such a problem, but also smaller towns and cities which asylum seekers are dispersed to. In these areas, gaining social capital through social bonds and bridges may also prove more problematic if there is not an existing ethnic community that the forced migrant can become a part of. Indeed, Strang and Ager (2010) suggest that establishing 'bonding' relationships is of critical importance in the early stages of integration, but that, due to dispersal, this may not be possible in co-ethnic groups. Instead, Spicer (2008) and Hynes (2009) have shown that, in dispersal areas, 'bonding' capital is more likely to be developed as a result of being in close geographical proximity or having a shared religious faith. Although Hynes (2009) does also go further to suggest that the policy of dispersal creates a culture of mistrust in political and social institutions that can have negative consequences for integration of forced migrants.

Facilitators form the third tier of the framework and represent factors that are necessary for facilitating integration. Following their initial literature review, knowledge of the English language was initially intended to be a category on its own; however, the authors, following their fieldwork with refugees in London and Glasgow added cultural

knowledge. Participants here stressed the importance of local and cultural knowledge as key factors necessary for integration along with learning English. Phillimore (2012, p.538) also found support for putting these two measures in one domain in her review of integration initiatives finding that "refugees gained through their interactions increased understanding of "how things are here" and useful local knowledge and mannerisms". The interconnectedness of the framework is once again demonstrated here as both 'bonding' and 'bridging' capital are likely to play a key role in this facilitation. In their review of the SNR data, Cheung and Phillimore (2013) found that, other than housing, the facilitators posited by Ager and Strang (2004) as key indicators of integration, were rated as the highest integration priorities for respondents. The SNR longitudinal data also revealed that good general health and employability were both significantly correlated with English fluency and literacy but that significant proportions of respondents with poor English skills were not accessing language training, particularly women unable to access free childcare.

The final category in the framework is termed 'Foundation' and relates to the role of rights and obligations in the host society and political engagement. Ager and Strang (2004, p.4) state that "the analysis of definitions of integration [..] identified how ideas of citizenship and nationhood – and thus rights – impacted fundamentally on what counts as integration [..] therefore a domain of 'Rights and Citizenship' with clear links to current discussions around policy developments in the area of citizenship education for refugees and other migrants is included as the tenth and final domain". This tenth domain therefore reflects many of the debates that have been raised in this chapter that frame integration based on the approach to nationhood, citizenship and rights that exist within a country and highlights why debates around multiculturalism continue to be of importance to the study of refugee and asylum seeker integration. Indeed, based on their fieldwork, Ager and Strang (2008, p.176) concluded that "in an integrated community, refugees should have the same rights as the people they live

amongst. This shared basis of entitlement was seen as an important prerequisite for refugees to live harmoniously with non-refugees".

However, more recently Strang and Ager (2010) have re-visited the foundation domain of their framework as countries in Europe, including the UK, have moved away from distinct refugee integration initiatives towards 'pathways to citizenship'. Despite the immigration policy developments outlined previously in Chapter 1, of creating a 'hostile environment' and awarding recognised refugees only temporary leave to remain, Strang and Ager argue that there is still a need to consider integration and the foundation domain of rights and citizenship within this. In this paper, Strang and Ager (2010) also responded to criticisms of their framework that have developed since its original publication in 2004. More recently, and based on research looking at the integration of marriage migrants, Spencer and Charsley (2016) have proposed an alternative model of "integration processes and effectors" which includes many of the social, structural, cultural and civic and political domains included by Ager and Strang (2004). However, it also includes "identity" as a key domain in the model and specifies a number of "effectors", which Spencer and Charsley (2016) suggest are the factors which impact upon integration processes across these five domains. The five "effectors" proposed by Spencer and Charsley (2016, p.7) are individuals, families and social networks, opportunity structures in society, policy interventions and transnational effectors. Importantly, and in contrast to Ager and Strang's (2004) model, Spencer and Charsley (2016) note that these "effectors" can be both 'facilitators' (cf. Ager and Strang, 2004) but also barriers to integration. The inclusion of 'policy interventions' as an "effector" also differentiates this model from Ager and Strang's (2004) Framework and in Chapter 7 I demonstrate how participants in the present study constructed their belonging in Wales around discourses of restriction framed around the "hostile policy environment" for asylum seekers in the UK.

Phillimore and Goodson (2008) are also critical of the normative orientation of the Ager and Strang (2004) framework and its focus on measuring "successful" integration. They argue that this orientation leads to a greater focus on 'functional' indicators and measures and an emphasis on the tangible, quantifiable aspects of the process, at the expense of the more difficult to measure social dimensions. They also argue that further research needs to be done to understand the interactions between each of the dimensions in the framework, although Strang and Ager (2010, p.603) suggest that the labelling of group domains in the framework suggests such interdependencies. Phillimore and Goodson (2008) argue for greater consideration to be given to qualitative work to better understand the experiential side of integration in addition to the suggested quantified measurements in Ager and Strang's (2004) functional indicators. This thesis attempts to address this call by applying Ager and Strang's framework to qualitative interviews with refugees and asylum seekers, to focus on the experiential side of integration in Wales.

The Indicators of Integration project was clearly wide-ranging and undertaken in order to influence and direct policy in this area. In the next section I shall outline how this framework has influenced public policy, thus adding to the case for using the ten domains of the framework in the current thesis. I provide an overview of the three refugee integration strategies published by the New Labour Government, that are analysed more critically in chapter 5, and on the outcomes of initiatives implemented as a result of these strategies.

#### 2.8 UK Government Refugee Integration strategies (2000 – 2009)

The Labour Government's first refugee integration strategy, *Full and Equal Citizens* (Home Office, 2000), was the first document of its kind in the UK, aimed at supporting refugees to rebuild their lives. This strategy led to the creation of the National Refugee Integration Forum (NRIF) and to the commissioning of Ager and Strang's (2004) research that would ultimately define the way in which future UK and devolved

government strategies conceptualised integration. However, in addition to not offering a definition of integration, *Full and Equal Citizens* also has a number of other limitations. Firstly, it is made clear from an early stage that it is only refugees and not asylum seekers who are the focus of the strategy and any policies within it. This serves to create a distinction between the deserving (refugees) and undeserving (asylum seekers) that has also been seen in the policy changes which I discussed in Chapter 1 (see also Sales, 2002). This reflects the ongoing dilemma of the UK government between reducing asylum applications and integrating refugees. Secondly, the strategy appears to be somewhat lacking in policy ideas that would aid refugee integration and focuses on the potential for creating new (separate) services for refugees, rather than making changes to existing services to accommodate refugees. In many ways it could be seen as the beginnings of an attempt to create a strategy for refugee integration, rather than a fully formed strategy per se.

2005's *Integration Matters*, which was in parts based upon the research conducted by Ager and Strang (2004), was a far more comprehensive strategy. Rather than using the definition of integration conceptualised by Ager and Strang a more concise definition of integration is posited within the strategy document;

Integration takes place when refugees are empowered to:

- achieve their full potential as members of British society;
- contribute fully to the economy; and
- access the public services to which they are entitled, (Home Office, 2005).

The definition offered by the Home Office suggests that some elements of Ager and Strang's framework were of influence here. However, it is narrower and unclear as to how they might measure when a refugee has achieved their full potential or contributed fully to the economy. It also does not acknowledge that refugees may not conceptualize integration in this way, nor does it appreciate individual differences amongst refugees in relation to the extent and speed to which they may, or may not,

prioritise each of these elements. Conceptually then, this definition can be said to be missing much of the finer details and nuances which Ager and Strang (2004) have included in their definition.

Whilst the definition of integration in *Integration Matters* is narrow, the rest of the document is much more comprehensive than its (2000) predecessor. Indeed, a number of new policies and services are proposed within Integration Matters to make it arguably a more complete strategy document. Having said that, it is still clear that the focus on any integration initiatives should be refugees only and that the belief held in Full and Equal Citizens, that integration measures should not begin until refugee status is granted, still holds sway. Perhaps the most significant measures introduced here were the Sunrise pilot (later to become the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES)) and the Refugee Community Development Fund. Although not delivered until October 2008, Doyle (2014, p.10) states "Refugees that took advantage of RIES were able to access: an integration advice service for 6 months; an employment support service for up to 12 months; a mentoring scheme which lasted between 6 and 12 months". This allowed those who used the service to gain help in accessing the services they were entitled to, particularly important at the transition stage from asylum support to mainstream welfare benefits. In Wales, 126 refugees were supported by the service in 2009/10 (Parry, 2010). However, RIES was scrapped by the coalition government in September 2011 as part of its austerity cuts. Phillimore (2014, p.531) also suggests that it coincided with "the government's new hard-line approach to immigration and reluctance to fund special measures for migrants". Doyle (2014) has suggested that some of the services provided by RIES are currently being provided by third sector organisations, however this is on a smaller scale, due to funding and is dependent upon where the refugee is living as to whether an organisation is able to help. As such, the central referral mechanism (the Home Office) no longer exists and responsibility is placed upon the refugee to seek out information

about whether such a service exists in their area. A measure that is still currently in place however, is the Refugee Integration Loan, which those who have recently received refugee status can apply for to assist with essential costs such as housing or for entering education or employment. However, the decision to give refugees only 5 years leave to remain was highlighted as being a direct contradiction of this policy (McDonald and Billings, 2007).

In 2009 the Labour government introduced its final refugee integration strategy whist in power, 'Moving on Together'. Subtitled paternalistically as a 'recommitment to supporting refugees' this document reviews the policies implemented as a result of *Integration Matters*, rather than identifying new policies that would aid the integration of refugees in the UK. What is perhaps most interesting about this strategy is the change in language used. Although the Home Office still maintain the definition of integration that they introduced in 2005 also appearing for the first time are a focus on securing borders, controlling migration and community cohesion. However, the biggest focus shift is arguably the emphasizing of pathways to citizenship, following the Home Office's 2008 report 'Path to Citizenship'.

While the Citizenship agenda is still actively being pursued by the current Conservative Government (2017), no new refugee integration strategy has been published since they took office in 2010, and, with no new integration measures introduced in *Moving on Together*, it could be argued that 10 years have now passed since the UK government last had an active refugee integration strategy. Indeed, with the 'Path to Citizenship' now being the dominant model and most of the integration initiatives introduced in *Integration Matters* now having been scrapped, it would appear that integration may well be off the policy agenda, in England at least. The next section moves on to look at the current situation in Wales, where there is evidence of policy divergence between the agendas of England and Wales regarding the integration of forced migrants.

#### 2.9 Welsh Government Policy

In Chapter 1, I outlined the current policy environment faced by refugees and asylum seekers living in Wales, within the context of devolution. Whilst immigration and asylum remain reserved matters to the UK government, the Welsh Government does have responsibilities to forced migrants under many of the social policy areas included in Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework*, such as health, education and housing. As such, the Welsh Government, since 2008, have developed a number of strategies that aim to ensure the integration of refugees. Indeed, it could be argued that the three integration policy documents issued by the UK government have been predominantly England focussed as a result of devolution of these powers to the Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish governments. Interestingly, and in contrast to England, in terms of integration, the Welsh Government also recognises its responsibilities to asylum seekers and not just refugees stating that

"Refugee inclusion begins on day one of arrival in the UK and successful inclusion is closely related to the standard of reception procedures and people's experiences as asylum seekers". (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008)

However, this definition is also a problematic one, when asylum and immigration policy remain reserved matters, over which the Welsh Government has no direct control. Indeed, in response to a recent Welsh Government inquiry into refugees and asylum seekers in Wales, the Welsh Government Cabinet Secretary for Communities and Children (2017, p.1) states that

"The report notes that much of the responsibility relating to asylum policy is reserved to the UK Government. There are also substantial challenges to achieving the effective inclusion of refugees and asylum seekers in a climate of reducing resources. However, despite these barriers, significant progress has been made in recent years and there is much more that we hope to achieve to ensure those seeking sanctuary are able to find it in Wales".

Thus, for the Welsh Government to encourage integration (or inclusion) of asylum seekers would be in opposition to the aims of the UK government's 'hostile environment' approach and beyond many of their policy making powers. Again, this

brings to the fore the dilemma discussed previously (see section 2.8) between the deterrence of asylum seekers and the integration of refugees. It also shows that whilst forced migrants who live in Wales may be in an environment where the rhetoric is more inclusive, many of the policies that affect them most acutely are still reserved to the UK government. As I discussed in Chapter 1, themes of inclusion and tolerance have been central to Welsh Government rhetoric and policy since the creation of the National Assembly in 1999, so it is perhaps no surprise to see the use of the term 'inclusion' here. Chaney and Fevre (2001) and Giudici (2014) suggest that Welsh inclusiveness initiatives can be seen as attempts to encourage civic engagement and national belongingness amongst BAME people, thus constructing a civic (rather than ethnic) notion of Welshness (which can be seen in the definition below from the Welsh Government's Refugee Inclusion Strategy). Giudici (2014) further suggests that such inclusive initiatives can be seen as attempts to move away from the traditional British model of multiculturalism to a communitarian or radical multiculturalism. However, in terms of the situation faced by current forced migrants in Wales, Williams (2015, p.348) perhaps best sums up the current situation in Wales, stating that "Welsh multiculturalism remains a curious bundle of contradictions and a project in the making [..] Attention to ethnic difference has found a place in mainstream politics and practice over the past decade, if rather tentative, a little crude and underdeveloped". In Chapter 5, I discuss further the use of the term 'inclusion' in these documents and show that the Welsh Government construct 'inclusion' and 'integration' as two different processes.

In terms of the debates discussed in this chapter between assimilation and integration, the Welsh Government strategy explicitly states that inclusion does not imply assimilation and that:

Refugee inclusion involves removing barriers which prevent refugees from becoming fully active members of society, who participate in, and contribute to, the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country. The objective of refugee inclusion is the establishment of mutual and responsible relationships between refugees and their communities, civil society and government. Refugees

will make individual choices about the degree to which they wish to integrate into Welsh society. Refugee integration takes place when individual refugees become active members of society. (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008)

When these definitions are compared with the definition used by the UK Government in *Integration Matters* (2005), it is clear that the Welsh definition implies that inclusion must be in all forms of social life and that it is a "two-way process". This brings it more in line with the integration element of Berry's (1997) acculturation model than the Home Office definition, which is closer to the assimilation element of the model. The Welsh definition also recognises the fact that refugees may want to take their own time and make choices about the degree to which they integrate whereas this is not recognised in the Home Office conception which seems to place all of the emphasis upon the refugee, rather than seeing this as a two-way process.

A recent report by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Refugees (2017) draws attention to the lack of a UK-wide strategy for the integration of refugees and calls for a successor to 2009's Moving on Together to be created in addition to the creation of a Minister for Refugees position. By contrast, the Welsh Government has issued regular updates to its original strategy, monitoring progress, reporting on results and making clear where further actions are needed in order to meet the continued aims of the strategy. However, whilst it is positive that the Welsh Government still have an 'active' strategy and commitment to refugee integration there have been significant changes since its first issue in 2008. Most notable of these has been the more recent 'refugee crisis', and the UK government's response to the crisis of offering resettlement in the UK to 20,000 Syrian refugees (living in camps in neighbouring countries) by 2020. The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS), which I outlined in Chapter 1, has led to 397 refugees being resettled in 21 of Wales' 22 local authority areas by the end of 2016 (Home Office, 2017). Furthermore, those resettled under the scheme arrive in the UK with refugee status already granted (previously 'Humanitarian status' until 1st July 2017), are provided with housing and are fast-tracked through the

administrative processes by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). In addition, on-going integration support is provided by local authorities, for example, in Wales, Regional Community Cohesion Co-ordinators provide this support to resettled Syrian refugees but not to other 'spontaneously-arrived refugees'. The Welsh Government inquiry into refugees and asylum seekers in Wales (2017.p.21) highlights the ways in which this has led to the creation of a 'two-tier system' and, in particular, the ways in which the support provided to resettled Syrian refugees means that they do not experience many of the difficulties with the move-on period discussed in Chapter 1.

The scrapping of the *Refugee Integration and Employment Service* in 2011 is another fundamental change since the Welsh Government's original inclusion strategy was published and, following their 2017 inquiry, the Welsh government has committed to the creation of a *Refugee, Asylum Seeker and Migrant Inclusion Service*. Such an approach suggests a recognition of the need for specific strategies for forced migrant integration and is a turn away from the more recent approach of mainstreaming. For example, in their *'Refugee Inclusion Strategy Action Plan'* the Welsh Government (2014) include references to other Welsh Government documents, such as *'Getting on Together – a Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales'* (2009) and *'Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents – A Framework for Action'* (2014). Thus, the recent change may be in contrast to the UK Government where refugee integration initiatives continue to be part of a broader equality and diversity framework, with no specific UK-wide refugee integration strategy currently in place.

In Chapter 5, I provide a detailed critical discursive analysis of the refugee integration strategies published by the UK, Welsh and Scottish governments and argue that the definitional issues raised here and the dilemma between deterrence of asylum seekers and integration of refugees leads to ambivalent responses towards the latter. There I will argue that each of the strategies are framed using a discourse of the nation having a 'proud tradition' of protecting refugees which dialogically represses (Billig,

1997) past histories of not offering protection to refugees and a more recent history of creating a 'hostile environment' for forced migrants in the UK.

#### 2.10 Summary

In this chapter, I have summarised some of the current debates around 'integration' and how this has been conceptualised in the literature. I have also demonstrated that there has been a difference in the way in which academics (such as Ager and Strang, 2008) have defined integration, preferring a broader definition than that used within official UK government's integration policies. In this thesis I shall be using the term 'integration' because it has been highlighted (Berry, 1997) to be the preferred acculturation strategy for migrants, but I shall be using the term in the broad sense conceptualised by Ager and Strang (2004), to move away from more narrow definitions that could be seen as closer to 'assimilation'.

I have argued that the conceptual framework developed by Ager and Strang (2004) offers the most comprehensive and convincing model of integration, despite normatively prescribing what "successful" integration might look like and some more recent criticisms (e.g. Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; McPherson, 2010). One of the aims of this research project was therefore to use this framework as the basis for designing questions for individual interviews with refugees and asylum seekers about their experiences of integration, without any assumptions of what "successful" integration should be.

This review has also highlighted policy divergence in the devolved Welsh Government's integration strategies, particularly in taking the position that integration should begin on day one of arrival in the country. This is despite immigration policy remaining a reserved matter, and suggests differences in approach from the 'hostile environment' described in Chapter 1. Thus, one rationale for undertaking this research is to address the gap in understanding the lived practices of forced migrants within the

devolved Welsh policy context, and to investigate whether the Welsh Government's claims of inclusivity, welcome and tolerance (Williams, 2015) have led to ambivalent responses to forced migrant integration in Wales.

# 3. Discursive psychological approaches to racism, categorisation and intergroup relations

"Whilst people in Wales are largely comfortable with those from different backgrounds, there are significant pockets of negative attitudes and prejudice including in relation to asylum seekers and refugees"

#### Crawley (2013, p.1)

In this chapter, I will put forward an argument for taking a discourse analytic approach, in line with the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987), to the study of forced migrant integration and review relevant literature in this area. Adopting such an approach I will be defining discourses in the way that Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.90) use their term 'interpretative repertoires': "broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images". In the previous chapter, I outlined Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework and indicated that an aim of this thesis was to apply their framework to qualitative interviews with refugees and asylum seekers, as suggested by Phillimore and Goodson (2008). This research also has two specific research questions: 1) How do refugees and asylum seekers in Wales discursively construct accounts of their experiences of integration? and 2) To what extent do these constructions have implications for refugee and asylum seeker integration policies? As I outlined in the introduction to this thesis. when I talk of "experiences" I do so in line with other discursive psychologists who suggest that "language does not merely express experiences; rather, language also constitutes experiences and the subjective, psychological reality" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.102).

#### 3.1 Overview

In the preceding chapters I have outlined current academic and political thought on both integration and asylum policy (immigrant policy), and situated this within a broader historical framework of changes to UK immigration policy. I showed that the notion of 'race relations' became prominent within immigration policy, but that the use of this term had all but disappeared from policy by the 1980s and was replaced by notions of 'social cohesion' by the end of the 1990s. In this chapter, using 'racism' as a focus, I will attempt to set out the key candidate ways in which the study of racism, categorisation and identity has been studied and theorised within social psychology, and also from a sociological perspective, and put forward an argument for taking a discursive psychological approach in this thesis. Indeed, much of the early work in discursive psychology, stemming from Wetherell and Potter's seminal work Mapping the Language of Racism (1992) has focussed on 'race talk'; analysing the ways in which the discourses of majority group members may draw on liberal and egalitarian repertoires that allow them to avoid accusations of racism but at the same time also function to sustain forms of racism and exploitation. Whilst this thesis takes the same analytic perspective as Wetherell and Potter (1992) it does so from a different perspective where the focus is on the discourses of minority group members (forced migrants) rather than majority group members that have often been the focus of previous discourse analytic research (e.g. Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Goodman and Burke, 2010)

Racism is a significant area of interest for the current thesis as Crawley and Crimes (2009) report that over half of all refugees in Wales say that they have experienced racism or negative attitudes towards them. Whilst the Welsh Government have introduced polices aimed at increasing 'community cohesion' through 'Getting Along Together: A Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales' (2009) and 'Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents: A Framework for Action' (2014), more recent research by Race

Council Cymru (2012) found that two-thirds of those from ethnic minority backgrounds reported experiencing racism in Wales. Indeed, both within Ager and Strang's (2004) conceptual *Indicators of Integration* model and in its applied use in the *Refugee Inclusion Strategy* (2008), racism and negative attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers are highlighted as a major barrier to successful integration.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the development and role of 'race' as a theoretical construct. I will argue, in line with the work of Banton (1988) and Miles (1989, p.73), that 'race' is "an ideological notion used to both construct and negotiate social relations", and that scientific theorists which sought to label discrete 'races' have instead created a discourse in which 'race' is assumed to be a natural and universal process. In rejecting 'race' as a construct I then move on to justify the continued use of racism as a term for describing the discrimination experienced by those who have been 'othered' following a process of racialization which was the result of scientific theories of 'race'. I proceed to review recent debates in the study of racism, charting how 'old-fashioned' racism, based on biological differences and the notion of hierarchical differences existing between discrete 'races', has given way to what has become known as 'new racism' (Barker, 1991), 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1991) or 'modern racism' (McConahy, 1986).

This chapter then proceeds to review the major approaches to studying racism, identity and categorisation within social psychology and sociology. A key feature of the 'new' approaches to racism, discussed in section 3.2, has been a focus on discourse, ideology and the ways in which racism is produced (or constructed) within everyday talk. As stated in the introduction, an open definition of 'discourse' is adopted that includes all forms of spoken language and written texts. In section 3.4 I provide an overview of research in the discursive psychological tradition which draws attention to the ways in which prejudicial talk "sustains and legitimates social inequalities" (Wetherell, 2003, p.21) thus developing an argument for why I take such an approach

in this thesis rather than the candidate approaches I discuss in section 3.3. As discussed above, whilst much of the previous literature in discursive psychology has taken the discourses of majority group members as its focus, in this thesis I adopt the same analytic perspective and concepts but instead apply them to the talk of refugees and asylum seekers. As such, the chapter concludes with a review of research from this tradition, which has taken as its object of study either the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers, or discourses *about* them in media, political and lay speech.

#### 3.2 From 'old-fashioned' to 'new' racism?

As the review of government policy approaches to the integration of immigrants in Chapter 1 demonstrated, use of the term 'race' and how such policies have been conceptualised, has changed over time. For example, the 'race relations' approach of the 1960s and 1970s became one of 'multiculturalism' in the 1980s and more recently there has been a focus on 'community cohesion'. The study of racism within social psychology and sociology has also changed and developed over the past century from a focus on biological differences and explicit racism to one more interested in the less explicit forms of racism seen in everyday talk and interactions. In this sense, there has been a move away from attempting to locate the causes of racism solely within the individual to a greater focus on the situated social encounters in which racism is a feature.

Miles (1989), from a sociological perspective, provides a review of how the concepts of 'race' and racism have developed historically, arguing that although it has a fairly short academic history, the concept is one that has been both inflated and redefined over time. Prior to the 1940s academic thought on 'race' came predominantly from a scientific perspective and subscribed to the notion that discrete 'races' not only existed but were also hierarchically ordered. Such discourses were used to justify white European imperialism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century but by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a growing body of scientific thought was beginning to question this taxonomy. Despite

this, it was not until the rise of fascism in Nazi Germany that scientific racism faced a serious backlash. The Nazi campaign against the Jews, perpetuated by the belief that Jews and other 'groups' were inferior races, was based upon the scientific notion that such discrete groups did exist hierarchically. Indeed, such discourses were used to legitimate the genocide and exclusion of groups by the Nazi regime. However, the rise of the Nazi ideology also prompted academics, scientists and politicians to provide a critical appraisal of the scientific basis of 'races', with Huxley and Haddon (1935) calling it pseudo-science and suggesting that there was no biological evidence to support the idea of discrete 'races'.

Banton (1988) has been critical of racial theories from both the biological sciences and those from the social sciences, which superseded them. He points to theories of 'race' from the biological sciences which conceptualised 'race' as lineage, as a type or as a subspecies and to those from the social sciences which conceptualise 'race' as a form of status or class. In Banton's view 'race' has been misused as a theoretical construct and points to a problem with how the word has been used in the English language. He suggests that "the word is now so securely established in the practical language that for the foreseeable future English-speakers will continue to talk of racial groups and to draw upon the idiom of race when punishing racial discrimination, even if they talk more often of ethnicity in other contexts" (Banton, 1988, p.235). Miles (1990) similarly suggests that whilst 'race' as a theory has been contested, it has nevertheless circulated within society as an ideology that has led to a process of 'racialisation'. Miles (1990, p.74) referred to this process of 'racialisation' as a "representational process defining an 'other' somatically", in which biological theories of 'race' were used to structure social relations between people in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectives.

Banton's dismissal of 'race' as a theory therefore asks fundamental questions too about the nature and basis of racism as a topic of study. It could be argued that the

concepts which we know today as racism, discrimination or prejudice based on 'race', were born in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and became the way in which the subject was predominantly studied. That is, what may now be considered as 'old-fashioned' racism; prejudice based on the ideological assumption that hierarchical differences exist between 'races' which is expressed explicitly. However, more recent work has also sought to highlight contemporary forms of racism and to move the debate on from the individualist perspectives of 'old-fashioned' racism. 'Symbolic' (Kinder and Sears, 1981), 'cultural' (Fanon, 1967), 'institutional' (Macpherson, 1999) and 'new' racism (Barker, 1981) have all emerged as competing theories whereby theorists seek to explain the nature of racism in its current form and all of which can be seen as 'modern' forms of racism (McConahy, 1986),. This form, they suggest, sees a vastly different political role from that of 'old-fashioned' racism, which consisted of slavery, segregation, apartheid, white superiority feelings and explicit derogation in public discourse. For example, the 'symbolic racism' thesis (Kinder and Sears, 1981) developed from the changes in American society following the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s and notes that in addition to changing the political life of the country and the situation of black Americans, that it also changed the racial prejudices of white Americans. The symbolic racism thesis argues that such changes resulted in more subtle forms of prejudice with a number of characteristics including: "the rejection of crude stereotypes and the most visible discrimination; refusal of racial change for ostensibly non-racial reasons; a feeling that blacks are 'pushing too hard' and 'getting on too quickly' by virtue of 'reverse discrimination' which disadvantages whites and denial of the idea of segregation" (Wieviorka, 1995, p.51).

The 'new' racism discourse also emerged in the 1980s (Barker, 1981) and refers to racial discrimination that involves a shift away from racial exclusionary practices based on biology, to those based on culture. Barker (1981) suggests that this discourse was part of the ideology of the Conservative government of the 1970s and

1980s that allowed it to focus on immigration as a perceived threat to the British nation whilst at the same time suggesting that different ethnic groups were neither inferior nor superior, but different. He argues that 'new racism' becomes difficult to recognise because it is interwoven with discourses of social cohesion, cultural preservation and nationalism which discriminate without using the word 'race', thus creating a new common sense in which it was possible to discriminate without being open to accusations of racism.

The precise relationship between 'modern' and 'old-fashioned' racism however remains contested as does the definition of 'modern' or 'new racism' (Virtanen and Huddy, 1998). Indeed, van Dijk (2000) has suggested that in this approach 'new racism' is not real racism (which is reserved for the extreme right only), because minorities are seen as being different, rather than biologically inferior. Such forms of racism are therefore seen as much more subtle and indirect, not limited to the traditional view of the individual racist, but commonly reproduced in everyday interactions by ordinary people, institutions and the political elite. Virtanen and Huddy (1998), in a review of different theories of racism, suggest that a consistent factor in each of the approaches is an emphasis on whites' beliefs that blacks are unwilling to help themselves and are, therefore, undeserving of government assistance. Positive action policies by the government are seen as creating resentment and prejudice, which Kinder and Sears (1981) in their thesis of 'symbolic' racism, argue creates tension with traditional values of individualism and self-reliance.

The 'modern' racism approach has also been criticised by Wetherell and Potter (1992), whose work I discuss further in section 3.4 below when putting forward an argument for taking a discursive psychological approach in this thesis. They suggest that the 'modern' racism approach could not explain many of the findings that their discourse analysis of interviews with Pākehā New Zealanders revealed. Whilst some of this criticism related to issues of measurement in attitudinal research, their principal

criticism relates to the ways in which social factors are largely ignored in this approach and the over reliance on locating racism within the emotional and cognitive apparatus of the individual. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.197) point to "conflicts and dilemmas within the argumentative resources available in a 'liberal' and 'egalitarian' society" but suggest that such conflicts are not between feelings and values but "between competing frameworks for articulating social, political and ethical questions". As such they suggest that the 'modern' racism approach tends to view 'modern' forms of racism as static and fail to account for changes in attitudes.

Essed (1991) has been critical of approaches which fail to transcend the dualism between the individual and society and has proposed a conceptualization of racism, drawing primarily on structural theories of racism, which she terms 'everyday racism'. Her research aimed to better understand the everyday experiences of black women in the United States and the Netherlands and criticised traditional approaches in sociology for focusing too greatly on macro structures and failing to address the micro inequalities within society. She therefore defines everyday racism as "...the interweaving of racism in the fabric of the social system" (1991, p.37) and suggests that structures of racism do not exist external to agents – they are made by agents – but specific practices are by definition racist only when they activate existing structural racial inequality in the system.

Similarly, the concept of 'xeno-racism', developed by researchers at the *Institute for Race Relations* (Fekete, 2001; Sivanandan, 2006), is also of relevance to the current thesis. This approach was developed following research into the treatment of asylum seekers and refugees in the European Union at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Fekete (2001) highlights how writers of government policies aimed at securing borders and deterring migrants from claiming asylum in the UK have created conditions under which those who do seek asylum face destitution, detention and deportation (as discussed in Chapter 1). Whilst it could be argued that this is another form of

institutional racism, Sivanandan (2006, p.2) justifies naming this form of racism as xeno by stating that

"If it is xenophobia, it is, in the way that it denigrates and reifies people before segregating and/or deporting them, a xenophobia which bears all the marks of the old racism, except that it is not colour coded. It is racism in substance, though xeno in form. It is xeno-racism, a racism of global capital".

As such 'xeno-racism' can be differentiated from the 'modern' racism approach which has tended to focus on individuals, and has a far greater focus on the ways in which societal structures and governments have created conditions in which it becomes acceptable to discriminate against asylum seekers. Fekete points to an ideological dilemma (Billig et al., 1988) in the New Labour government's policies which on the one hand remained committed to eliminating institutional racism yet on the other hand created an ideological space in which it was culturally acceptable to discriminate against asylum seekers. She highlights many of New Labour's asylum policies (see chapter 1) which have served to restrict the civil, legal and human rights of asylum seekers and simultaneously mark them as 'others' and subordinate to members of British society. Fekete's (2001) analysis is based on the argument that the economic ideology of western capitalist societies is concerned with a focus on free markets and shows the continuation of the race relations approach, which restricted black immigration to the UK in the 1960s unless skills were needed. Here again, it is only skilled workers who are able to move freely, and asylum seekers are therefore constructed as a "drain" on the capitalist society and as such unwanted, leading to the othering which Fekete (2001) terms 'xeno-racism'.

In summary, what theorists of 'new' or 'modern' racism draw attention to is the ways in which prejudice against 'others' has shifted from being explicitly based on 'racial' theories to more subtle forms of 'othering' based on a range of individual and group characteristics. It is here that research in social psychology has played a key role in advancing this discussion. Indeed, whilst sociological theories of racism have tended

to look 'outwards' towards economic and political relations, social psychology has tended to look 'inwards' or to formulate explanations that view racism as a consequence of faulty 'information processing' within the individual. In the next section, I provide a review of the key candidate ways that racism and identity have been approached in social psychology. I then discuss the contribution that a discursive psychological approach has made to the study of racism and provide an argument for why this approach addresses the divide between the individual and society that is inherent in other social psychological explanations of racism, such as those discussed in section 3.3.

#### 3.3 Approaches to the study of intergroup relations in social psychology

The study of intergroup relations within the field of social psychology has traditionally come from social cognition perspectives in the North American school, which primarily take an interest in internal mental representations. Predominantly adopting a positivist and realist epistemology, and influenced by work in cognitive science, experimental methods have dominated social cognition approaches within which a range of theories have developed such as attitude theories (e.g. Festinger, 1957; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) Schema theory (e.g. Taylor and Crocker, 1981) and attribution theory (e.g. Heider, 1958; Kelley (1967). As such, these approaches came to be associated with the 'information processing metaphor' of the person (Augoustinos and Walker, 2004) which presupposes that there is a cognitive life world to be explored and thus takes a largely individualistic orientation in which the 'social' aspects of human thought are often forgotten or ignored. In such approaches, prejudice or racism is therefore seen as a result of faulty information processing within the individual and fails to take account of its social and ideological origins.

In European social psychology, a number of theories of intergroup relations developed in the 1970s, which attempted to create a distance from the individualistic information processing approaches of social cognition researchers in North American

social psychology, by seeking to reintroduce a greater social focus to the study of social psychology.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), which developed out of the minimal group paradigm experiments conducted in the 1970s by Henri Tajfel and colleagues, is a theory of intergroup behaviour in which such behaviour is governed solely by membership of particular groups rather than on the individual qualities of group members. Thus, in SIT, all behaviour is seen as occurring on a continuum from the interpersonal to the intergroup. SIT posits that members of a social group will develop in-group bias in order to maintain a positive social identity, which comes about through processes of categorisation, comparison and intergroup differentiation. Whilst the original minimal group experiments sought to examine whether intergroup categorisation could, on its own, determine differences in intergroup behaviour, the generalisability of this theory from the minimal group experiments has been questioned. Augoustinos and Walker (2004, p.133) suggest that the in-group bias found may be partially a result of the dichotomous nature of the minimal group paradigm and may therefore be limited only to groups who have a relational ideology in a collective context. Despite such criticisms, Social Identity Theory has remained perhaps the most dominant explanation of intergroup behaviour since its development. However, Turner (1985), responding to some of the criticisms of SIT, and particularly its use of an interpersonal-intergroup continuum, developed Self-categorization theory (SCT) as an alternative theory of intergroup behaviour and social identity. In SCT, personal and social identity are not seen as different forms of identity, but instead are seen as representing different forms of self-categorisation that provide a mechanism for predicting how and when people will self-categorise in one way or another (Augoustinos and Walker, 2004). Thus, Augoustinos and Walker (2004, p.129) suggest that whilst SIT can be classified as primarily a motivational theory, SCT is primarily a cognitive theory.

Also emerging at a time when there was a call for a more *social* social psychology, Social Representations theory (Moscovici, 1984) seeks to understand individual psychological functioning within a social or cultural context. In this theory, social representations are essentially mental constructs (cognitive systems) which Moscovici (1988, p.214) defines as:

The contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that gives coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviours and to objectify them as part of our social setting.

The development of this theory has led to social representations being viewed as an important aspect of the way that societal ideologies are maintained and developed in social interaction (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008). Indeed, van Dijk (1987) suggests that they are the means by which the content of prejudiced representations of other people are schematically organised.

The sociological approach of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), whose work I discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to acculturation theory, is also worthy of consideration here as an alternative candidate approach to the study of intergroup relations that could have been adopted in this thesis, rather than adopting a discursive psychological approach. In this approach identity is not seen as given nor fixed, but, rather, as being in a state of becoming. Stanley (2010, p.4-5) summarises self in this approach as "receptive to (and thus in practice shaped by) social situations and relations; and what people learn is not 'habit' or fixed ways of behaving in society, but instead 'rules for . . .' how to interpret the emergent definition of the situation and respond to it". This is therefore in direct contrast, and at the opposite end of the individual-society dualism, than that of social cognition approaches. However, developments in social theory in the 1970s and 1980s, and criticisms of the realist epistemology of the social cognition approach, led to what has become known as the 'crisis' in social psychology.

In the next section, I discuss how the 'crisis' in social psychology of the 1970s and 1980s led some to move away from social cognition perspectives in a 'turn to language' that has led to an interest in the role and function of language as a socially constitutive force in consciousness and experience.

#### 3.4 Discursive Psychology and the study of racism

As discussed above, the concept of 'race' has long been debated in both the social and natural sciences, with natural scientists making claims on the basis of empirical evidence for the existence of discrete 'races'. Within the field of social psychology explanations of prejudice and racism have also predominantly been offered from social cognition, SIT and social representations perspectives, deriving from empirical evidence and experimental methods. However, beginning in the 1980s, following on from the 'turn to language' in social theory and the 'crisis' in social psychology, in which the discipline began to become critical of experimental methods, which claimed to provide a scientific 'truth'. Discursive psychologists, such as Wetherell and Potter (1992) in their classic text *Mapping the Language of Racism*, criticize the dominant, social cognition, approach within social psychology arguing that this approach could neither account for historical and ideological changes, nor the variation they had found in their interview participants' talk. Discursive psychologists have argued that many of the psychological phenomena, which have traditionally been assumed to reside internally within the person, are socially and discursively created.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) provide a review of the dominant approaches to the study of racism in social psychology. They argue that the approach of social cognition researchers, in looking for internal cognitions and motives which explain racism, neglect the role that language plays and, crucially, its function. In this sense, the social cognitive perspective is seen as both reductive and individualist with insufficient focus

placed on the social world. Intergroup studies of racism and prejudice, such as Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), suggest that in-group identification can lead to stronger stereotyping and therefore increase prejudice towards outgroups.

Benwell and Stokoe (2013) criticise this approach for its view of identity as being something which lies dormant, ready to be 'switched on' in the presence of others.

Similarly, Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Antaki et al. (1996) also criticise SIT's treatment of identity as a cognitive, pre-discursive and essentialist phenomenon.

Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.59) argue that traditional (social cognition) approaches in social psychology fail to provide an account of the variation found in people's talk and that the study of racism "...needs to be seen as a series of ideological effects, with a flexible, fluid and varying content". The development of research concerning prejudicial or racist talk has been one of the key contributions of the discursive psychological approach stemming from the work of Billig (1988, p.94) who termed the phrase the "cultural norm against prejudice" to describe his finding that speakers can go to great lengths to rhetorically distance themselves from accusations of prejudice. Augoustinos and Every (2007) extended Billig's work further and identified a number of discursive strategies employed by speakers to avoid violating this norm. These included denials of prejudice ("I'm not racist, but.."), the grounding of views as reflecting the external world, positive self and negative other presentation and discursive deracialisation (the removal of race from discourses which could potentially be seen as being about race). For discursive psychologists, understanding concepts such as racism therefore focuses on the ways in which racism is constructed in talk.

The discursive psychological approach to racism therefore has much in common with Banton's (1988) rejection of 'race' as a theoretical construct. Indeed, McKinlay and Mcvittie (2008, p.137) state that "... the discursive researcher must be careful not to begin with a prior theoretical definition of "racism" which may prevent him or her from understanding how racism is actually accomplished through everyday talk".

Durrheim, Quayle and Dixon (2016, p.18) are similarly critical of research which imposes social psychologist's definitions of prejudice and which view ordinary people as "unreflexive formulators" or "bearers" of prejudice. In order to overcome this dilemma Discursive Psychologists therefore approach talk "as a topic of inquiry in its own right and their aim is not to theorize 'prejudice' per se, but to describe and explore the social meaning of prejudice for members of society" (Tileagă, 2016, p.87). In this sense, discursive psychologists are not therefore attempting to discover whether individuals are 'really' prejudiced. Tileagă (2016, p.88) drawing on the work of Speer and Potter (2000) suggests that "discursive analysis is not a tool for capturing the 'negativity' or 'irrationality' of prejudices, or for mapping 'a type of talk on to a type of person' (Speer and Potter, 2000, p. 564), but is rather a tool for making sense of how participants themselves produce and make sense of prejudice". As such, Tileagă (2016) is critical of discursive research which focus analysis only on negative descriptions of a particular group, arguing that the talk of co-conversationalists is also important in understanding how expressions of prejudice are oriented to and interpreted by members of society. He argues that analysing the talk of coconversationalists is also vital because "prejudiced talk is intricately woven with macrolevel societal assumptions about what is acceptable, who is entitled to and worthy of equal treatment, and what are the bounds of rational and reasonable behaviour towards others" (Tileagă, 2016, p.88).

McKinlay and McVittie (2008) suggest that discursive psychology emerged in order to provide a more naturalistic and functional approach to the topics classically studied within social psychology. As a result, discursive psychology is concerned with people's practices; in particular, what they are doing with their discourses in terms of argument, communication and interaction in specific, situated, settings. Edwards and Potter (1992, p.158) summarise this epistemological shift from empiricism to constructionism in stating that "the study of situated discourse redefines and relocates

the relation between language and understandings, and it does this by placing language as representation (whether of cognition or of reality) in a position subordinate to language as action". In this way discursive psychology can be distinguished from other forms of discourse analysis (such as in linguistics), which analyse the grammatical and stylistic organisation of discourses, by placing greater emphasis on language use and what is achieved by that use. Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) coined the term 'interpretative repertoires' when analysing scientific discourse and argued that these should be the objects of analysis rather than discourses per se. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.90), also use this term and define interpretative repertoires as "...broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images". In this way constructions of a particular topic are seen by the discourse analyst as being selected from an array of interpretative moves and used flexibly in the context of social interaction. Potter (1996a) argues that when analysing discourse the focus should be on how a particular description is made to appear factual, and what is achieved by representing reality in this way.

However, other social psychologists argue against the ethnomethodological approach taken by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Parker (1990), influenced by poststructuralist writers such as Foucault and Derrida is more interested in locating and describing the different 'discourses' which circulate in society and which construct the way people see themselves and the world. He therefore defines a 'discourse' as "a recurrently used system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 1990, p.191). However, Potter et al. (1990) criticise Parker's approach and his definition of 'discourses' for its reified and abstract status, arguing that "the idea of a repertoire spotlights flexibility of use in practice in a way that Parker's organized sets of statements fails to do so". Indeed, the approach taken by Potter and Wetherell (1987) in defining discourse as a 'situated practice', they argue, allows for a more social

psychological approach to discourse analysis. This is therefore the approach that I take in this thesis to analyse interviews with refugees and asylum seekers. As I will suggest in later chapters, adopting such an approach allows for integration to be seen as a series of 'situated practices' rather than a linear "process" as is often assumed in models of integration such as Ager and Strang's (2004) framework.

Tileagă's (2006) research takes a discursive psychological approach to prejudice and moral exclusion in talk about Romanies by Romanian professionals. He shows that both supporters and opponents of right-wing Romanian politicians used similar discursive strategies that positioned Romanies as outside of the moral order and thus outside Romanian society. Through discourses of delegitimization and dehumanization, Tileagă (2006, p.37) argues that Romanies are constructed "as being 'naturally' different, and thus 'naturally' deserving of differential (i.e. exclusionary) treatment". Tileagă's research draws on the idea of the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) and on Billig's classic text, Banal Nationalism (1995), to analyse how the Romanies were 'imagined' by his interview participants. He suggests that his interviewees perform an 'imagining', which not only seeks to exclude Romanies from the national category 'Romanian' but also positions them beyond the moral order of what is reasonable in contemporary Romanian society (Tileagă, 2006, p.36). Other research in discursive and rhetorical psychology has similarly drawn inspiration from Anderson (1983) and Billig (1995) in noting the importance of nationalism, and, in particular its banal, everyday forms, which lead to the exclusion of the 'other' (e.g. Condor, 2000; Anderouli and Dashtipour, 2014; Rowe and Goodman, 2014).

As discursive psychologists developed their interest in the language of prejudice, racism and the exclusion of 'others', the broad issues of asylum and migration provided discursive psychologists with a wide source of data from which to conduct their analyses. Studying the discourse of asylum seekers themselves has proved a more recent development. However, there have been two areas in particular

which have proved particularly fruitful for discursive psychologists; the analysis of both political speeches and lay commentary on asylum seekers as well as media representations of forced migrants. In the next section, I will provide an overview of current research in these areas in addition to recent studies which have analysed the talk of asylum seekers themselves. I will argue that discursive psychology provides a useful framework for analysing forced migrants' accounts and descriptions of their experiences of integration in the UK and that this work has already highlighted how media and political discourses around asylum have functioned to justify or criticise particular sets of policies, practices and relationships.

### 3.4.1 Discursive constructions of asylum seekers in media and political discourse

In their refugee integration strategy, *Integration Matters* (2005), the Westminster Government acknowledge that negative media representations of asylum seekers can impact upon the residents of existing communities and limit the capacity for integration. Discursive psychologists have been particularly interested in the ways in which the print and broadcast media construct accounts of asylum seekers and the ideological basis of such constructions. Much of this research, although not exclusively, has focused upon the British and Australian print media, where debates around asylum have dominated the public and political sphere for many years.

Lea and Lynn (2003) analyse letters from members of the public that focused on the debate around asylum. They demonstrate that asylum seekers are constructed in a mostly negative way within these lay discourses. This was achieved through a reconstruction and re-positioning of the social order of other groups in society so as to position the asylum seekers as outside of society. Similarly, O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007) analyse articles in Australian newspapers and find that certain types of categories ('boat people', 'illegal immigrants') are used which support and encourage specific marginalising practices. Other discursive analyses of printed media reports

have found a high incidence of water metaphors (floods, tides, swamped) used in media reports about refugees and asylum seekers (Pickering 2001; Baker and McEnery 2005; Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, KhosraviNik 2009). This was also found in Austrian newspaper reports about Kurdish asylum seekers in Italy by El Refaie (2001). Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) found that the use of these metaphors was more frequent in tabloid newspapers. However, Prime Minister David Cameron also used a similar metaphor (swarms) when discussing the EU migrant crisis in 2015. As with water metaphors the idea of swarms helps create a construction of countries being overrun by 'unwanted invaders' (Parker, 2015). Pickering (2001) has also suggested that asylum seekers have been constructed not only as a 'problem' population, but also as a 'deviant' population.

Gale (2004, p. 334) identifies three themes which are "predicated on contrasting notions of both national identity and the Other" in print media representations of asylum seekers in the run up to the 2001 Australian Federal elections. Firstly, use of a 'human face' metaphor whereby writers portray Australia as a compassionate country.

Secondly, 'border protection', is used to strengthen this portrayal by differentiating those who were deemed a threat to national security ('boat people'). A third theme that was found in his analysis relates to the rights of refugees, although Gale notes that this representation was only found in commentaries and not within major news stories.

Gale is particularly interested in the intersection between populist politics and media discourse and highlights how historical notions of a 'white Australia' and fear of the 'Other' are used by politicians and the Australian media prior to the election to construct asylum seekers as 'illegals', 'criminals' and 'queue jumpers'.

Augostinos and Every (2007), drawing on the notion of 'new' racism, analyse

Australian parliamentary debates on asylum seekers, and suggest that whilst 'new'
racism is difficult to define, four ways of constructing asylum seekers are discernible as
being racist. In common with Goodman and Burke's study of lay discourse, it was

found that such constructions had to be employed delicately. They involve the use of categorical generalizations, the unequal treatment of asylum seekers compared with similar groups, talk of culture as a "natural" difference and talk about national sovereignty. Indeed, scholars have long argued that there is a taken-for-granted assumption that the nation-state has the moral right to exclude (Billig, 1995). Lueck, Due and Augostinos (2015) analysed Australian media reports of two incidents that involved asylum seekers in 2009, the *Oceanic Viking* and the *Jaya Lestari 5* incidents. They highlight that many of the discourses can be viewed as both nationalistic and neo-liberal (Lueck et al., 2015, p.608). Nationalistic in terms of border control and protecting the sovereign state, but also neo-liberal in the sense that they can be seen as positioning the exclusion of asylum seekers as something that is economically beneficial. The use of de-humanizing language was found to position the asylum seekers as undesirable, unwanted and illegitimate within the Australian nation state (Lueck et al., 2015, p. 624).

With a focus on racism within the asylum debate, Capdevila and Callaghan (2008), analyse a speech by the Conservative party leader Michael Howard, presented at their 2005 annual conference. They employ a Foucauldian Discourse analysis approach and conclude that the speech is "...a multiplous production that simultaneously represents a political party, produces a national identity and a racist ideology, fantasizes a British self and a demonized other, and is an expression of economic and political imperatives and personal identities" (2008, p.13). As in the Australian case, 'othering' and questions of national identity were found to be the most common rhetorical constructions used in the speech.

Charteris-Black (2006) also focuses upon debates around asylum seekers in the run up to the 2005 UK General Election. His focus, however, was on the considerable use of metaphor within the 2005 election campaign. From his analysis he was able to identify two prominent metaphors of 'natural disaster' and 'container' that

were used in right-wing spoken and written communication. The 'natural disaster' metaphor was predominantly found to include the same type of water metaphors as found by Pickering (2001); Baker and McEnery (2005); Baker et al. (2008); Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and KhosraviNik (2009). Charteris-Black suggests that the use of such metaphors is bound up in Britain's spatial location as an island nation and its colonial history. The 'container' metaphor, implying a buildup of pressure within a container, also relates to Britain's spatiality and was used to justify strict controls of borders and immigration in order to control the rate of social change. Charteris-Black suggests that uses of such metaphors is characteristic of right-wing discourse rather than being 'racist discourse', however, this is debated by Augostinos and Every (2007) in their review of discursive patterns in talk about race, ethnicity and immigration. They suggest that even if it is not possible to call such discourse 'racist', it has the effect of continuing to marginalize and exclude certain social groups by negatively positioning minority out-groups. This characterizing of the "other" has been found in many studies since the publication of Wetherell and Potter's (1992) Mapping the Language of Racism, where racist discourse is defined as "discourse (of whatever content) which has the effect of establishing, sustaining and reinforcing oppressive power relations" (p.70).

As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, there has been much debate about the recent 'refugee crisis' in Europe (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017). This period has also seen an increase in research from discursive psychologists and critical discourse analysts who have studied the language used by the media and politicians during the 'crisis'. Goodman, Sirriyeh and McMahon (2017) analysed UK media sources, from the beginning of 2015 to mid-2016, which had used the term 'crisis' in their reporting. They demonstrate how categorization of refugees changed and evolved throughout the 'crisis', where, to begin with it was presented as a "Mediterranean migrant crisis" which they argue (Goodman et al. 2017, p.108) worked to present those involved as

"migrants" who were a threat to Europe. They show how this evolved to become a "Calais migrant crisis" (Goodman et al. 2017, p.108), in which those involved were still described as "migrants" but this time the location was closer to the UK and the threat to the UK constructed as more severe. During the summer of 2015, Goodman et al. (2017, p.109) show that the language shifted to become "Europe's migrant crisis", where the threat from "migrants" was a pan-European one. However, following the drowning of the 3-year-old Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, at the beginning of September 2015, and the publication of photographs of his body washed up on a Turkish beach, published on newspaper front pages around the world, Goodman et al. (2017, p. 110) note a change in terminology to a "refugee crisis". Use of the term "refugee", as opposed to "migrant", they argue offers a more sympathetic and humane approach that differs from the threat and deterrence discourses seen previously in media reporting of the 'crisis'.

Parker, Naper and Goodman (in press), in a comparative study of the UK, Norway and Australian broadcast media, also demonstrate that the death of Alan Kurdi's body led to a very quick change towards more sympathetic reporting in the days and weeks following the publication of the photographs of his drowning. But, Goodman et al.'s (2017, p.110) research also shows that towards the end of 2015, UK media reporting of the 'crisis' once again evolved to become a "migrant crisis" that positioned the UK as under threat from "migrants", following a number of terrorist attacks in European cities. Such research therefore demonstrates the importance of categories, but also highlights the difficulties raised by migration scholars, which I discussed in Chapter 1, where people may belong to more than one category (Crawley and Skleparis, 2017).

Berry et al. (2016) provide a detailed content analysis of media reporting in the crisis in several European countries. They found a preference for the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' in the Swedish and German media, whereas the British media

were more likely to use the term 'migrant'. They also show that the British, Italian and Spanish media relied on 'threat' themes (e.g. to culture or welfare systems) in their reporting, with the British media being the most negative and its right-wing press uniquely aggressive to refugees and migrants (Berry et al., 2016, p.1).

Also focusing on the 'crisis', Nightingale, Qualye and Muldoon (2017) analyse recordings of a radio phone-in show in Ireland during 2015. They show that the callers deployed sympathetic repertoires but that these were constructed as normative and common sense emotional responses to seeing the plight of asylum seekers.

Importantly, they highlight that despite such normative responses, such repertoires "have limited power to facilitate explicit, unambiguous, and unconditional inclusive political solidarity" (Nightingale et al., 2017, p.8). Indeed, they argue that a negative discursive environment towards asylum seekers (such as the "hostile policy environment") leads to ambivalent responses towards the potential for political change in welcoming asylum seekers and refugees in Ireland (Nightingale et al., 2017, p.9). In the next section, I move on to look at previous research that has taken a discursive psychological approach to analyzing lay talk about forced migrants. Much of this research has focused on how individuals may present themselves in such a way to avoid accusations of racism (e.g. Goodman and Burke, 2010).

## 3.4.2 Defending against accusations of racism: discursive strategies in lay talk about asylum seekers

Goodman and Burke (2010, 2011) have carried out a range of research analysing the discursive strategies used in lay talk about asylum seeking, with a particular focus on denials of racism (see also Burke and Goodman, 2012). van Dijk (1992) showed that race discourses were strategically organised in order to deny racism and commonly included disclaimers such as "I'm not racist but..." or "I have nothing against migrants but ...". Goodman and Burke (2010) show that use of the word 'just' was a commonly employed discursive strategy in the talk of supporters and opponents of asylum

seekers. This device was used to both support the social 'norm against prejudice' (Billig, 1988), and rhetorically, to suggest that this norm is in itself a problem which limits free speech and shuts down debate. Indeed, in a review, Augostinos and Every (2007) have suggested the ideological use of liberal expressions (such as freedom, equality etc.) are commonly used to justify practices that may be seen as prejudiced or discriminatory. They refer to this strategy as one of using "liberal arguments for illiberal ends" (2007, p.134) arguing that it is used rhetorically (persuasively), in spite of the fact that the liberal notion of equality does not refer to equality of outcome.

Supporting the idea of 'new' racism, Goodman and Burke (2010) suggest that their interviewees based their opposition to asylum seeking on financial and practical considerations, rather than on an explicitly racist reasoning. This discursive strategy has also been found to be commonly used in the media (Lynn and Lea, 2003; Leudar et al., 2008; Baker and McEnery, 2005; Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009) and in political speeches (Capdevilla and Callaghan, 2008; Every and Augostinos, 2008; Charteris-Black 2006; Goodman and Johnson 2013). Goodman and Burke (2010) suggest that such discursive strategies have become common knowledge (Edwards and Potter, 1992); however, these are strategies which have to be used delicately and managed carefully (Goodman and Burke, 2011; Every and Augostinos, 2008). Augostinos and Every (2007) use the term 'discursive deracialization' to describe such situations where a speaker attempts to ensure that their opposition to out-groups is attributed to reasons other than race. They further suggest that, as well as the 'norm against prejudice' (Billig, 1988), there is also an increasing norm against making accusations of racism, which makes it difficult for advocates of refugees and asylum seekers to challenge discourses which they may interpret as being racist. Arguments based on economic or religious grounds as well as a perceived inability for asylum seekers to integrate into British society were found to

be common discursive deracialization strategies for those who argue that opposing asylum is not racist (Goodman and Burke, 2011).

Verkuyten (2005a) analysed 71 interviews with Dutch nationals on the topic of immigration and multiculturalism. Debate around multiculturalism in the Netherlands has developed similarly to that in the UK, as discussed in Chapter 2. Verkuyten (2005a, p. 233) found that the degree to which his Dutch residents supported multiculturalism depended on whether participants endorsed a repertoire of asylum seekers having a "lack of choice" as opposed to a decision based on "personal choice". For those who positioned asylum seekers as having "personal choice" in migrating, multiculturalism was rejected and adaption endorsed. By contrast, those who drew on the "lack of choice" repertoire emphasised cultural rights and was related to a positive evaluation of multiculturalism. Verkuyten's (2005b, p. 86) research is also of importance as he demonstrates the ways in which his ethnic Dutch and ethnic minority participants used similar discursive strategies when describing and explaining the existence of discrimination. He highlights how use of these strategies, whilst similar, can function in different ways; to sustain the position and interests of the dominant group, or to argue for social improvements and change (Verkuyten, 2005b, p.87).

Kirkwood et al. (2014a, 2014b) study lay accounts of asylum and refugee integration in Glasgow, and the accounts of practitioners who work with forced migrants to support integration. Their focus is on the discursive resources used by both groups when talking about integration in Scotland. Whilst Scotland has a long history of immigration, like Wales, it is only in the past 15 years, since the introduction of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act that asylum seekers have been dispersed to Scotland on a "no-choice" basis. Like Wales, Scotland has its own devolved government, but with marginally greater powers than the Welsh Government. Such powers do not extend to immigration and asylum and thus Scotland is in a similar situation to Wales where integration policy is the responsibility of the Scottish

Government but immigration and asylum policy remain matters reserved to the UK government. However, in contrast to Wales, where asylum seekers are dispersed to four locations, Glasgow is the only dispersal location in Scotland and receives more dispersed asylum seekers than any other city in the UK (Home Office, 2017). Whilst refugee integration has been a matter of concern for the Welsh Government since its 2008 strategy, it is only more recently that refugee integration has become a keen area of interest in Scotland, reflected in the Scottish Government's publication of an integration strategy, *New Scots*, in 2013.

Kirkwood et al. (2014a) conclude that lay accounts of integration "failure" or "success" function to justify or criticise certain behaviours. Participant's accounts of integration "failure" tended to support two-way conceptions of integration (Castles et al., 2014), but were found to do so by blaming asylum seekers for their lack of integration. This was found to be achieved through the positioning of asylum seekers as the agents responsible for integration. Similarly, accounts of integration success were constructed in terms that supported assimilation (Berry, 1997) rather than integration and with the view that asylum seekers do not integrate.

Further, Bowskill et al. (2007, p.808) analysed print media articles relating to faith schools and suggest that acculturative moral hierarchies were consistently oriented to in which integration was positioned as the optimal response to diversity while segregationism and social division were positioned as transgressive. But, they suggest that these may be hiding assimilationist tendencies that are constructing normatively positioned British values. By contrast, in their analysis of practitioners' talk about integration, Kirkwood et al., (2014a) point to a number of strategies used by speakers to construct specific versions of integration. Whilst different attributions of agency and responsibility for integration were employed, Kirkwood et al. (2014a) suggest that a common thread throughout the discourse was a sense that a problem

existed between refugees and the local community that only greater integration could solve.

Masocha (2015), in an analysis of social worker's discourses, also found that asylum seekers were presented as a problematic out-group. His analysis shows how social workers use an us/them binary to position asylum seekers in a negative light and social workers (and British society) in a positive light. Masocha (2015) argues that such binaries have important implications for the construction of nationhood and that such discourses function to position asylum seekers as outsiders who threaten the British way of life. Pearce and Stockdale (2009) have also compared refugee practitioners and lay participants' discourses with representations of asylum seekers found in the mass media. They found that the discourses of lay participants matched those of the media more closely than those of expert practitioners. It was also found that lay participants constructed their own responses as being more positive than they believed the wider public's attitudes to be.

Despite the wealth of research that has investigated how majority group members and the media construct their accounts when talking about refugees and asylum seekers, it is only fairly recently that researchers have turned their attention to the discourse of asylum seekers and refugees themselves. In the next section I begin by reviewing work which, like Pearce and Stockdale (2009), has combined analyses of asylum seeker, media and lay discourses. I then review recent work that takes asylum seekers' talk as the sole object of analysis.

#### 3.4.3 Analysis of the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers

Whilst much of the research in the area of discursive psychology has focused on how 'others' are discursively constructed (e.g. Tileagă, 2006), Kirkwood, Liu and Weatherall (2005) have argued that it is equally important to study how out-groups themselves construct their accounts of their own experiences, particularly with regards to topics

such as racism. In recent years there has been some work undertaken in this area that relates specifically to asylum seekers and refugees. Leudar et al. (2008) conducted a three-part study involving a discursive analysis of newspaper reports which formed the basis for subsequent qualitative interviews with local residents of Manchester and refugees. In their discursive analysis, they indicate a number of "hostility themes" (Leudar et al. 2008, p. 187) present in print media constructions of refugees: that refugees are an economic drain, unable to care for their children and are potentially criminals or carriers of disease. In interviews with local residents of Manchester, many of these "hostility themes" present in the media discourses were also found to be drawn upon in discussions about experiences of refugees. Following analysis of interviews with refugees in the same area Leudar et al. (2008) conclude that their participants had internalised these "hostility themes" and constructed their own identities around those present in the media and expressed towards them by the local residents they had experience of meeting. Participants were found to construct autobiographies within the interviews with a common sequential structure whereby "hostility themes" were raised (whether explicitly or implicitly) and then defended or countered. Leudar et al. (2008) found that refugees commonly positioned themselves as being in a worse position than in their home country but that their country of origin was unliveable for them. Whilst Leudar et al. (2008) do not explicitly state that this hostility-defence discursive strategy was employed to counter feelings of perceived 'racism', the "hostility themes" identified may support Fekete's (2001) concept of xeno-racism. Indeed, these "hostility themes" are all encapsulated in Fekete's view that

"by making 'deterrence' (of 'economic migrants'), not human rights (the protection of refugees), the guiding principle of its asylum policy, a government committed, on the one hand, to dismantling institutionalized racism has, on the other, erected new structures of discrimination and, in the process, provided the ideological space in which racism towards asylum seekers becomes culturally acceptable" (2001, p.24).

Kirkwood et al. (2013b) carried out semi-structured interviews with 15 asylum seekers living in Glasgow. The focus of these interviews was their experiences of living in

Scotland; contact with members of the host society; and on access to services. As such they did not ask any specific questions about discrimination or racially motivated violence but found that this was a topic which was raised by many of their participants without being prompted. They found that, in line with the research outlined previously relating to lay discourse (see section 3.4.2); bringing up the topic of racism was a strategy which had to be employed 'delicately' (Goodman and Burke, 2011; Every and Augostinos, 2008) and only as a last resort, in such a way as to deny that they may be making an accusation of racism. This strategy was often employed by reducing the seriousness of racially motivated violence or denying that the incident was indeed racist so as to avoid negative evaluations of the host society. In situations where the speaker did attribute violence to racism, a 'delicate' strategy had to be employed once more, with speakers using strategies such as attributing the violence to the ignorance of the attacker, so as not to appear '...overly sensitive to racism' or be seen to be making complaints (Kirkwood et al., 2013b, p.758). In both cases, then, attention is paid to presenting themselves as reasonable and of not wanting to criticise the host country in which they seek sanctuary.

Similarly, Goodman et al. (2014a) found that whilst participants criticised the UK asylum system and said that they were unhappy in the UK, a dilemma was created for them that risked undermining the reason they were claiming asylum in the UK and appearing ungrateful. Goodman et al. therefore report a downplaying of not being happy as a means of resolving this dilemma, much like the downplaying of 'racism' seen in Kirkwood et al.'s (2013b) study. Criticisms of the asylum system were constructed in a number of ways including presenting it as unfair; treating different groups unequally; and as being designed to ensure that refugees are denied asylum in the UK. These constructions are all noteworthy because they are all directed at the asylum system itself rather than the British public. This is similar to Goodman and Speer's (2007) finding that opponents of the asylum system construct their accounts in

such a way as to blame the system rather than the individual asylum seekers, as a strategy for not appearing to be racist.

One of the "hostility themes" identified in Leudar et al.'s (2008) study of print media discourses was the construction of asylum seekers and refugees being unable to provide sufficient care for their children. Clare et al. (2014) investigate this further by conducting semi-structured interviews with African asylum seeking women. Through a discursive analysis of their interviews they identify two predominant repertoires which their participants drew upon when talking about their emotions; 'rejecting pity' and 'being strong'. Clare et al. suggest that use of these repertoires function to promote positive social identities for the women as responsible parents whilst also countering the negative constructions found in the media relating to the parenting skills of refugees (Leudar et al. 2008). Similarly, Goodman et al. (2014b) show that when asylum seeking participants talk about returning to their home country, this is accomplished by drawing on notions of safety and managing their identity through positioning themselves as being in need of support and as 'genuine refugees'. Here again it would appear that there is evidence of a relationship between how the mass media and others talk about asylum seekers and how asylum seekers themselves construct their own identities in talk. Indeed it may be that the interviewees in these studies were managing 'ideological dilemmas' and issues of self-presentation.

The concept of the 'ideological dilemma' was proposed by Billig et al. (1988) who stress the importance of distinguishing between 'lived ideology' (society's way of life) and 'intellectual ideology' (systems of philosophical, religious or political thought) and suggest that dilemmas may arise between the two. This is particularly the case for Billig and colleagues who take the view that individuals are not mere information processors who conform to dominant ideologies, but that dilemmas can exist particularly between lived and intellectual ideologies. Billig et al. (1988) have applied such thinking to the study of discourses of prejudice. They state that "the reasonably

prejudiced may be caught in the dilemma of possessing contrary ways of talking about 'them', drawing upon opposing themes of tolerance and prejudice, sympathy and blame, nationalism and internationalism". This dilemma may therefore account for the 'delicate' strategies found to be employed by Goodman and Burke (2010), Augostinos and Every (2007), Kirkwood et al., (2013b), when talking about asylum seeking and racism.

Kirkwood (2012) focuses his research on how refugees and asylum seekers in Glasgow negotiate dilemmas in talk about their experiences and views of claiming asylum and living in the UK. In order to achieve a range of social actions such as justifying their position in the UK, Kirkwood found that interviewees had to manage dilemmas sensitively. Kirkwood (2012) draws particular attention to the ways in which interviewees would often state that they had no difficulties in the UK yet describe in some detail particular problems they faced at later stages in the interview. Talk about discrimination was also found to function in a similar way, with respondents playing down incidents of discrimination in order to justify their current position in the UK and to highlight the reality of the persecution they faced in their country of origin. Again, this was found, in part, to be achieved through criticism of the UK asylum system rather than locating problems with any specific people in the UK.

In Chapter 2, I highlighted debates around the concept of 'integration' and how it has proven to be a difficult concept to define. I therefore decided to take a discursive approach to see how the constructions of integration used by refugee and asylum seeker's in Wales functioned rhetorically. The review of recent discursive research in this chapter shows that, whilst discursive research has been undertaken with forced migrants in the English and Scottish contexts, there exists a lacuna regarding the devolved Welsh context, which this thesis seeks to fill. In Chapter 8, I return to this literature to offer some comparisons between the present thesis and the work of scholars such as Steve Kirkwood and Simon Goodman.

#### 3.5 Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed previous research in the area of racism, asylum seeking and discursive psychology and argue that there is a strong link between such research. I charted the development of 'racism' research from 'old-fashioned' to 'modern' conceptions and discussed the criticisms of the 'modern racism' approach given by Wetherell and Potter (1992) in developing their discursive psychological approach to 'race talk'. As such, in this thesis I draw on the analytic perspective advocated by Potter and Wetherell (1992) but shift the focus from majority group discourse to that of refugee and asylum seekers themselves. Potter and Wetherell (1992) advocate strongly for including analysis of social structures, power relations and ideology within research and as such I have suggested that the 'xeno-racism' approach (Fekete, 2001) and the 'hostile environment' for asylum seekers (discussed in Chapter 1), represent key concerns in this thesis.

Whilst research in discursive psychology provides a useful methodological framework from which to analyse how asylum seekers talk about their experiences of living and integrating in Wales, research in this area appears to be in its infancy and this research therefore attempts to address this lacuna, within the devolved context. This review has highlighted the relationship between political, media, local and refugee discourse, all of which have the potential to reinforce or resist each other. Such relationships may be critical for better understanding the integration experiences of forced migrants and I would therefore argue that research which analyses asylum seeker and refugee discourse is key to ensuring that a balance exists between the voices that are heard.

In the next chapter I outline the methodological approach taken to address the research questions set out at the beginning of this chapter. Following this, I present a critical discourse analysis of refugee integration strategy documents in Chapter 5 and analysis of interview data in chapters 6 to 8.

### 4. Methodology

Refugees are neither seen nor heard, but they are everywhere. They are witnesses to the most awful things that people can do to each other, and they become storytellers simply by existing. Refugees embody misery and suffering, and they force us to confront terrible chaos and evil.

Helton, 2002, p.8

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will outline the methodological approach taken in this study. I begin by providing further background and an explanation as to why I have taken a discursive approach before describing and justifying my data collection methods. Following this, I will outline my approach to the data analysis, which will inform the remaining chapters of this thesis.

#### 4.2 Discursive approach

"An umbrella for various approaches with different theoretical origins and therefore different analytic punctuations and levels of analysis" (Nikander, 1995, p.6)

In chapter 3, I described how discursive approaches had been used to study both the dominant societal discourses about forced migrants and more recently, the discourses of forced migrants themselves. In reviewing this literature, I suggested that such discursive approaches had developed within social psychology as a challenge to dominant cognitive approaches, which had tended to view language as a neutral medium through which researchers can discover something about participants' inner mental states (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; McKinlay and McVittie, 2008). Indeed, the discursive psychological approach takes discourse as a topic in its own right and views it as "a phenomenon which has its own properties, properties which have an impact on people and their social interaction" (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, p.8). However, this is

not to say that there is one singular approach to "discourse analysis", on the contrary, there are a number of approaches which fall under this more general heading, with each having its own specific theoretical and analytic focus and which has caused a series of debates amongst discursive researchers (Weatherall, 2016).

One way in which these differences between approaches has been characterised is in terms of a continuum from 'bottom up' to 'top-down' (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008). 'Bottom-up' approaches to discourse analysis have most notably drawn on the work of Conversation Analysis (CA), which has engaged in the rigorous, fine-grain analysis of small sections of interaction. By contrast, 'top-down' approaches, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Foucauldian discourse analysis, which have been influenced by post-structuralist and Foucauldian lines of enquiry, have tended to focus upon the operation of power and ideologies with the aim of bringing about socio-political change. Governmentality theory (Miller and Rose, 1990), which I also draw on in later chapters of this thesis, is also a top-down approach that has been heavily influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault and which seeks to analyse the organized practices through which subjects are governed.

There has been much debate between traditions regarding the degree to which discursive research should seek to be critical (Weatherall, 2016). Much of this debate occurred in the late 1990s between Emmanuel Schegloff (1997), a prominent Conversation Analyst, and Margaret Wetherell (1998), one of the founders of discursive psychology, who has argued for a synthetic approach integrating 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches. Schegloff (1997) has argued against taking a critical focus and on imposing social scientific categories to the analysis *a priori*. Instead, for conversation analysts, the analysis is participant-centred and focuses upon what is relevant to the participants in the interaction under analysis. By contrast, Wetherell (1998, p.294) has argued that a complete analysis should include the grounded understanding of talk provided by CA as well as consideration of the "argumentative texture of social life".

Thus, in common with poststructuralist thinking, for Wetherell a "complete" analysis should also consider the broader systems of meaning that allow participants to take up positions in talk. Therefore, whilst the methodology might be difficult to differentiate from CA, discursive psychology can be viewed as having broader interests than CA owing to its influences from poststructuralism, social constructionism and ethnomethodology.

As DP developed, some researchers, such as Jonathan Potter and Derek Edwards, moved away from the "critical" discursive psychology proposed by Wetherell (1998), to become more closely aligned methodologically with CA. However, DP can still be distinguished from CA in terms of its theoretical aims, with DP aiming to challenge and re-specify the way in which psychological phenomena are studied in psychology, with a particular focus on how such states are achieved practically within discourse. McKinlay and McVittie (2008, p.246) have argued that "even when explicit psychological references are not involved, the discursive psychologist wishes to understand how descriptions developed in interactions make available (or undermine) inferences about psychological states such as intent, agency, doubt or prejudice". It is for this reason therefore that I have taken a DP approach in the current thesis and further, one which seeks to be critical, in line with Wetherell (1998), due to the highly political nature of the recent debate around forced migration outlined in Chapter 1.

Within discourse analytic approaches, and in particular in discursive psychology, there has been much debate around the use of interview data in discursive research (Speer, 2002; Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter, 1996b). This can be summarised as a debate around whether there should be a preference for naturally occurring data and whether "contrived" data, such as that generated from research interviews, has a place in discursive research (Speer, 2002). Whilst many researchers define Conversation Analysis (CA) as the study of "naturally occurring talk-in-interaction" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p.14), some discursive psychologists, such as

Potter (1996b, p.148), have similarly argued in favour of studying data which has been "produced entirely independently of the actions of the researcher". However, others, such as Speer (2002, p.521) have argued that this dichotomy is not clear and that this preference for naturally occurring data has become a "catch all term with fuzzy boundaries". Silverman (2001, p.159) states that as "no data are ever untouched by human hands the opposition between naturally occurring and researcher provoked data should not be taken too far".

In the present study, I argue that the use of interviews is appropriate as a research method for a number of reasons. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 3, the "voice" of forced migrants themselves has often been missing from discursive studies of forced migration in the UK, with a top-down approach of analysis of political, media and majority group discourses dominating the research field in recent years (Perkins, 2016). Indeed, Goodman et al. (2014a) argue further that because forced migrants' voices are absent in public discourses relating to migration, analysis of naturally occurring data would only serve to reproduce their voiceless status. Secondly, as discussed below in 4.4, issues of language and trust (and indeed of ethics) point more strongly towards methods, such as interviews, which allow participants greater choice around participation and allow trust to be developed with the researcher. Finally, as I discuss further in 4.4.3 below, for this study a semi-structured interview schedule was designed, using open-ended questions, in order to develop rapport with the interviewee whilst maintaining flexibility and the ability to ask probing questions where necessary (Silverman, 2014). This is not to say that as the researcher I saw myself as playing a neutral role in the research process. Rather, I take the view adopted by Wetherell (2003) and Potter and Mulkay (1985) who argue that the researcher is an active participant in the interaction, and in section 4.4.4 I discuss further my own role as the researcher in this study.

#### 4.3 Policy document data

As described above, there are many differing approaches that make up the discourse analytic tradition. Indeed, in this thesis I take two different, but I believe complementary, approaches to discourse analysis. I begin, in Chapter 5, by taking a Critical Discourse Analysis approach (Fairclough, 1995) to the analysis of UK, Welsh and Scottish Government integration strategy policy documents and then, in Chapters 6 to 8, I take a discursive psychological approach to the analysis of interview data with asylum seekers and refugees living in Wales. In common with Stubbe et al. (2003) I suggest that there are many areas of overlap and common interest between CDA and DP which, despite their differing theoretical approaches, complement each other, particularly in the context of the current thesis. Firstly, representatives of both approaches see discourse as a form of social action. Secondly, and in contrast to other discourse analytic approaches, both CDA and (to a slightly lesser extent) DP take a macro-level approach to analysis that is more critical in focus than bottom-up approaches, such as Conversation Analysis, which is grounded in the detailed, turn-byturn, analysis of participants' turns in a given interaction.

In Chapter 5, I analyse seven refugee integration strategy documents published by the UK, Welsh and Scottish Governments since 2000, following a CDA approach. According to critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fairclough, 2001), the theoretical underpinnings of the CDA approach are that power and dominance are produced and reproduced through structures of discourse. The aim of this approach is therefore to reveal the connections between language, power and ideology. This approach is appropriate for the current thesis, which seeks to analyse how asylum seekers and refugees living in Wales discursively construct accounts of their integration into Welsh communities. Accounts of these experiences may be indicative of the ways in which integration is constructed within government policy, therefore this initial analysis of

strategy documents seeks to highlight the ideological and rhetorical effects of such documents in the context of forced migrant integration in Wales.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Tony Blair, the UK government launched its first refugee integration strategy, *Full and Equal Citizens*, in 2000 and a further two strategies in 2005 and 2009. Whilst no new strategies or updates have been published since the New Labour government left office in 2010, the devolved administrations in Wales and Scotland have both continued to issue either new strategies or strategy plan updates. The policy documents analysed are:

- Full and Equal Citizens Home Office (2000)
- Integration Matters Home Office (2005)
- Refugee Inclusion Strategy Welsh Government (2008)
- Moving on Together Home Office (2009)
- Refugee Inclusion Strategy Action Plan June 2014 Update Welsh Government (2014)
- New Scots Scottish Government (2013)
- Refugee and Asylum Seeker Delivery Plan (Consultation document) Welsh Government (2015)

Fairclough (1992) proposed a three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis, which views all instances of language use as communicative events consisting of three dimensions: as a text, as discursive practice and as social practice, suggesting that the relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice. In this framework interactional analysis is a crucial element and CDA sees written texts, such as policy documents, as interactional in the sense that, although there is a spatial and temporal distance between the writer and reader of the text, they are still written for particular readerships with particular responses anticipated.

Thus the process of analysis of the seven policy documents in this thesis included an analysis of the discourses drawn on in producing the text (referred to as 'interdiscursivity' by Fairclough, 2001), textual analysis of the linguistic features of the strategy documents (the text) and relating these to the wider social practice under consideration (here, asylum, migration and integration). The process of analysis began with a thorough reading and re-reading of each of the strategy documents, at which point initial ideas about discourses emerging from the data were noted. I subsequently imported each of the documents into the qualitative analysis software programme NVivo and coded sections of the documents according to the initial discourses identified and further discourses that became evident during the coding process. Following Fairclough (2001) I focused particularly on the ways in which 'the problem' (here, integration) was constructed in the documents and the solutions suggested for solving 'the problem'.

Following this initial analysis I subsequently engaged in more detailed textual analysis of the linguistic features of the text. Fairclough (2001) suggests that detailed analysis of the linguistic features of texts can show how discourses are activated textually and suggests a number of tools for such textual analysis. Thus in this part of the analysis I focussed on the way in which the texts were structured, the ways in which clauses were combined and on the choice of vocabulary (including metaphorical use of words). I also gave particular attention to the grammar used in clauses, including a focus on transitivity (the way in which events and processes are connected with subjects and objects) and, in Chapter 5, I highlight where a number of nominalisations are used, that work to reduce the agency of governments and make it unclear who is responsible for processes of refugee integration. In this analysis I also look at the 'voice' (whether active or passive) of the sentences and also its modality (the level of affinity with or affiliation to the statement) to determine the level of authority given to the discourses used in each of the strategy documents.

The final stage of analysis considered the relationship between discursive practice and broader social practices. As such I considered whether there were political, ideological and social consequences of the discursive practice identified and whether this pointed to unequal power relations in society. Fairclough (2001) also suggests consideration should be given to the current social order and whether those in power have an interest in the problem not being solved, which is also considered in Chapter 5. Examples which best exemplified the themes were selected for inclusion in the thesis and in Chapter 5 I present the findings of this analysis structured around the framework outlined by Fairclough (2001).

#### 4.4 Interview data

In the following sections I discuss how interviews were used in this study in order to investigate the ways in which forced migrants' discursively construct accounts of their experiences of integration in Wales in relation to Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework*. Perkins (2016) has argued that discursive researchers of racism and race talk have adopted 'top-down' approaches and that further emphasis needs to be placed on 'bottom-up' approaches in which the discourses of minority group members are analysed to allow for the "discourse analytic possibility of resistance and challenge in people's talk" (Perkins, 2016, p.329). Thus, in addition to the 'top-down' approach of policy document analysis outlined in the previous section, I integrated a 'bottom-up' approach in which semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 forced migrants who were living in Wales at the time of the interview.

In section 4.2, I justified the use of interview methods in this study. However, debate has also existed amongst constructionist researchers regarding the degree to which interview data should be taken as evidence of actual experience (Silverman, 2014). Kitzinger (2004, p.128) argues that interview responses should be taken as "a culturally available way of packaging experience" rather than as evidence of actual experience. By contrast, Gubrium and Holstein (1997, p.127) advocate an approach in

which "the analytic objective is not merely to describe the situated production of talk, but to show how what is being said relates to the experiences and lives being studied". They term this the "active interview" in which both the interviewee and interviewer play an equal part in constructing meaning around an interview, something which Wetherell and Potter (1992), whose approach I take in this thesis, have similarly argued. Thus, Silverman (2014, p.187) suggests that such an approach allows a focus on "form (how?) as well as content (what?) within constructionist interview research".

In the remainder of this section, I discuss some key ethical and practical issues which presented themselves in the design of this study before outlining further details about the recruitment of participants and the interview schedule which were developed to overcome these emerging issues.

Central to any study involving forced migrants is the issue of trust (Hynes, 2003). There are a number of reasons why 'mistrust' may be a prevailing feature of the experience of those who have been forced to leave their home country, from experiences in their home country and whilst in flight to experiences in the place of asylum. In this context Hynes (2003, p.19) provides a useful overview of the people who a refugee may mistrust which includes government agents, spies and members of other ethnic or religious groups in the country of origin. Whilst some of these groups may still be a cause for mistrust in the UK, Hynes (2003, p.19) suggests that the main causes of mistrust in the UK are Home Office and immigration officials and the host population but can also come from sections of the forced migrant's own 'community' and refugee community organisations. In the absence of trust, the use of interview methods may be particularly problematic when undertaking research on forced migrants in the UK because a feature of the UK asylum system is an interview with the Home Office to determine refugee status. For many forced migrants the Home Office interview may therefore have been their most recent experience of being interviewed and as Hynes (2003) suggests could have been a place in which 'mistrust' was

created. Indeed, forced migrants may have concerns that researchers are working for the Home Office or that what they disclose may be passed on to the Home Office and used against them if their asylum claim is still on going. An underlying issue in research with forced migrants may therefore be that forced migrants do not want to talk about their personal experiences with an unknown person, such as a researcher, particularly one who is not an 'insider' and who is not considered by the forced migrant to have an understanding of their experiences. I discuss further below (in 4.4.1) how, as an ESRC-funded doctoral research student, I attempted to create trust with participants during the recruitment process and in 4.4.4 I reflect on my own position within the research process and discuss whether this can ever be seen as being of 'insider' status.

A second key methodological consideration in the study of the ways in which forced migrants' discursively construct experiences is language and how to study the discourses of people who are non-native speakers. Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader (2009) advocate conducting all interviews with forced migrants in their native language so as to minimise the potential for cultural or linguistic misunderstandings. Such an approach may also therefore have the advantage of developing trust with the participant and in particular, they could feel less worried about the interview being a test of their English language skills and allow them the opportunity to answer questions more freely. Indeed, in their research in Switzerland, Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader (2009) employed and trained a team of researchers who had the same native language as their research participants and then translated the audio-recorded interviews back into Swiss. The participants in their study were, however, drawn from a limited range of nationalities, which were known before the start of the research process, whereas in the current study no restrictions were placed on the nationalities of participants (see 4.4.2 for an overview of participants including nationalities). Therefore, for this reason and for reasons of cost and time, it was decided that all interviews would be conducted in English by the researcher, with participants recruited who had the ability to

communicate orally through the English language. An exception to this, and to encourage participation from female forced migrants and to foster trust, was an agreement that a participant could bring someone to the interview to help them with their English if they felt this was needed (see 4.4.4 for a discussion of this).

My previous work in practice, as a volunteer for the national charity, Refugee Action, was also a key deciding factor here. This experience had shown me that the use of translators in interviews had disadvantages, in particular with the quality and amount of translation being variable, which would be crucial for this type of in-depth discursive analysis. A second reason for not using interpreters was an ethical one; to ensure that participants did not have to discuss their experiences with more than one person who they did not know. Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader (2009) suggest that such an approach creates bias as it results in those who are more highly educated being over-represented in the sample. However, I discuss further the educational background of my participants in section 4.4.2, and argue that their levels of education are broadly in line with the findings of previous research that has examined the educational background of forced migrants in Wales (Crawley, 2013). Recent discursive research in this area has also been conducted in English (Kirkwood et al., 2013b; Goodman et al., 2014a, 2014b; Clare et al., 2014), however, the only limitations acknowledged in such work relate to the impediment this may create when aiming for an informal conversation style interview. In Chapter 9, I discuss issues of language and translation further and argue that further debate is needed amongst discursive researchers to move forward such debates. I also suggest that a possible solution may be to recruit a team of interpreters, themselves forced migrants, to become 'community researchers' when undertaking future research.

Ethical approval for this study was granted by Cardiff University School of Social Sciences following submission of an application that outlined the methodological considerations discussed above. With these two key methodological considerations in

mind, I proceed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 to describe the method used for recruiting participants and provide demographic information on the sample of participants. In section 4.4.3 I describe the interview schedule used and in 4.4.4 I critically reflect on the method used in this study.

#### 4.4.1 Recruitment of participants

Refugees and asylum seekers are considered to be a 'hard to reach' research group (Bilger and Van Liempt, 2009) and thus due consideration was given to the recruitment of interview participants in the early stages of this study, particularly in relation to the development of trust (as discussed above). I decided to undertake a purposive sampling approach (Silverman, 2014) by contacting third-sector organisations in the South Wales dispersal locations that support, or work with, refugees and asylum seekers. The participants in this study were recruited with the help of two local community-based projects, Space4U in Cardiff and Unity in Diversity in Swansea, as well as through the Welsh Refugee Council (WRC), a national charity which supports refugees throughout Wales.

In one of the community-based organizations (Space4U) I had been a volunteer since September 2014, working as a drop-in facilitator and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teacher, and was therefore well-known amongst those who attend this drop-in centre in Cardiff. I similarly spent time at Unity in Diversity, attending on a weekly basis, although not as a volunteer, in order to develop contacts with potential participants. At both of these centres, I was granted permission to speak to clients about becoming participants in my research project. Due to varying English language abilities within these groups, and following discussions with the Project Managers of each organization, it was agreed that presenting my research in each of their intermediate English classes would be the most purposeful strategy. Thus, I talked to groups of students at each of the centres to describe my project including its aims, objectives and ethical considerations such as confidentiality. At this time I distributed

copies of my information sheet (see Appendix 3) and asked those interested in participating to speak to me after the lesson or to contact me once they had had chance to reflect on what would be required of them as an interview participant. In total five participants were recruited from Space4U in this way and three participants from Unity in Diversity, however discussions were held with two further individuals who decided that they did not want to participate as a result of experiences they had faced whilst living in the UK.

The remaining 11 participants were recruited with the help and support of the Welsh Refugee Council, based in Cardiff. As the largest organisation of its kind in Wales the WRC have, over many years, supported many forced migrants to re-build their lives in Wales. Current and past clients of their "Move on" service with good spoken English language skills were identified and contacted to discuss the purpose of the research and were invited to participate in the research. As with participant recruitment in the smaller community organizations a number of individuals felt that they did not want to participate for a variety of reasons including not wanting to be audio-recorded and one individual who was nervous about participating after having given interviews previously to the print media and had felt that she had been typecast as a "successfully integrated refugee".

In order to access a 'hard to reach' population, such as forced migrants in Wales, going through gatekeepers was essential. Working with the WRC, I believe, fostered trust amongst forced migrants in both the research process and in myself as a researcher. At the same time, using such gatekeepers, did, I believe, help ensure that female forced migrants were recruited to take part in this study. Similarly, I believe that spending time at the local community groups described above also aided in the development of trust between myself and participants. By diversifying the gatekeepers who I approached to help access participants I was able to access participants who made use of different support services in Wales, and was not constrained by the

agenda of any one gatekeeper. This was important because Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader (2009) suggest that gatekeepers may be tempted to select participants who will give answers that they think the researcher is looking for. I also acknowledge that by taking such an approach I may have excluded potential participants who do not engage with such support services but who might also have welcomed the chance to participate in this research.

All interviewees were informed of the purpose of the research prior to the interviews commencing in addition to the initial discussions about the research which took place prior to agreeing to be interviewed. Participants were given time to read the information sheet with the researcher (see Appendix 3), which was available in English, or their first language if requested. They were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 4) confirming their understanding of the purpose of the research and their right to withdraw (also available in their first language if requested) before the interview began. At this point it was once again emphasised that this research was in no way related to the Home Office and would not have a bearing on their asylum case and that their name would not be used in this thesis.

The majority of the interviews took place at either the WRC, Space4U or Unity in Diversity as this was considered to be a location with which the participants would be familiar and perceive to be a safe and supportive environment in which to discuss their experiences. Three interviews also took place at Cardiff University and all of the interviews were audio-recorded. Interviews lasted for between 18 and 62 minutes (average of 35 minutes). The interviews were fully transcribed by the researcher using a simplified form of the transcription conventions designed by Jefferson (2004) (see Appendix 6 for a full list of transcription conventions), and analysed following a discursive psychological approach described in 4.5, below.

#### 4.4.2 Interview participants

Table 4.1: Overview of participants (all names are pseudonyms)

Name	Country of origin	Age	Gender	First language	Length of time in UK	Status
Ahmed	Syria	45	М	Arabic	12 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Ali	Sudan	33	М	Arabic	11 years	Refugee
Aminata	Iran	45	F	Farsi	9 months	Refugee
Amna	Iran	58	F	Farsi	12 years	British Citizen
Awet	Eritrea	28	М	Tigrinia	3 years 6 months	Refused asylum seeker
Aysha	Iraq	19	F	Arabic	4 years	Refugee
Aziz	Sudan	40	М	Arabic	1 month	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Bahija	Pakistan	20	F	Urdu	12 months	Refused asylum seeker
Barbara	Sierra Leone	36	F	Krio	8 years	Refused asylum seeker
Emanuel	Ethiopia	26	М	Oromo	6 months	Refused asylum seeker
Ghirmay	Iran	33	М	Farsi	3 years 4 months	Refused asylum seeker
Gloria	Kenya	50	F	Swahili	7 years	Refugee
Hayat	Syria	36	F	Arabic	6 months	Refugee
Kris	Uganda	26	М	English	8 months	Refugee
Layla	Nigeria	33	F	Yoruba	4 years	Refused asylum seeker
Munir	Syria	36	М	Arabic	2 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Mustafa	Egypt	24	М	Arabic	12 months	Refused asylum seeker
Samir	Syria	35	М	Arabic	9 months	Refugee
Viktor	Chechnya	26	М	Russian	1 year 7 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application

A total of 11 male and eight female participants took part in this study as shown in Table 4.1, above. In terms of the national average, over the past eight years, 72% of asylum applications have been from males (Home Office, 2017), thus females may be over-represented in this sample. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 58, with an average age of 34. Participants had been living in the UK for between one month and 12 years at the time of interview. All but one of the participants had been initially sent to Wales on a no-choice basis by the UK Home Office in order to claim Section 95 support under the 1999 Immigration and Asylum act and those with refugee status had chosen to remain in Wales following their grant of status. With an average time in the

UK of 40 months, the majority of this time being spent in Wales, participants had been living in Wales for a sufficient period of time to talk about their experiences in Wales. Participants were from 13 different countries of origin: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, Pakistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Chechnya. When compared to Table 1.5 (see Chapter 1), this appears to map well with the most common nationalities of asylum seekers currently living in Wales. Four of the participants were asylum seekers who had made an initial application for protection to the UK Government and seven were asylum seekers whose case had been refused by the UK Government and who were appealing the decision at the time of interview. Seven participants had been recognised as refugees and granted five years leave to remain in the UK and one participant had been granted British Citizenship. Eight of the participants had completed a Higher Education course before coming to the UK, nine had completed secondary school in their home country and two had basic or no education in their home country. Whilst this may be an over-representation of forced migrants holding a Higher Education qualification it is in line with Crawley and Crimes (2009) finding that over 75% of forced migrants in Wales held at least a secondary school certificate of education.

#### 4.4.3 The interview schedule

In Chapter 2, I outlined Ager and Strang's *Indicators of Integration* (2004) framework, and have shown how it is has influenced Westminster and devolved policy in relation to refugee integration. One of the aims of this research was therefore to apply this framework to qualitative interviews with refugees and asylum seekers, following the call of Phillimore and Goodson (2008), to investigate the lived experience of interview participants in relation to each of the ten domains in the framework and whether they construct integration as the "two-way" process suggested by the framework. The *Indicators of Integration* Framework was therefore taken as the basis for designing the interview schedule and interview questions were devised that reflected each of the ten

domains in the framework: housing, education, employment, health, social bonds, bridges and links (social connections), language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability and rights and citizenship.

As described above, the participants in this study were from a range of different home countries, had a range of different immigration statuses and had been living in Wales for differing lengths of time when interviewed. This was expected before recruiting participants and as such a semi-structured interview design, using openended questions, was employed to allow participants to be able to talk about each of the ten domains of the framework, whilst acknowledging that they may have had more experience in some domains than others.

The interview schedule can be seen in Appendix 5 and whilst each of these questions were asked to each of the participants, following on from the first pilot interview, it was decided that the questions would be asked flexibly with no rigid order (Silverman, 2014). However, each of the interviews did begin with a discussion around housing and the area in which they lived, using the question "tell me about where you live now: what do you like or not like about it?". It was felt that this domain of the framework would be one that all participants had experience of which would help to relax the participant and begin to develop a rapport with the interviewer. The remaining questions were then asked flexibly with the interviewer attending to those issues raised by the participant with a series of follow up and probing questions that were dependent on both what the participant raised and, importantly, their immigration status at the time of the interview. Listening actively (Silverman, 2014) was therefore also important during the interviews to ensure appropriate follow-up questions were asked. Being mindful of the current policy landscape was also important to ensure that questions appropriate to their status were asked and thus avoid upset. For example, restrictions on work for asylum seekers required questions in this area to be asked sensitively and often involved a focus on voluntary rather than paid work.

#### 4.4.4 Researcher positionality and reflection on interviews

In the sections above I have detailed how the research for the present study was undertaken and will now critically reflect on this process focusing in particular on researcher positionality and the use of interviews in this study.

In section 4.4, above, I outlined the interview procedure used in this study and explained that, for a number of practical and methodological reasons, it was decided that all interviews would be conducted in the English language and not in the participant's first language (and later translated). An exception to this, to encourage participation particularly from female participants, was to allow a friend or family member to attend the interview to aid with translation and encourage the participant to feel more at ease in the interview situation. Goodkind and Deacon (2004, p.723) review research with refugee women and identify a number of unique challenges faced by this group, which may also impact on their ability or desire to participate in research, including "limited transferable occupational skills, multiple and conflicting roles, the double burden of work inside and outside of the home, shifting gender and power dynamics, and sexism both within their communities and larger society". Of the 19 interviews conducted, one began with a friend present as the participant felt unsure as to whether her English would be of a sufficient level to understand and answer the questions. However, after approximately ten minutes this person left the interview as the participant felt happy and able to answer questions herself. However, this may also have been as a result of initially feeling hesitant about entering the research situation with a male researcher and demonstrates that she must have found the interview to be a comfortable situation. A second interview was conducted with a friend present for the whole of the interview, and in which the participant answered some questions in English and used their friend to translate other responses that they were unable to articulate fully in English. This interview was interactionally interesting because of the position that the translator took in the interview, frequently answering questions on

behalf of the participant, despite being requested to only translate between researcher and participant. Whilst the participant was able to answer many of the questions themselves, their limited ability in English combined with the behaviour of the translator did affect the usefulness of the data collected in this interview. For the remaining 18 interviews, the level of English of the participants was not problematic and resulted in rich data for analysis, although some questions did have to be repeated or re-phrased for some participants so that they clearly understood the question being asked.

In section 4.2, I summarised the on-going debate within discursive psychology pertaining to the use of research interviews and the preference for some researchers in this tradition to use only naturally occurring data (Speer, 2002). Here, I argued that for the current research study semi-structured interviews were appropriate because of issues of ethics and trust which might not have been possible even if a source of naturally-occurring data from this hard-to-reach group had been found. Trust was highlighted as a particularly important consideration for research with forced migrants (Hynes, 2009). Thus I worked with a number of voluntary organisations in South Wales to gain access to participants. Indeed, I believe that being seen as a person who could be trusted and was knowledgeable about the asylum system was crucial to not only recruiting participants in this study, but also to ensuring that, during the interviews, the participants felt that they were discussing issues with an informed and understanding researcher. In this sense, my role as the researcher was a key part of the interaction within the interviews and one that will be analysed along with the turns of the participants in the chapters which follow. Potter and Hepburn (2005) have been critical of qualitative interviews which fail to display the active role of the researcher in the interactional production of interviews and suggest (Potter and Hepburn, 2012) that this is one of eight things which researchers can do to improve studies which use interview methods. Here then, I fully acknowledge the role that I played both within the interview and during the participant recruitment process.

Discussion of my role within the interviews here also raises another issue that has been much debated amongst those employing qualitative research methods (e.g. Merriam et al. 2001), and particularly within cross-cultural research, which is the negotiation of 'insider' or 'outsider' status within the research context. In this study, whilst it would be simple to claim that, as a British Citizen and not a forced migrant, I had assumed the status of 'outsider', Villenas (1996, p.722) suggests that "as researchers, we can be insiders and outsiders to a particular community of research participants at many different levels and at different times". Indeed, because some of the questions in the interview schedule were about living in Wales, an experience which I shared with the participants, I suggest that in such discussions I was afforded insider status. For example, there were many occasions during the interviews when discussing aspects of living in the UK where participants sought clarification about how something worked or wanted to check their understanding. Such interactions were also indicative of the trust that was developed between researcher and participant. However, there were other points in the interview, when discussing issues of racism or the experience of being a forced migrant in Wales for example, in which my status was that of an outsider. In some interviews, my outsider status was an asset, for example with regard to eliciting fuller explanations about participants' relationships with other migrants. Going through a gatekeeper (the Welsh Refugee Council) and being a volunteer at another organisation which supports forced migrants may also have contributed towards offering me some form of insider status, however, this was not the case with all participants and suggests that the insider/outsider dichotomy is indeed problematic as Merriam et al. (2001) have suggested.

#### 4.5 Analytic strategies

In the previous section, I noted Potter and Hepburn's (2012) list of eight suggestions for researchers using interview methods to improve the quality of their studies. Four of these suggestions relate to analysis and ensuring that the analysis is both thorough

and fully explained so that other researchers can understand how the analysis was conducted. In this section, I attempt to address this final point through an outline of my approach to the analysis of the interview data. I begin by describing the three stages of analysis before providing an explanation of the three main analytic strategies used by discursive psychologists. In appendix 1, I also provide a glossary of further discourse analytic terms that are referred to in this thesis.

In line with the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987) analysis of the interview data progressed in three stages: transcription, coding and analysis. Potter and Wetherell (1987) argue that considering the level of detail required in a transcription can often be a 'thorny issue'. Indeed, whilst conversation analysts can spend large amounts of time preparing precise transcriptions that show the sequential organisation of talk (following the transcription conventions outlined by Jefferson, 2004), this level of detail is not generally aspired to by most discursive psychologists. Wetherell and Potter (1992), in *Mapping the Language of Racism*, provide only a basic level of transcription, focusing instead on the content of discourses and broad argumentative patterns. They thus opt for use of a simplified version of the Jeffersonian transcription conventions developed for CA, arguing that in this way they improve the readability of the transcripts whilst conveying their sense as effectively as possible (Wetherell and Potter, 1992, p.225). I therefore began by producing a 'basic' transcription of each of the interviews which included all of the speech of the interviewees, all my own speech as interviewer, including continuers (such as yeah, mm hmm etc). At this stage, I noted pauses, but did not time them, and included any other actions that occurred during the interview, such as laughter or interruptions in the room. This basic level of transcription was sufficient to begin the coding process which focused on the themes discussed in the interview and on the words used by both the interviewees and interviewer in the context of the interaction.

Atkinson and Heritage (1984) argue that the production and use of transcripts are essentially 'research activities' (Silverman, 2014, p.333). The process of producing the basic transcripts required repeated listening to the recordings and re-readings of the transcriptions produced. Each of the transcripts were imported into the qualitative data analysis programme NVivo and coded according to themes. Some of these themes were those used to construct the interview schedule (based on Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework), such as housing, education, employment, social connections and language. Thus, in order to avoid simply reproducing the findings of the framework which influenced this research, further reading of the transcripts was also conducted in order to identify themes which cut across the data. These included the asylum system itself, ontological questions of what it is to be a forced migrant in the UK, aspirations and the need to contribute economically to the society in which they lived. Once coded, extracts were selected for further analysis and inclusion in the thesis. These extracts were transcribed further to include features such as timed pauses and intonation. The analysis was done by focusing in more detail on specific extracts and the ways in which particular social actions appeared to be performed, issues and stake managed and identities constructed in the data. For example, this involved looking at how participants discussed issues such as racism and belonging in Wales, allocated blame for social problems, and justified or criticised particular policies and practices. A range of analytic concepts commonly employed by discursive psychologists informed the analysis: Interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions (Edley, 2001).

Edley (2001, p.198) uses the metaphor of "books on the shelves of a public library, permanently available for public borrowing" to convey the sense that interpretative repertoires are shared social and linguistic resources which people can draw upon when engaging in social interactions. The concept was first developed by Potter and Wetherell (1987) in their book *Discourse and Social Psychology*, although it

originated in the work of Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) and was further developed by Wetherell et al. (1987) who propose 'practical ideologies' as a unit of analysis in a study of the reproduction of gender inequalities. Weatherall (2016, p.18) states that interpretative repertoires are "conceptual units that usefully operationalise the constructive and ideological nature of descriptions", highlighting the 'synthetic' approach to discourse analysis advocated by Potter and Wetherell (1987) that takes elements of both the micro and macro approaches to discourse analysis described in Section 4.2, with an analytical focus on action rather than cognition. This is best demonstrated in the seminal Mapping the Language of Racism (Wetherell and Potter, 1992), in which the authors show the different ways that race, culture and nation were constructed which reflect "the deeply and pervasively political aspects of the practical sense-making resources people use to describe the world and justify their views" (Weatherall, 2016, p.19). Indeed, the concept of 'interpretative repertoires' is differentiated from that of 'discourse' for its focus on human agency and recognition of the often contradictory and fragmented use of language which allows speakers a range of different rhetorical opportunities (Edley, 2001).

Building on the notion of contradictions, critical discursive psychologists have also drawn on the work of Michael Billig and his contributions to the development of rhetorical psychology. The concept of ideological dilemma stems from Billig et al.'s (1988) work in which they drew a conceptual distinction between 'intellectual' ideologies, which they define as "a system of political, religious or philosophical thinking and, as such, is very much the product of intellectuals or professional thinkers" (Billig et al, 1988, p.27), and 'lived' ideologies, which they saw as the beliefs, values and practices of a particular society. As these 'lived' ideologies are many and varied they can also be thought of as contradictory and inconsistent and Billig's work thus draws attention to the possibility that different interpretative repertoires are constructed rhetorically and may "develop together as opposing positions in an unfolding, historical,

argumentative exchange" (Edley, 2001, p.204). Indeed, Augoustinos (2016) has argued that Billig's approach paved the way for researchers to examine the language of prejudice in formal and everyday discourse.

The third concept used to analyse the data in this thesis, subject positions, stems from the work of Davies and Harré (1990) who bring attention to the ways in which discourse can position people in certain ways. Studying the positions available to the individual, which they may or may not take up, has the potential to tell us something further about the ideological context in which the discourse is produced and the ways that they may resist or challenge such positions.

In addition to these three analytical concepts a range of other features of discourse will also be referred to in the analysis chapters which follow, such as stake and interest (Edwards and Potter, 1992), extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) and rhetorical devices (Billig, 1996). In Appendix 1, I provide definitions of many of the additional analytic terms which feature in the remaining chapters of this chapter.

#### 4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed and justified the methodological approach taken in this study. The approach taken is most similar to the critical discursive psychological approach, which derives from the work of Wetherell (1998). Such an approach to the study of forced migrants' discourses, which seeks to be critical, is appropriate in the current study due to the current political debates around forced migration and the absence of forced migrants' voices in both these debates and current academic research. The data in this study consist of interviews with 19 refugees and asylum seekers who were living in Wales at the time of interview, in addition to a critical discourse analysis of seven government refugee integration strategy documents. In the next chapter, I present a critical discourse analysis of the UK and devolved governments' refugee integration strategies and then in chapters 6 to 8 I present a critical discoursive psychological analysis of the interviews undertaken for this study.

# 5. Government Refugee Integration Strategies – Critical Discourse Analysis

"We allude to the history the UK has of welcoming refugees ... The UK has legal, and moral, obligations to provide refugees with protection, but protection must be more than a piece of paper declaring someone to be a refugee"

(APPG on Refugees, 2017, p.54)

#### 5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I outlined the methodological approach taken in this study and noted that this would include analysis of how forced migrants living in Wales discursively construct accounts of their experiences of integration in addition to a critical discourse analysis of integration strategy documents published by the UK and devolved governments.

This chapter presents the findings of a critical discourse analysis of seven integration strategy documents published by the Westminster Government (2000, 2005 and 2009), the Scottish Government (2013) and the Welsh Assembly Government (2008, 2014, 2015). Each of these documents was analysed using NVivo following Fairclough's (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis framework which aims to critically analyse how language figures as an element within social processes and the relationship between such language and other elements of social processes (Fairclough, 2001). In this chapter I will argue that, although there are some differences between the UK and devolved governments' strategies, each of the strategies draws on a discourse of the nation state as a 'proud protector' of forced migrants, which functions to create an ambivalent response to refugee integration, with the outcome being the further social exclusion of forced migrants (and asylum seekers in particular). I argue that this is achieved through the use of a corporate style document which creates a discourse of integration that places the responsibility for integration on

refugees and in so doing creates a simplistic binary between refugee and receiving communities which fails to take account of the "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2007) within the UK.

Before I discuss the integration strategy documents themselves (in 5.3), I begin in 5.2 with an overview of the political and ideological background which formed the background to many of the policies outlined in Chapter 1 and which sought to create a "hostile environment" (Zetter et al., 2005) for forced migrants in the UK.

#### 5.2 Background

In Chapter 2, I discussed the contested nature of the concept of 'integration'. Despite contestation over the term itself, the existence of integrated communities has remained a key policy goal of governments at all levels in recent years and, indeed, has been viewed as a 'public good' (Mulvey, 2015). In both Chapters 1 and 2, I argued for a need to consider immigrant policy (e.g. integration policy) within the wider context of immigration policy. However, I also suggested that such considerations are further complicated by devolution in the UK and, in particular, the relationship between those policy areas that are devolved to the national governments and those that are reserved to Westminster.

In Chapter 1, I discussed UK immigration policy and indicated that when the New Labour government assumed office in 1997 it inherited a growing backlog of asylum claims from the former Conservative government. Indeed, the previous Conservative administrations made very few changes to the zero-migration approach introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, concentrating instead on changes to economic and welfare policies. However, in the later years of the Thatcher and Major Governments new policy measures were introduced in an attempt to curtail the number of asylum applicants in the UK, such as the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act, which restricted asylum seekers' access to mainstream benefits and housing.

However, it was this peak in asylum applications at the beginning of the 21st century which not only made immigration one of the greatest concerns amongst the British public (Parekh, 2000), but also made it a top political priority. This was particularly so for Tony Blair who felt that the asylum system was being exploited and set about making the biggest changes to immigration policy since the 1970s. This change can be characterised in two ways: firstly, through managed migration the New Labour government sought macroeconomic gain through allowing both highly skilled and unskilled workers to enter the UK labour market. Secondly, however, there also became a greater focus on border control and on reducing the numbers of those seeking asylum in the UK. Crawley (2015) has suggested that these "attacks" on the asylum system were in part due to New Labour's desire to open up the UK's labour markets to workers from within the expanded European Union. Whilst economic benefits were at the heart of New Labour's changes to immigration, the result was legislation and policy being introduced on an unprecedented scale (See Appendix 2 for a full list).

In addition to articulating an ideology focusing on securing economic benefits from immigration, Blair's ideology also centred on strengthening "race relations" in all government policy. Similarly, a focus on integration, extending the multicultural model that had existed for many years was followed, however this model can be characterised as having a strong emphasis on "community cohesion". Because of this focus, it is perhaps no surprise that New Labour introduced three refugee integration strategies during the course of their governments, responding to not only public concern about immigration but also Blair's own ideology concerning race relations, community cohesion and the economic benefits of migration. Mulvey (2015) is critical of the conflicting rationales underpinning the UK policy approach to refugee integration, arguing that this has largely focussed on structural integration, without giving due

consideration to the links between integration and a 'hostile' immigration policy. Such issues are discussed further in the analysis below.

Integration policy in the UK is further complicated by forms of multi-level governance, such as the devolved settlement in the UK. In the Welsh context, since devolution in 1999, there is evidence of 'policy divergence' from that of the Westminster government. Chaney (2016) suggests that the development of social policy in postdevolution Wales can be attributed to the one-party dominance enjoyed by the Welsh Labour Party and its socio-democratic approach to policy making. He identifies a political rhetoric relating to equity, universalism, equality of provision and access and opportunity as key factors in shaping social policymaking in a devolved Wales (Chaney, 2016, p.174). As greater powers were devolved to Wales and Scotland they have both developed their own refugee integration strategies. Although immigration and asylum powers remain reserved to the Westminster government a number of key areas where law making powers are now with the national governments do directly impact upon refugees and asylum seekers such as health, education and social services. Mulvey (2015) highlights policy tensions between the UK and devolved Scottish government. He uses the example of the forced detention of asylum seeking children to show the tensions between the reserved asylum policy (which includes the use of detention, see Chapter 1) and the devolved responsibility for the welfare of children in Scotland. Further tensions between the devolved and Westminster governments approaches to refugee integration in their strategy documents will be discussed as the analysis in this chapter progresses. This is of importance due to the increasing numbers of forced migrants who have been living in both Wales and Scotland since the introduction of compulsory 'dispersal' of asylum seekers in 1999, but also because they are examples of a group whose welfare depends upon varying forms of multi-level governance.

#### 5.3 Analysis

The analysis reported in this chapter is structured around Fairclough's (2001) analytical framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (see Chapter 4) which begins by looking at the ways in which the 'problem' (here, integration) is constructed within the documents. Here I consider how 'integration' is discursively constructed and who is presented as being allowed to 'integrate'. Following this, I discuss two obstacles that are presented within the documents as barriers to the problem being solved: 'community relations' and 'achieving full potential' which emerged as the predominant themes during analysis. The third section will consider whether the current social order means that governments have an interest in not solving the problem. Here, I will argue that the strategies use ambivalent uses of the pronoun 'we' and that each of the strategies are framed around a discourse of the nation having a 'proud tradition' of protecting refugees. In this chapter, I make particular use of Billig's (1997) work on "dialogic repression", which argues for a focus on the absences as well as the presences in discourse. Indeed, Billig (1997), in making links between discursive psychology and psychoanalytic theory argues that repression is itself a discursive process. Zerubavel (2006, p.1) similarly argues for a focus on "what is not said", referring to such omissions as "conspiracies of silence" and I identify use of the 'proud tradition' discourse as a significant example of this. Finally, I analyse the solutions that are presented in the strategy documents and conclude that these documents generate ambivalent responses to refugee integration through reliance on the 'proud tradition' discourse which leads to integration being constructed as a more one- than "two-way" process, despite being informed by Ager and Strang's (2004) framework which advocates such a position.

Fairclough (2000), in analysing the language of the New Labour government, has argued that a critical discourse analysis approach to the study of political language (and other social practices) should focus upon three aspects: genres, discourses and

styles. In his book *New Labour, New Language?*, Fairclough (2000) showed how these three elements of language were used by the New Labour government in not only speeches but also in policy documents. He suggests that policy documents are "simultaneously both action and representation, part of the business of governing and part of the development of a political discourse" Fairclough, 2000, p.132). I begin the analysis here by briefly commenting on the structure and layout of the integration strategy documents, arguing that their corporate business-style formats become promotional tools which create a discourse of integration that sets the agenda for how integration should be understood within society. In Appendix 8 I also provide a table which summarises the main differences between the strategy documents of the UK, Welsh and Scottish governments.

#### 5.3.1 Structure of the strategy documents

Each of the strategy documents analysed begins with a preface from a Minister (and from representatives of third sector organisations in the case of *Moving on Together* and *New Scots*) introducing the strategy, summarising its aims and beginning the rhetorical work of creating the discourse of integration and constructing the government as a "proud" protector of refugees (which is discussed in greater detail in 5.3.4, below). Additionally these prefaces have a focus on the (stated) past achievements of government policies that are said to have improved the integration experiences of refugees, making the policy documents, at least to some degree, party promotional devices. The focus on such past achievements in refugee integration and having a "proud" tradition of refugee protection are combined to create a discourse of integration which implies that "we" are already doing enough (by offering protection to refugees) and makes the governments' commitment to refugee integration difficult to contest.

Whilst there are differences between each of the strategies, the majority are structured in such a way as to define the problem (in different areas of integration such

as employment, housing, community relations etc.) as the government sees it, followed by what measures have already been taken to tackle the problem and concludes with further proposed measures to overcome the identified problem. This structure is generally achieved through the use of a corporate, business-style, strategy plan. Indeed the titles of the Welsh Assembly Government's strategies are indicative of a very corporate style, with the change from an inclusion strategy (2008) to an inclusion strategy action plan (2014) and a delivery plan (2015). In this sense integration is constructed as a managerial process of problem solving and "delivering". Whilst the Scottish Government strategy, New Scots (2013), also follows a similar corporate format, it is distinct from the other strategies in also having an additional section for each identified problem that describes the results of empirical research with forced migrants to give their perspective on the current problem. Although this does not include the voices of forced migrants themselves, such an approach creates a discourse to which forced migrants have contributed rather than being solely a discourse of integration determined by the government. In Moving on Together (2009), the voices of forced migrants are present in the form of case studies, which are used to promote the success of previous integration initiatives, rather than to create a new discourse of integration and to offer new solutions to the identified problems. Indeed, in the next section I will argue that such discourses, promoted by the governments, function to exclude those who are deemed to not have a right to integrate and construct refugees as unagentic victims who are only in need of protection.

## 5.3.2 How is the problem constructed? Defining integration and who it is for

In New Labour's first refugee integration strategy *Full and Equal Citizens* (2000) there is an immediate ambiguity created in the foreword by Barbara Roche MP concerning who is covered by the strategy – refugees or refugees *and* asylum seekers – and who

the government is creating an obligation towards when implementing this strategy. While research by Zetter (2007) has shown that use of these terms has often been confused, it is significant here because of the ideological assumptions of the New Labour government around reducing the numbers of those claiming asylum in the UK. Although a small note within the aims of the strategy (p.2) provides a definition of a refugee that is intended to be used for the purposes of this strategy, no explanation is given to why it is only those recognised as refugees who are the focus. This lack of explanation causes particular problems for the strategy in its opening aims (p.2-3) which focus on the asylum process and in particular how the dispersal of asylum seekers to different areas of the UK has generated the need for this strategy. In some ways, these inconsistencies are apparent throughout Full and Equal Citizens and it becomes clear that rather than a fully formed policy document in which the government is setting out its vision, the strategy is more a work in progress. Indeed, it is noted on page 2 of the document that the strategy is intended as a starting point. However, this is not to say that this policy document is constructed dialogically; it does mention wanting to hear from refugees and members of local communities but it does not offer questions that the UK government want answers to. Therefore, integration is constructed in this initial document as something for only those who have a settled status in the UK and not something which is to be promoted for asylum seekers (even though this is not stated explicitly).

However, in both *Integration Matters* (2005) and *Moving on Together* (2009) it is explicitly stated that the strategies are for refugees only, based on the assumption that integration only begins from the day that refugee status in the UK is granted. In *Integration Matters* (2005, p.10), the authors acknowledge that integration experiences do occur for asylum seekers whilst their cases are being decided, but that it is their belief that "integration in the full sense of the word can take place only when a person has been confirmed as a refugee and can make plans on the basis of a long-term

future in the UK". This positions refugees as being 'deserving' of the chance to integrate and asylum seekers as 'undeserving', but also reaffirms the New Labour government's commitment to deterring asylum seekers from entering the country. Indeed, the ability of refugees to be able to plan a long-term future in the UK was also restricted in 2005 with the introduction of being granted 5 years limited leave to remain, as opposed to the indefinite leave to remain awarded previously for all new refugees. This meant that the notion of being able to plan for a long-term future in the UK became further away as indefinite leave or settlement would only be granted at the end of the 5 year period. However, more recently the Home Office have announced plans to review whether all refugees, at the end of the initial five-year period, still require protection (Free Movement, 2017), reinforcing the idea that refugees require "protection" only. Constructing integration as being about the "protection" of refugees only may reflect the ideological assumption of Tony Blair and the Labour government that the asylum system was being abused and needed to be reformed in order to curtail the number of asylum applicants. Similarly, if the strategy were to include asylum seekers it would be counter to many of the asylum reforms introduced by the Labour government (and previous Conservative government), for example prohibiting asylum seekers from entering paid employment would be in opposition to the stated definition of integration as being "achieving full potential". There is therefore an apparent dilemma between deterrence (of people applying for asylum) and integration of refugees.

The conceptualisation of who should be permitted to integrate offered here is also deeply problematic within the wider context of migration to the UK. As more general migrant integration strategies were not issued during this period it would appear that refugees and asylum seekers have been particularly singled out as 'problematic', or it may be that the New Labour government viewed migrants coming to work or study in the UK as only temporary and therefore not in need of being

integrated. The strategies analysed here also failed to give consideration to the relationship between forced and non-forced migrants.

In both the Welsh Assembly Government (2008) and Scottish Government (2013) refugee integration strategies a different approach is taken which avoids some of the ambiguity created in the Westminster strategies and avoids the creation of a deserving/undeserving dichotomy between refugees and asylum seekers. While the Welsh and Scottish governments' strategies are predicated on the notion that integration begins from the first day of arrival in the host nation, it is interesting to note the use of differing terms here and the discursive effects that each may have. In contrast to the UK and Scottish governments, the Welsh Government use the term 'inclusion' as the title of their strategy document (Refugee Inclusion Strategy, 2008), which has the rhetorical effect of implicitly being open and inclusive to everyone, regardless of immigration status. However, as the strategy develops it becomes clear that the Welsh Government construct refugee inclusion and refugee integration as two separate processes and make a number of disclaimers as to their ability to integrate asylum seekers when immigration policy remains a non-devolved matter. I discuss how integration is defined further below and in 5.3.5; I discuss how the idea of 'inclusion' may be part of what Williams (2015) has described as Wales' attempts to position itself as 'the tolerant nation'. Particularly in the Scottish case, this approach may be indicative of the time in which the strategy was published, one year before a vote on Scottish national independence. As such, it appears that the strategy is also being used as a party political manifesto to make the case for Scottish independence through highlighting differences in ideology between the Scottish and Westminster governments. The title of the Scottish strategy, New Scots, through its national positioning category also creates a discourse of integration that is quite distinct from the Welsh and Westminster strategies in being both more welcoming and inclusive with a focus on citizenship. However, this strategy also constructs Scotland as having a

proud tradition of offering safety to refugees and in 5.3.4 I discuss differences between the strategies in how this discourse is employed. First, however, I consider the way in which integration is defined in each of the strategies.

In response to their initial strategy (*Full and Equal Citizens*, 2000) the Home Office commissioned Ager and Strang (2004) to carry out research into refugee integration in order to inform further strategies. In their *Indicators of Integration* report, which informed *Integration Matters* (2005), Ager and Strang (2004) offered a definition of integration which drew on all ten indicators in their framework. However, the definition offered by the Westminster government in *Integration Matters* (2005, p.11) is more selective, stating that "integration takes place when refugees are empowered to: "achieve their full potential as members of British society; contribute fully to the community; and access the public services to which they are entitled". In this definition there therefore seems to be an ambiguity for refugees in being "made" to be empowered and thus they lack agency. Here too refugees are not referred to as "citizens" (cf. *Full and Equal Citizens*, 2000), but are positioned in the category of "members of British society".

Whilst Ager and Strang's (2004) definition of integration listed the areas in which refugees should achieve their full potential (health, education, employment and housing), these are noticeably absent from the Home Office definition. Missing too is the important caveat that these outcomes should be equivalent to the outcomes and opportunities of the wider British public, which thereby leads to inequality. The reason for this omission may lie in New Labour's strategy of attempting to reduce asylum applications but may also relate to the opening up of the UK's labour markets to Eastern European workers from Accession countries in 2004 which attracted a great deal of media and public attention at the time *Integration Matters* was published. Similarly Ager and Strang's (2004) definition also includes greater specificity around community relations suggesting that a key initial element of integration is for refugees

to feel a part of a community, whether that be national, religious or ethnic, as well as a part of the wider community in which they live.

Interestingly, The Welsh Assembly Government also offer a similar definition of refugee inclusion in their strategy (2008, p.1):

Refugee inclusion takes place when a refugee becomes a fully active member of society, participating in and contributing to the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country.

As previously noted, the Welsh Assembly Government explicitly states that they believe inclusion begins from the first day of arrival in the country (as an asylum seeker or as a refugee), but that they see refugee inclusion and integration as two separate processes. In this example, "refugee inclusion" is an abstract process whilst at the same time it is also constructed as an active 'process'. But, here there is also evidence of the agency afforded to the individual ("participating" and "contributing"). This definition of "inclusion" is, however, complicated by the restrictions placed on those applying for asylum under the current UK government controlled asylum system. For example the UK government's changes to the immigration system between 1993 and 2006 restricted the ability of asylum seekers to work and reduced the welfare support given to them, reducing their ability to contribute to the economic and cultural life of the country. This may therefore represent a problem for the Welsh Government's 'vision' of refugee inclusion that may remain unresolved unless powers relating to immigration are devolved to the National Assembly.

The Scottish Government offer a very different conception of integration in *New Scots* (2013, p.9), stating that:

We see integration as being a two-way process that involves positive change in both the individuals and the host communities and which leads to cohesive, multi-cultural communities.

In this definition it is less clear what elements the Scottish Government sees as making up integration (although in the sentence which follows a similar concept of integration

to the Westminster government is espoused). Similarly, while this definition may appear to place the Scottish Government as the active agent in defining integration, the "we" here is not the Scottish Government. Rather the "we" in this statement might be assumed to be a consortium of interested parties, including Scottish Government but also refugee community representatives and organisations which closely with refugees and asylum seekers. By suggesting this definition in conjunction with refugees themselves refugees are perhaps given greater agency, which is also seen in the reference here to a "two-way process". This is in contrast to the definitions used in the Westminster strategy which took Ager and Strang's definition (developed following extensive research with refugees) and adapted it to suit their own ideological assumptions.

### 5.3.3 What are the obstacles to tackling the problem?

In Fairclough's (2001) model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the second stage involves identifying the obstacles to the problem being successfully tackled. Analysis revealed two key themes relating to such obstacles: community relations and 'achieving full potential'. In this section I firstly suggest that refugees are positioned as being unable to engender good community relations within the strategies, but that this fails to take account of the growing "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007) in UK and Welsh towns and cities and therefore promotes a one-way account of integration. Secondly, I argue that refugees are also positioned as being unable to 'achieve their full potential', thus constructing refugee integration as something that should be thought of only in protection terms and which dialogically represses (Billig, 1999) ideas of economic self-sufficiency.

### 5.3.3.1 Community relations – Integration with Whom?

In each of the integration strategies a key theme identified as an obstacle to the problem being tackled is "community relations". The reason for this may stem from

Tony Blair's desire to include race relations and community cohesion elements in all government strategies. However, this is also particularly relevant to refugee integration and forms a large focus of each of the governments' strategies. It is similarly a key element of Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration framework, although there it is defined as the building of 'social bonds' and 'social bridges'.

In *Integration Matters* (2005) a dual approach is taken with paragraphs simultaneously constructing refugee integration as a challenge to communities and their presence in these communities as a benefit:

"The dispersal of asylum seekers throughout the UK has created new communities of refugees and has made many communities more diverse. While this brings challenges to local areas, particularly because of a lack of familiarity and understanding between new and existing communities, it can also bring real social, cultural and economic benefits". (2005, p.15)

"Host communities also need support: they are entitled to receive fair and accurate information about refugees from government and the media. To ensure that refugees are able to integrate, steps must be taken to maximise the potential for new and positive relationships between refugees and members of the settled population, which will work to everyone's benefits" (2005, p.15)

These examples illustrate the use of antithesis and the varying degrees of modality used within paragraphs in the Westminster strategy. In the first example there appears to be a more definite acknowledgment that communities are now more diverse because of the dispersal policy, but a less definite and hedged construction of the benefits this may bring, through use of the verb 'can'. However, use of the modal verbs 'must' and 'will' in the second example create an imperative and place a stronger emphasis on the benefits of community cohesion. In terms of the 'challenge', in both cases (and throughout the document) refugees are constructed as the 'problem' for local communities and little attention is given to the role which members of the local community could play in developing relationships with new arrivals. Indeed, in the second paragraph, it is unclear who the agent is who must "take steps" to "maximize the potential". Similarly, use of "they are entitled to" in this paragraph, is also

ambiguous as there is no clear active agent responsible for solving the problem, thus constructing an ambivalent approach to refugee integration.

Each of the refugee integration strategies analysed also creates a simplistic binary between "receiving" and "refugee" communities as seen in the Welsh Government's *Refugee Inclusion Strategy* (2008):

Successful inclusion demands strong and vibrant receiving and refugee communities, bridges between receiving and refugee communities and strong links between both of these communities and government and non-government services as well as democratic and political processes. (p.28-29)

In this example "successful inclusion" is an abstract agent rather than either "refugee" or "receiving" communities. This construction is problematic as it positions refugee communities as separate to receiving communities without suggesting at which point "refugee communities" may become part of the receiving community in the future for new arrivals. In this sense, they are positioned as abstract entities interacting with one another and use of such a binary may add to a discourse of separation and exclusion. However, lack of specificity in who constitutes a member of the "receiving" community is also problematic here in light of the growing "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2007) in the UK. This raises the question of whether non-forced migrants are to be regarded as members of the "receiving" community or whether they have not been considered in this strategy at all. I would suggest that it is the latter as the New Labour government in the early part of the 21st century were in favour of opening up the UK's labour market to workers from the European Union whilst at the same time attempting to restrict applicants for asylum. They may therefore not be reflected in integration strategies if, as they claim asylum seekers cannot, be preparing for a long-term future in the UK. However, by using a simplistic binary the authors fail to acknowledge that the intended targets of these strategies (refugees) may interact with a range of other migrants (both forced and non-forced) in the areas in which they live.

Much of the discussion in the Westminster strategies could be seen as justification for the asylum dispersal policy introduced in 1999, which has continued to prove controversial today. Despite the Westminster Government stating that integration only begins from the first day of refugee status being granted, many of the issues they raise about the challenges of integration stem from the dispersal policy and the arrival of new asylum seekers in predominantly deprived areas. It would therefore seem problematic for the government to attempt to produce an integration strategy which acknowledges that the dispersal of asylum seekers can create community challenges but that integration should not begin at this point. This is acknowledged in the Welsh Assembly government strategy (2012, p.9) however:

The arrival of asylum seekers and refugees into deprived communities can increase competition for scarce resources and fuel animosity amongst existing residents.

What this example does have in common with the Westminster strategies is the way in which asylum seekers are actively constructed as the 'problem', the ones causing, or exacerbating, the tensions, although this is hedged through the use of the verb 'can' and the nominalisation 'the arrival'. In terms of resolving the problems, *Integration Matters* (2005, p. 34) also positions the regional consortia (created to oversee the dispersal of asylum seekers to regions of the UK outside London) as having the direct responsibility. Again, this reflects an ambivalent response to refugee integration, demonstrated using the verb "promoting" which suggests that it is refugees who need empowering to integrate:

Local authorities and local strategic partnerships will have a key role to play in promoting refugee integration, particularly within the context of their leadership role in building more cohesive communities.

### 5.3.3.2 Achieving full potential

One of the striking features of each of the policy documents analysed is the extensive use of the phrase "achieving full potential". Indeed this notion of "achieving full potential" is explicitly stated as a measure of how integration should be defined in each

of the strategies. This idea may be indicative of what Miller and Rose (1990), in their analysis of 'governmentality', refer to as "technologies of government". They argue that governments in liberal societies increasingly rely upon a range of networks that are able to regulate and shape social, personal and economic activities ("self-government") without the need for direct state intervention to make productive, responsible citizens. In the example below, an imperative ("it is essential") stresses this importance. Thus, refugees who are not able to "achieve full potential" are positioned as an obstacle to solving the problem of integration. Although this phrase is used repeatedly (as in the examples below), it is not clear how the Government would measure when a refugee had achieved their "full potential", and, whilst in the example below three areas of "full potential" are listed, it becomes clear that in most cases the Government equate achieving full potential with economic activity:

"It is essential that we support refugees in realising their full potential – economically, culturally and in terms of social inclusion" (Moving on Together, 2009, p.7)

"There remain strong difference of opinion on a number of issues not least when the work of integration should start but we are committed to working together to assist refugees to achieve their full potential" (Moving on Together, 2009, p.6)

As was mentioned previously this discursive construction is problematic owing to the changes that were also being made at the same time designed to deter asylum seekers from entering the UK. Bloch (2008, p.21) states that there is an "inherent contradiction between UK refugee integration strategies that focus on employment and, in particular, the employability of refugees, and restrictive government policies that negatively affect access to the Labour market". In terms of "achieving full potential" perhaps the most problematic legislation introduced was the decision to restrict the ability of asylum seekers to work. This leads to a potentially long period of economic inactivity in which asylum seekers are not able to develop their skills, better understand the UK labour market, or gain further social capital through the development of social bridges with colleagues. The discourse of "achieving full potential", as with the 'proud

tradition' repertoire discussed in the next section, in its repeated use, serves to promote inaction: the governments say that they are committed to helping refugees "achieve their full potential" but they do not offer solutions to solve this problem. Bloch (2008) has been critical of such strategies which focus only on gaining employment and improving English language ability. She argues that "a productive strategy aimed at helping refugees into appropriate work that makes use of their skills and experiences needs to also reassess and challenge employer attitudes and discrimination, and the media stereotyping of refugees, alongside legislative and other policy interventions" (Bloch, 2008, p.34).

With the publication of *Integration Matters* in 2005 the Labour Government did introduce a number of policy measures aimed at helping refugees "achieve their full potential". Foremost amongst these was the creation of the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES). Indeed, in *Moving on Together* (2009, p.4) this service is constructed as the principal means of helping refugees achieve their full potential:

The new refugee integration and employment service is designed to improve the chances of new refugees getting work.

In this example a nominalisation is used which has the effect of reducing both refugees' agency and the government's role in the process. The hedged construction "designed to improve" and passive language further adds to this and creates a discourse which removes responsibility for achieving this goal from the government. However, with an ideology centred on reducing public expenditure, RIES was one of the first services to be cut by the coalition government in September 2011, perhaps because the continuation of funding for refugee services in a time of austerity could prove to be politically unpopular. This means that not only do the Westminster government not have a current refugee integration strategy, nor do they have in place a nationally organised refugee integration service. This is of particular relevance to the newer dispersal areas but also has implications for the UK government's plans to resettle

20,000 Syrian refugees in the UK by 2020 under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme.

In this section, I have highlighted two key themes, which were evident in the analysis of the strategy documents, and which were constructed as obstacles to the process of refugee integration. In the next section, I consider whether the governments have an interest in the problem not being resolved and how this is constructed in the strategy documents.

### 5.3.4 Obligation: Proud tradition

Whilst there are differences between the devolved governments and Westminster in their definitions of integration and when it should begin, analysis of their integration strategies reveals a common discursive construction used (mostly) in the introductions to each strategy. That is, the UK, Wales or Scotland is constructed as being a proud protector of those fleeing persecution and is created through the repeated metaphor of a "proud tradition". For example:

"Wales has a proud history of providing refuge to people fleeing persecution" (Refugee Inclusion Strategy, 2008, Ministerial Foreword)

"Scotland has had a long history of welcoming refugees and asylum seekers from all over the world, which we celebrate" (New Scots, 2013, p.1)

"The UK has a heritage of welcoming refugees in which it can take pride" (Integration Matters, 2005, p.6)

In each of these examples there is a national agent who is positioned as providing the protection or welcoming of refugees. Constructed in this way, the government is able to acknowledge its commitments to refugees under the 1951 Refugee Convention and implicitly constructs refugees as being in need of safety and protection. However, in the case of the Westminster strategy this was constructed against a backdrop of changes to the asylum system which were intended to reduce the number of asylum applicants coming to the UK (see Chapter 1), meaning that pride, here, may be used as a rhetoric

for limitation and may create "fantasy images" (Ahmed, 2007, p.607). Kushner (2003) and Kundnani (2001) suggest that the use of discourses, such as the 'proud tradition', dialogically represses (Billig, 1999) the fact that Britain also has a history of not protecting refugees and that there are conflictual counterhistories. Such "dialogic repression" (Billig, 1997) suggests a need to look critically to the past and to not just accept the discourse of a 'proud nation'.

Sara Ahmed's (2007, p.601) work is of relevance here also as she points to the ways in which the diversity and anti-racism policies of UK universities function as a "discourse of organizational pride". She shows how this discourse of pride can be used by such organizations to deny that they are racist (or have a problem with racism) because they have such a policy. She further goes on to suggest that universities are constituted as if they have the qualities described in such documents which functions to suggest that the problem has already been solved and there is nothing left to do. Indeed, Darling (2013) has argued that it is through the discourses in such policy documents that perceptual fields in relation to asylum are shaped which allow citizens to position their own views and actions. Darling (2013, p.1791) talks of the 'proud record' serving as a "moral technology" in this regard which also produces "particular forms of moral subjectivity". His focus on hospitality, like Kushner (2003) and Kundnani (2001) points to the duality inherent within the discourse of the 'proud tradition', stating that it represents "hospitality infused with seemingly necessary hostility" (Darling, 2013, p.1795). This construction also serves to reinforce the deserving/undeserving binary between those recognised as refugees and those whose cases have yet to be decided. However, the examples shown above also highlight the ideological difference between the Westminster and devolved governments concerning who should be allowed to integrate. Here, by contrast, it is constructed as who each of the governments have a proud tradition of protecting; with the Westminster Government stating that this proud tradition has only been for refugees while the Welsh Government promote themselves

as proud protectors of people fleeing persecution. Particularly in the case of the Westminster Government, this discourse functions to deny integration to asylum seekers and implicitly justifies the UK government's 'hostile environment' approach.

Whilst the government, or country, are seen as the active agent in providing the welcome or protection to refugees in each of the examples above, it is also of note to analyse the sentences which follow the initial construction of the UK as a proud protector. For example:

"The contribution of our refugee communities over successive generations has helped make Scotland the proud, successful and diverse country it is today" (New Scots, 2013, p.1)

"And refugees can make a huge contribution to the enrichment of our national life" (Integration Matters, p.6)

In the Scottish example, refugees themselves are the active agent, shown through the use of the verb "help', which constructs refugees as actively contributing to the diversity and success in Scotland. However, this is also a hedged construction, where the passive form ("has helped") suggests that this may only be a partial contribution. This is also achieved through a nominalisation 'the contribution', which does not hide refugees as the active agent in the sentence. By contrast, in the second example from a Westminster strategy, use of the modal verb 'can' constructs an account of possibility, rather than the certainty expressed in the Scottish strategy. This construction can also be seen as hedging (Hodge and Kress, 1988) the possible benefits that refugees bring to the UK, suggesting that refugee integration is a process primarily about the protection of refugees (of which "we" have a "proud tradition"), rather than their economic integration. Indeed, this hedging may be representative of the New Labour immigration ideology of that time and the dilemma they faced between seeking economic benefits from migration to the UK whilst also curtailing asylum applications. By contrast, in the chapters which follow, I also discuss how integration was constructed by forced migrants in the research interviews conducted for this study.

There, I suggest that they draw on notions of economic self sufficiency to disrupt narratives which position refugees as only being in need of protection.

The example taken from the Welsh Government's Refugee Inclusion Strategy (p.135, above), does further rhetorical work by seeking to define who exactly protection will be offered to, and in this case it is those fleeing persecution, in line with the United Nations Convention definition (see Chapter 1). Whilst such a construction does not draw on a deserving/undeserving binary it could be argued that such rhetorical work creates a binary between who is "genuine" and who is "bogus" (Zetter, 2007) and also works to reaffirm the notion of Wales being the "tolerant nation" (Williams, 2015). Indeed, Williams (2015) has suggested that the idea of the "tolerant nation", although initially stemming from Welsh-English relations, has been called into question more recently as the ethnic minority population of Wales has expanded, particularly in the areas of Wales which have hosted dispersed asylum seekers. She has suggested that discourses of tolerance and inclusion have been a central part of the language of the Welsh Government since devolution and in their Refugee Inclusion Strategy (2008) it can be seen particularly through drawing on the idea of a proud, historical, tradition of protecting those fleeing persecution. However, Evans (2015) draws attention to the fact that whilst Wales does have a long history of migration, when the UK as a whole accepted large numbers of refugees (from Bosnia or Rwanda for example), Wales was largely unaffected by such migration until the beginning of the 21st century when asylum seekers were first dispersed to Wales.

## 5.3.5 Who is the "we" in the strategy?

A common discursive feature of each of the strategy documents analysed was the use of the pronoun "we". Fairclough (2000) has shown that in the language of New Labour "we" can be used to refer 'exclusively' to the Government or 'inclusively' to refer to Britain and the British people but that this distinction is not clear cut because there is

often ambivalence and vagueness within statements which makes it difficult to ascertain whether an inclusive or exclusive "we" is being used. This was found to be the case in the three New Labour refugee integration strategies analysed here, and although in most cases "we" could be seen as referring exclusively to the Government and their attempt to create a discourse of integration, the more ambiguous inclusive "we" was also used particularly in the strategy introductions, for example:

"A strategy based on a proud reaffirmation of Britain's heritage of providing a haven for the oppressed, and on the strong interest we all have in ensuring that refugees can contribute to British society to the full extent of their ability" (Integration Matters, 2005, p.3)

"In welcoming and supporting refugees it is essential that we do all we can to optimise that contribution." (Moving on Together, 2009, p.6)

In these examples it is not clear who the inclusive "we" is referring to; whether it is 'all of us' who live in the UK, just British people who live in the UK, or perhaps only those with an interest in refugee integration. Indeed, Fairclough (2000, p.36) suggests that "the apparent inclusiveness of the language is at the expense of a vagueness that obfuscates difference". This vagueness may be in part due to the competing ideologies discussed previously of reducing asylum applications whilst maintaining an international commitment to refugee protection.

By contrast, and perhaps surprisingly, the Welsh Assembly Government use the pronoun "we" less overall than the New Labour strategies and it is used almost always as the exclusive "we". Indeed, in their *Refugee Inclusion strategy* (2008), solutions to the identified problems were constructed in the form "the Welsh Assembly Government will...". The main use of "we" in this strategy is in each of the chapters which has a section headed "where are we now?" which whilst ambiguous appears to again point to an exclusive rather than inclusive "we". This is due to the style of the strategy document and its corporate style structure which identifies problems and offers solutions which the Welsh Assembly Government are positioned as being responsible for ensuring the success of such measures. Whilst Williams (2015) has suggested that

the Welsh Assembly Government have attempted to promote themselves as inclusive and tolerant the use of the "we" in this policy document does not appear to follow this.

As with the Welsh strategy, In *New Scots* (2013) the pronoun "we" is not used as frequently as in the strategies issued by the New Labour government and is predominantly found in the strategy's introduction and its intended outcomes. However, and in contrast to the Welsh strategy, where "we" is used, it is most often the inclusive "we" referring to everyone in Scotland. For example:

"This strategy represents one subject-specific contribution to realising the wider, shared vision of a Scotland in which we are all able to live with human dignity and where we can all enjoy our human rights and fundamental freedoms in full." (New Scots, 2013, p.16).

"We have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others" (New Scots, 2013, p.22)

Use of the pronoun "we" in these examples creates a discourse of an inclusive Scotland which is indeed inclusive for all and does not exclude forced migrants from the discourses of integration which are constructed particularly by the New Labour strategies, and to an extent by the Welsh Government strategies.

### 5.3.6 Overcoming the obstacles: What the Government will do

Whilst the construction of integration is somewhat ambiguous in each of the refugee integration strategies, both ideologically and practically, it is also of importance to analyse how the governments discursively construct their responses to the perceived problem.

Despite the changing titles, the Welsh Assembly Government's strategies have a focus on responsibility and what they will do to achieve the aims of the strategy.

Corporate language is used to construct the situation in such a way as to show who the active agent is in addressing the problem:

"To achieve the objective of ensuring refugees are able to gain English Language skills the Welsh Assembly Government will:" (Refugee Inclusion strategy, 2008, p.45)

Use of the modal verb 'will' places the Welsh Assembly Government as actively working to achieve the objectives that it laid out in the previous sections. However, they also show that it is the Welsh Government who have the power to decide how to solve these problems; it is non-dialogical and suggests that they are in control of a process that is clear-cut. Despite this, as analysis revealed previously, a tension still exists relating to the extent with which the Welsh Assembly Government can act when immigration is not a devolved matter. In this way, the strategy is structured around the areas of which it does have devolved powers and can therefore say what they will do. This creates the sense of the Welsh Assembly Government's strategies being party political promotional documents. However, it also creates a welcoming and inclusive discourse, which as discussed previously, has been at the heart of Welsh Government policy following the creation of the National Assembly.

In *New Scots* (2013), the Scottish Government follow a different format consisting of the current policy context, refugee's experiences of the policy area, areas for development and outcomes for the policy area. In addition to featuring a section detailing refugee's recent experience of the policy area, each of the outcomes is constructed in a way which places emphasis on what the refugee will be able to do if the strategy is a success:

Refugees and asylum seekers are able to achieve the English language skills they need to successfully integrate with Scotland's communities

Refugees and asylum seekers access appropriate education opportunities and increase their qualifications/knowledge/experience as a result (New Scots, 2013, p.55)

This is a very different construction from the Welsh strategy which places emphasis on what the government will do, instead giving agency to the refugees themselves and what they should be able to do themselves if the strategy is successful. The

Westminster Government too constructs its response to how it will solve the problem in a different way:

"That help must be provided in a timely way, and particularly during the critical period after receipt of a positive decision on asylum" (Integration Matters, 2005, p. 25)

"Another important tool in assisting new refugees to establish themselves in the UK will be the new Refugee Integration Loan, should the refugee wish to take advantage of this opportunity" (Integration Matters, 2005, p.65)

In these examples neither the government nor the refugees themselves are the active agents, instead what the government will do is constructed in passive sentences using nouns such as 'help' and 'tool'. In this second example, and in other places, hedging (Hodge and Kress, 1988) is used by the government and gives the impression that the Government does not know all of the answers to this 'problem' and that they may not wish to fully commit to some of the policies in the strategy:

"Following further mapping of a cross-section of existing good practice, the Government intends to pilot the new system during 2005" (Integration Matters, 2005, p. 64)

Here, through use of the verb 'intend', commitment to policies is hedged and is therefore in direct contrast to the Welsh Government strategy which uses the much more active "we will" construction. However, the Westminster Government do use the "we will" construction in other parts of their strategies, making the overall document more confusing than the corporate style of the Welsh Assembly Government's strategies.

# 5.4 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that UK and devolved government refugee integration strategies construct the 'problem' of integration in varying and ambivalent ways. Whilst the strategies published by the New Labour government construct the problem as being an issue for refugees only, the devolved governments explicitly recognise the importance of seeing integration as a process that begins on "day one" of

arrival in the UK. However, as I have noted, the devolved government's abilities to fully realise this conception of integration are restricted due to asylum and immigration remaining reserved matters for the UK government.

The UK government's narrow definition of integration frames the problem in such a way that integration is constructed as a "one-way process", in which it is refugees who are required to change in order to fit in with the host population. This is despite the majority of academic research calling for integration to be seen as a mutual "two-way process" of adaptation (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014). Indeed, it is refugee's inability to 'fulfil their potential' and engender good community relations that are seen to be the obstacles to integration presented in these strategies, although little evidence was found of specific policy interventions to overcome these obstacles.

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that the reasons for such ambivalent responses to refugee integration may relate to the New Labour government's prioritization of reducing UK asylum applications through the creation of a 'hostile environment'. By presenting only refugees as 'deserving' of the opportunity to integrate into British society, asylum seekers are simultaneously constructed as 'undeserving'. I have argued that such a simplistic binary neglects the time that many asylum seekers spend in the UK, sometimes many years, in which integration experiences may occur. I have also argued that refugees are overwhelmingly positioned in these documents as people who are in need of protection or relief, a discourse which fails to recognise that they may have further aspirations for economic self-sufficiency.

Through framing these strategies as a construction of the nation's 'proud tradition' of offering protection to refugees, an ambivalent response is constructed, which simultaneously represses (Billig, 1999) histories of not offering refuge and reduces refugee integration to a rhetoric concerning protection only. In chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis I show how discourses of economic self-sufficiency and aspirations for more than 'just getting by' were prevalent in the talk of forced migrants interviewed for

this study. These discourses will point to a very different conception of integration from the policy-driven conceptualisation offered (predominantly) in the New Labour integration strategies and raises questions as to how the Welsh Government should use its devolved powers to oversee the process of refugee integration in Wales. In terms of their *Refugee Inclusion Strategy*, adopting a similar approach to the Scottish Government, in *New Scots*, in which refugees are afforded more agency and emphasis placed on what the refugee should be able to do if the policy is successful, would be a useful starting point.

# 6. "Just teasing": Everyday racism and dilemmas faced by refugees and asylum seekers in Wales

"Somebody might not talk to you but he hasn't mentioned anyoneany- anything to do with the colour or something so yeah you can sense what it is but err at least nobody has spoken to that or nobody has turned me down because of my colour or anything"

Kris, interview for this study

### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented a Critical Discourse Analysis of recent refugee integration strategies published by the Westminster, Scottish and Welsh Governments. I showed that, within these strategies, refugees and asylum seekers generally lacked agency and that each strategy was predicated upon rhetorical devices which constructed the governments as proud protectors of those fleeing persecution. I concluded that such devices functioned as disclaimers to move responsibility for integration from the governments to refugees themselves, thus appearing to construct refugee integration a "one-way" rather than "two-way" process. I noted that the voices of refugees and asylum seekers were largely absent from these documents and thus in order to capture "voices" the remaining chapters of this thesis move on to look at the ways in which my participants talked about integration within the interview context.

In this chapter I move on to present an analysis of extracts from my interview data, which illustrate distinctive ways in which refugees and asylum seekers living in Wales construct accounts of 'everyday racism', where the expression of prejudice or displays of discriminatory behaviour are embedded in people's daily lives (Essed, 1991). Swim et al. (2001) argue that everyday incidents make up the basic substance of people's lives and that, for marginalized groups, everyday experiences of

discrimination can make up much of these experiences, having a significant impact on psychological "well-being". Incidents of racism were identified by Ager and Strang (2004) as playing a key challenge in refugee integration and they argue that the absence of such racial discrimination is essential for ensuring refugees be "active, engaged and secure within communities" (p.13). In the Welsh context, Williams (2015) has been critical of discourses, which portray Wales as the "tolerant nation", particularly in comparison to England. She suggests that there is little evidence to support this view and that incidents of racial discrimination have increased as the ethnic minority population of Wales has grown. In this chapter, I show how participants in this study brought the subject of racism into play by constructing their accounts as 'everyday' experiences. In addition, I demonstrate how the construction of such accounts may be 'dilemmatic' (Billig et al., 1988) for the participants and contingent on their precarious status.

# 6.2 "It's ok they are child no problem": Constructing experiences of racism as "trivial"

Previous research with asylum seekers and refugees in the UK (Goodman et al., 2014a, Kirkwood et al., 2013b) has pointed to the ways in which participants may downplay incidents of discrimination when giving personal accounts of their experiences of living in their new communities. Notably, whilst the data in the current study come from interviews which asked questions about a range of integration topics (based upon Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration model), examples of downplaying discrimination and 'everyday racism' were not limited to when participants were asked direct questions about whether they had experienced discrimination.

#### Extract 6.1: Amna

Sam: since you've been living in Cardiff do you feel like
you have experienced any- anything negative
any prejudice or °discrimination°?

Amna: (2.0) well- (.) Sometimes yes I can see but
I am a positive positive person heh heh

6 I try to be positive in the society but er yeah 7 sometimes (.) maybe teenagers people they they teasing on somebody like me 8 9 Sam: Mm mm 10 Amna: because they- I am a foreigner (.) >I am British now< but I am a foreigner it's not-11 honestly that's what it is (.) but err hh but 12 13 some years ago they tried to (.) just throw stones 14 to me and hh I tried just to ignore it it's it's not easy 15 it's not easy honestly but I try especially I was 16 very angry (.) because not of them they are they 17 were teenagers ok they were teenagers 18 but they mum (.) were with them 19 Sam: 20 Amna: is makes different 21 Sam: yeah 22 Amna: If they were just teenager that's ok-23 >it's not ok< but I can (.) cope with that 24 mmm Sam: 25 Amna: because it's ok they are child no problem 26 but they mum were with them and 27 they didn't say anything to them [10 lines omitted] 28 Amna: no no no none of them three (.) mums 29 with children none of them (.) didn't say anything 30 >just a stop< for me it's not good to do that 31 or not DON'T do that nothing nothing at all 32 but things like this have only happened-Sam: 33 Amna: it's you know it's you know when (0.5) 34 mum says nothing looks- ok this is ok that attitude 35 is ok to do in the society which it's not but this has only happened once? 36 37 Amna: just a °couple of times°

In Extract 6.1, Amna, who had been living in Wales for 12 years at the time of interview and had been granted British Citizenship, is initially hesitant to answer the question posed by Sam in lines 1 to 3. The question, through its use of "anything negative" and "any prejudice or discrimination", is put to Amna as an Extreme Case Formulation (ECF) (Pomerantz, 1986). Heritage and Robinson (2011), in their study of clinician and patient interactions, show that use of the term "any" in questions has negative polarity and is therefore geared towards negative responses. Constructing his ECF with three uses of "any" allows Sam to put into play a question which orients to the idea that there is nothing unusual in experiencing negative or discriminatory incidents, therefore making it more difficult for Amna to make a denial. Sam's question also offers Amna three broad and inclusive candidate "experiences" to consider.

Amna's hesitations are shown in the two second pause beginning her turn in line 4 before continuing with the discourse marker well. Jucker (1993) has reviewed a number of possible uses of this marker and suggests that it can have a number of functions: as a marker of insufficiency, as a face-threat mitigator, as a frame and as a delay device. Drawing on the work of Lakoff (1973), Jucker (1993) suggests that use of well as a marker of insufficiency is a device used by respondents who know that they are not giving the information requested by the questioner. Amna's laughter (line 5) may be indicative of what Jefferson (1984) has called "troubles talk", which may support this explanation for use of the discourse marker well, and functions to present herself as a positive person. As a means of playing down discrimination, this constructs an argument which can be read as either: that if you are a positive person and a good member of society then you should not face discrimination or that talking about discrimination would be "negative". This talk also suggests that well may be used here as a face-threat mitigator and as a means to challenging the ECF put in the question in lines 1 to 3. Indeed, despite Amna accepting the ECF in the question in line 4, it is not until lines 7 to 8 that she begins to make a complaint of experiencing discrimination in the UK, through use of the hedged construction "maybe teenagers".

Interestingly, in line 8 Amna first raises the discrimination she reports as 'teasing' suggesting that the explanation for this incident could be related to the age of those involved. The word 'teasing' is itself one which has childhood connotations and is employed to explain the incident. In doing so, it downplays the incident by claiming that it is something we would expect from people who are young, and may also implicitly reference their ignorance of not knowing any better. Greenland and Taulke-Johnson (2017) and Kadianaki (2014) have similarly demonstrated the ways in which claimed unintentional cultural ignorance can be employed to re-work incidents of discrimination into "not discrimination". Here, Amna may be viewing this as a case of "not discrimination" because the perpetrator was a child. Further details

of the incident, in which stones were thrown at Amna, are not reported until lines 13 to 14, following Sam's use of the discourse continuer ("mm mm") in line 9 which prompts Amna to say more about the incident. In lines 13 and 14, the discourse marker 'just' is used as a means of downplaying the incident and again draws on the repertoire of a child not knowing better ("just throw stones"). Weltman (2003) shows that, in the discourses of politicians, use of the discourse marker 'just' can function to describe an event as happening virtually accidentally. Such a strategy is employed here and allows Amna to put an explanation into play without attributing blame and avoids the negative consequences associated with making claims of discrimination (Kirkwood et al., 2013). However, in lines 15 to 18 the parents of the teenagers are constructed as being responsible for the incident because they were present at the time. This portrays Amna as having an issue with the mother, and her parenting, rather than with the teenagers, and their racism. This dilemma is further shown in lines 22 to 27 where Amna initially states that it was "okay" because the perpetrators were teenagers before quickly repairing this to say that it is not okay but that she can "cope with that". This again implies that she cannot cope with the mothers allowing such behaviour from their children. Further rhetorical work is achieved in lines 28 to 35 where Amna provides further justifications for her view that responsibility for this incident lay with the parents not stopping their "children" (switched from teenagers in line 22) from engaging in this behaviour. Again this provides further justification for the event being a form of everyday racism (or 'non-discrimination'), which is to be expected from children, if their parents do not teach them what is right and wrong in society. Her focus on the parents functions to portray the incident as problematic, and the speaker as being concerned with it, while allowing Amna to position herself as not making an accusation of racism as such, as being 'overly sensitive', or having a problem with all members of the host society.

In Extract 6.1 Amna presents an account which suggests that this is an isolated experience of racism (lines 11 to 14) and this construction is aided by use of

the discourse marker "just". However, when Sam asks Amna to clarify this, in both lines 32 and 36 he uses "only" and "just" which have the effect of minimizing the response given by Amna that she repairs to "just a couple of times". A dilemma is also evident in Amna's talk in Extract 6.1 between her legal status as a British Citizen and her feeling that she is still a foreigner (I.10-11). Indeed, she initially constructs this incident as being a consequence of her feeling that she is still a foreigner despite having a British passport (which she says quickly between asserting that she is a foreigner, lines 10 to 11). A repair is made at the start of line 10 from "they" to "I", which works to avoid attributing blame directly to the teenagers and suggests that everyday racism is experienced if you are a member of the category "a foreigner". As a consequence of this dilemma, and the downplaying of the reported incident, Amna's account avoids making a general negative evaluation of the host society; the society which has offered her protection for the past twelve years. In raising the complaint 'delicately' and drawing on a discourse of the young person who 'teases', her need for protection as a refugee is not challenged and nor can she be accused of being someone who sees racism everywhere in the host society (Kirkwood et al. 2013b).

In Extract 6.2, below, Gloria explicitly references an incident as "racism" that is also minimized through reference to the age of those involved in the incident.

#### Extract 6.2: Gloria

```
Sam: yeah ok errm (2.0) do you feel (.) safe in Cardiff?
1
        Gloria: yeah this is errm this Cardiff is better than any
2
                place in b- back in in in (0.5) we say (?) we don't
3
                say it's London because I have been London
4
5
                it is not safe at all (.) but I can't complain
6
                I have stayed for like three places in Cardiff (.)
                and I can't complain
7
8
        Sam:
                yeah
9
        Gloria: yeah I can't say there about the crime
10
                I can't say anything you just here like some
                simple simple things but not like (.) in London
11
12
        Sam:
                veah
13
        Gloria: where by
                so you've not experienced any crime yourself?
14
        Gloria: no no it's just one day when I was staying
15
16
                just down here small children they were going
```

17 in the groups and they are like .hhh (0.5) 18 try to er you know racism (.) and 19 I called the police immediately before 20 they could do anything just small kids seven five years 21 Sam: yeah 22 Gloria: that were yeah mmm 23 Sam: and the police (.) sorted it out? 24 Gloria: yeah they did it and they ran away so heh heh heh 25 Sam: 26 Gloria: yeah so you think the police do a good job (.) 27 Sam: 28 in this country? 29 Gloria: yeah really good job because the time I was staying down here my house err (1.0) was on 30 31 the (2.0) [name of road] I could see whatever is 32 going on down- it er through my window 33 Sam: yeah 34 Gloria: so there is a lot of crime just er what I can say 35 is this- this young people who use the bicycles 36 like a gang or (0.5) not many they were breaking err 37 Sam: windows? 38 Gloria: windows of the cars they are they we- there is 39 like a resource centre down here (.) for disabled 40 people they be a breaking (?) I got annoyed and 41 I called th- I said I can't ring I don't have the papers 42 I don't report now it's too much because I was 43 am seen with my own they .hh they are coming 44 put socks in both hands .hh they knock they take it 45 and then they run away 46 Sam: mmm 47 Gloria: so then one day I said what er no even if I don't 48 have papers this is not going to (.) to happen again 49 and I called the police and I told them I'm afraid 50 I don't have- I told them I'm a asylum .hhh and 51 I was oppr- afraid to report what is going on 52 just like in front of my eyes

Gloria, a refugee awarded 5 years Leave to Remain in the UK, and having lived in the UK for seven years (but only 2 years in Wales) begins in lines 2 to 7 to make comparisons between Cardiff and London (where she had previously lived) in response to Sam's question in line 1 which addressed feelings of safety in Wales. In line 5, Gloria makes the disclaimer "I can't complain", an idiomatic expression suggesting that she could complain but is reluctant to do so. This expression is repeated in line 7 along with further use of the modal verb (can't) in line 9, suggesting that she is reluctant to make criticisms of the place in which she now lives. Indeed, this prompts Sam (I.14) to use an ECF in the question he poses, and it is important to

note his use of "any crime" here, as opposed to racism or discrimination. As discussed above, use of "any" in the question may be suggestive of a negative response (Heritage and Robinson, 2011) and constructing the question as an ECF makes it difficult for Gloria to make such a denial, although this is how she appears to begin her turn in line 15. However, as she proceeds it becomes clear that she is not making a denial of experiencing crime, but rather that the incident of racism she describes (I.17-18) is not considered to be serious, and is constructed as everyday racism. This construction is achieved through the use of "just one day" in line 15, suggesting a one-off event. Similarly, "they are like try to er you know racism" (I.18), allows Gloria to delicately bring up the subject of racism, despite this not being explicitly asked about in the question, and gives the impression of something which is an everyday experience ("you know").

Whilst Gloria does not elaborate on the incident or what took place, it is in line 16 that "small children" are positioned as being responsible for the incident. That the children were "small" is repeated again in line 20 where Gloria also upgrades this claim to include the ages of the children. As with Extract 6.1, by positioning "small" children as not knowing better, Gloria is able to raise the issue of everyday racism without making a direct criticism. Gloria's constructions are hedged and vague and her use of "you know" (I.18) is of particular interest because it implies and draws upon an assumed knowledge that small children may engage in behaviour that could be viewed as "racist".

Interestingly, in Extract 6.2, Gloria also describes a dilemma that she faced between her desire to report crime and her precarious legal status. Indeed, when she first raises the incident she constructs herself as a good citizen ("I called the police immediately", I.19), a similar moral strategy to that seen in Extract 6.1 from Amna. However, from line 41 onwards, we see her construct the reporting of crime as a worrying and difficult thing for her to do because of her status as an asylum seeker.

Because of this she positions herself as lacking agency, although in her next turn (I.47-52) the opposite is true as she uses active sentences to construct an account of being a good citizen.

Munir, in Extract 6.3 below, also describes an incident that could be classed as everyday racism, which is also explained through drawing on the age of those involved in the incident.

#### Extract 6.3: Munir

1 Sam: you've not had any problems (.) with any people? 2 Munir: never I don't find any 3 Sam: no:: Munir: sometimes you see in the evening some guys 4 5 or (.) some er young guys it's up to the just playing 6 with every (.) everybody (.) not er= 7 Sam: yeah Munir: =especially asylum but er (0.5) no problem for us 8 9 Sam: Munir: but from the (.) adults and er I don't find any problem 10 Sam: 11 12 Munir: they::- sometimes they er help us (.) yeah they are 13 very kind with us I don't find any problem

Sam's questioning here follows the same strategy employed in the previous two extracts through the use of "any problems" and "any people", which may presuppose a negative response (Heritage and Robinson, 2011). In contrast to the previous two extracts which used a number of hedged constructions, Munir begins his turn in line 2 with two extreme case formulations ("never" and "I don't find any") that function to deny the existence of "any problems". However, in his second turn (I.4-6) we see a contradiction where he constructs an account of everyday racism perpetrated by "young guys" who are "just playing". As play is something particularly associated with children, and those who are "young", it suggests that if they are "just playing" it is not serious and can perhaps be considered as 'non-discrimination'. Similarly, a disclaimer is also used in lines 6 and 8, which suggests that these young people were not specifically targeting asylum seekers, but "everybody". This extreme case formulation functions to normalise the behaviour and portray it as not necessarily racist because it

was directed at "everybody", not just asylum seekers. In line 10, we see that this claim is upgraded so, like Gloria, it is only children who are constructed as problematic and at the end of the extract there is a further upgrade to "I don't find any problem". By locating the problem with a small number of people, and not others, Munir's talk functions to portray him as not having a problem with all members of the local population, thereby managing the implications of making accusations of racism.

In each of these first three extracts, participants faced a dilemma in reporting their perceived experiences of racism in Wales and had to carefully manage the implications of making accusations of racism. Participants hesitantly raised the subject and constructed the experiences as everyday racism, focusing on the age of the perpetrators to position them as naughty and perhaps ignorant children, which functioned to suggest that these were experiences of 'non-discrimination' because the children in each case may not know any better. In this way the participants were also able to avoid being seen as 'overly sensitive' or with having a problem with all members of the local community. In these extracts, perceived incidents of racism are constructed as 'everyday' experiences and, in the next section, I provide evidence from two further interviews in which religious discrimination is also constructed as an 'everyday' experience.

# 6.3 "It's because I was wearing a scarf I was talking in Arabic": attributing blame in talk about explicit experiences of racism

In Extract 6.4, Aysha, the youngest participant in this study, aged 19, and who at the time of interview had very recently been granted refugee status in the UK, describes an incident that she had experienced whilst travelling on a bus in Wales.

### Extract 6.4: Aysha

Sam: do you feel that erm you're able to access your rights:: (.) in the same way as a British person would be able to?

Aysha: to be honest no (1.0) maybe because (.)

6 with you (.) my mum all the time she goes 7 she says listen take your scarf off and Iwhen I ask her why she goes like 8 9 "because .hhh (.) there are loads of British 10 people who don't actually like Muslims .hhh and if you wear hijab- I mean sorry scarf 11 (.) that would make him hate you more" 12 13 mm Sam: 14 Aysha: so (.) yeah my mum asks me to take my scarf off but I'm like (.) no mum I'm not taking it off 15 if a- I'll let them do whatever they want 16 17 heh heh I don't care heh heh 18 Sam: mmm Aysha: I actually faced this problem once before 19 20 (.) I was going on the erm bus and some (0.5) 21 British- some white lady she seen me because 22 .hhh I was wearing the scarf and I was talking 23 on the phone in Arabic .hhh she looked at me 24 and she gave me the dirtiest look ever 25 she goes like oh errm (1.0) "dirty errm lady" 26 something like that (0.5) I I didn't like it you know if someone says you are a dirty person or stuff 27 28 Sam: 29 Aysha: .hhh yeah you don't actually like it .hhh and 30 I knew it's because I was wearing a scarf I was talking in Arabic not in English I think 31 32 that's why she gave me the dirtiest look ever heh heh heh 33

Stewart and Shafer (2015) have shown that public transport is a location in which forced migrants are frequently subjected to racism, by both bus drivers and passengers. This extract is taken from towards the end of the interview with Aysha in which she is discussing the freedom that she feels to practise her religion in Wales. Earlier in the interview, when asked directly if she had experienced any racism in Wales, Aysha had talked at length about what she perceived as discrimination from other refugees from her country who lived close to her and other students at her school, but stated clearly that she had not experienced any racism directed towards her from British people. This downplaying may again be seen as an attempt to not make complaints about the host society which had granted her protection by directing blame to other non-UK nationals. However, in Extract 6.3 we see that Aysha does describe an incident in which an accusation of discrimination from a British person is raised 'delicately'. The extract begins with a question from Sam asking Aysha whether

she felt able to fully access her rights in the UK and in lines 4 to 17 Aysha's talk shows evidence of dilemmatic thinking (Billig et al., 1988) between integration and maintaining her cultural and religious traditions. Her turn begins in lines 4 and 5 with an honesty phrase, followed by a pause and then a hedge ("maybe") before another pause and another honesty phrase. Indeed, it is in this second honesty phrase that Aysha first raises her religious identity, and in particular it is the culture signifying wearing of the hijab which is constructed as being problematic for her in terms of accessing her rights. In lines 6 to 17 she provides justifications for this position which suggests that she has had disagreements with her mother regarding wearing of the hijab. But in Lines 15-17 Aysha demonstrates her own agency in her willingness to go against her mother's wishes. This acts as a disclaimer for what Aysha goes on to describe in her following turn and suggests that everyday racism should be expected if she is wearing a hijab. Laughter in line 17 (and again in line 33) and use of "I don't care" similarly positions this as being not serious for Aysha, but could also be indicative of this being "troubles talk" (Jefferson, 1984) and a subject which she finds difficult to talk about. Aysha's self-repair from "hijab" to "scarf" (line 11) in this turn is also of note as it is preceded by an apology ("sorry I mean") implying that, in conversation with the interviewer in the interview context, she feels that she has to use the English rather than Arabic word.

In line 19 we see that Aysha initially begins to construct an account of a British woman who had discriminated against her but she quickly repairs this (shown by the sharp cut-off after British in line 21) to "some white lady". The use of this repair, marks a change from a national to a racial identity category, and constructs an account of an isolated incident where it is only one "white" person who is prejudiced and that that person is not a reflection of the host society in general (Goodman et al. 2014a). Like with the downplaying found in Extracts 6.1 to 6.3, it is cultural ignorance (Kadianaki, 2014) which justifies the incident.

As with Amna's account in Extract 6.1, there is evidence of dilemmatic thinking in Aysha's account. Here she constructs an account in which it is both her religious identity as a Muslim (line 22) and her linguistic identity as an Arabic speaker (line 23) which explain and justify the incident. There is evidence in lines 30 to 33 that Aysha is managing a dilemma between maintaining her cultural and religious identity and a sense of being required to integrate in Wales, when she says that "I knew it's because I was wearing a scarf I was talking in Arabic not in English". This dilemma further demonstrates that accusations of discrimination such as the one Aysha raises have to be brought up sensitively in order to avoid general negative evaluations of the host society.

In each of the interviews conducted for this research the focus was on experiences in Wales. However, asylum seekers can be moved between towns and cities in the UK as a result of the current dispersal system which is in place. As such, several of the participants in the study had experience of living in other UK towns and cities. In Extract 6.5, below, we see that Victor is making comparisons between Swansea (where he was housed at the time of interview) and Wigan, where he had lived for a year following making his initial claim for asylum. Victor's account not only portrays Swansea as a more accepting city than Wigan, but also of everyday racism at play which, as with Aysha, is as a result of wearing the hijab.

### Extract 6.5: Victor

1 2 3 4 5 6 7		so did you experience racism in Wigan? yeah I know s::ome guy yeah from Wigan I:: ah what happened with his wife when he went to centre or something like that some .hhh she was stopped by somebody (.) he talk to her like (0.5) you- she is Muslim- I mean she wears Hijab (.) I mean it's long long dress
8	Sam:	yeah
9	Victor:	11
10		and maybe (.) shou- maybe shouts at her (.)
11		shouted at her (1.0) some bad words (1.0)
12		like maybe about Muslim=
13	Sam:	yeah
14 15	Victor:	=or Islam you know (1.0) like "we need to kill you" or something like that

16 Sam: but you don't have any problem- you've not had

17 any problems in (.) Swansea?

18 Victor: no

19

Sam: nothing like that?
Victor: no (.) no ((Coughs)) in Swansea never .hhh my never 20 made this problem like (.) people who talked about Islam 21

22 or about religion or who've said I don't like Islam never

In lines 2 to 12 Victor reports an incident, which had happened to his friend, whilst living in Wigan. Of particular interest here is Victor's use of the third person and hedged constructions such as "something like that" (I.4), "maybe shouts at her" (I.10) and "maybe about Muslim" (I.11). Use of such constructions here puts into play the issue of racism but also shows a reluctance for Victor to say that religion was the cause of this incident. Again, in lines 14 to 15 use of "you know" and "something like that" construct this as an everyday incident and implies an assumed shared knowledge that discrimination for Muslims is common in the UK. Following this (I.16-21), Sam puts forward a series of questions as extreme case formulations, to clarify whether Victor had experienced similar incidents in Swansea. As with prior extracts, Sam's use of "any" may function to invite more negative responses (Heritage and Robinson, 2011). However, Victor responds to these questions using the extreme case formulation "never" three times during his final turn, which works to portray Swansea as a more tolerant and safer place than his previous dispersal location. Victor's strategy in this extract, in using the third person ("some guy") to talk about problems in England, allows him to position himself as not having problems with the local community in Wales where he now lives.

In each of the extracts discussed thus far I have demonstrated in line with previous work (Goodman et al., 2014a, Kirkwood et al., 2013b) that when accusations of discrimination are made by asylum seekers and refugees in Wales, a 'delicate' strategy is employed in order to avoid making general negative evaluations of the host society. Each drew on repertoires of young people and seemingly of cultural ignorance to construct accounts of everyday racism that appeared to be both

expected and inconsequential. A number of dilemmas relating to the identity of participants were also evident which further served to reinforce the constructions as avoiding negative evaluations of the host society. In the next section, however, I present another way in which participants oriented to questions about discrimination; again demonstrating evidence of everyday racism, these accounts are interesting because participants construct accounts in which they position themselves as "sensing" something but are unable to describe specific experiences like those seen in extracts 1 to 5.

# 6.4 "I didn't see anything like this, but I can feel it": constructing a "sense" of everyday racism

In Extracts 1 to 5, I suggested that the described incidents of racism were downplayed in order to avoid negatively evaluating the host society and that everyday racism was constructed as something perpetrated only by those who are young and, perhaps, culturally ignorant. However, in Extract 6.6, Kris who had been living in the UK for approximately 8 months at the time of the interview and had recently been granted refugee status, constructs a very different account of perceived everyday racism which he has encountered in Wales.

### Extract 6.6: Kris

1

2		been living in Wales (.) do
3		you feel safe and secure?
4	Kris:	(0.6) errrm yeah yeah cos I
5		(. <u>) honestly</u> haven't found any
6		problems in Wales °yeah° not
7		from anyone
8	Sam:	mmm
9	Kris:	and yeah sure
10	Sam:	have you experienced any (.)
11		prejudice or racism discrimination?
12	Kris:	not as yet
13	Sam:	no
14	Kris:	not as yet (.) yeah (.) every place I've
15		gone to like hh (.) yeah
16		>you meet different people< and people
17		>you know< people behave differently
18		but at least with racism I haven't found
19		that yeah

Sam: ok and since since you've

20 Sam: good

21 Kris: somebody might not talk to you

22 Sam: yeah

Kris: but he hasn't mentioned anyone- anyanything to do with the colour or something
so yeah you can sense what it is but err
at least nobody has spoken to that or nobody
has turned me down because of my colour

28 or anything

29 Sam: yeah

30 Kris: not even in the <u>clubs</u> and you know so 31 it's it's quite it's quite a place °to live°

The extract begins with a question from Sam (I.1-3) which asks Kris about whether he feels safe in Wales. His turn begins in line 4 with a number of hesitations, followed by an honesty phrase and two extreme case formulations ("haven't found any problems" and "not from anyone"). This constructs Wales as a tolerant nation (Williams, 2015) where people are accepting of diversity, although Kris appears hesitant in saying this, Sam follows this up in lines 10 and 11 with a more specific question about "prejudice" "racism" and "discrimination". Sam's question gives these three candidate "expressions" for Kris to consider and again uses the more negatively polarised "any" interrogative form (Heritage and Robinson, 2011).

In line 12, Kris states that he hasn't experienced any discrimination whilst living in Wales, which he repeats again in line 14. However, in making this denial he uses the hedged response "yet" in both cases. Use of this hedging device may indicate that racism and discrimination are to be expected in Wales and that Kris may be experiencing a dilemma in discussing such issues. Indeed, as the extract continues we see this dilemma playing out further.

In lines 14 to 19 Kris begins to hesitate (indicated by the pauses) and then constructs an account in which a question asked about racism and prejudice is turned into one of being treated differently which is initially dismissed as being related to 'race'. His use of "people behave differently" (I.17) is a more general statement which may function to normalise racism and variation in behaviour. As his account

continues, Kris (in lines 21 to 24) describes how he can sense that he feels he might be treated differently because of his skin colour, however, the reference to colour remains ambiguous and is not raised until line 27. This ambiguity could suggest that nobody has been racist or that they may indeed have been influenced by prejudice. Because there is no explicit reference to "colour", in the situation Kris describes, it could therefore be that "people behaving differently" is less bad or definitely not racist. This again suggests that everyday racism could be at play here, albeit not in the forms discussed above in extracts one to four. In Extract 6.7 below, Awet constructs a similar account to that of Kris: beginning in line 3 with a denial of the question put to him by Sam in lines 1 and 2 and then using the disclaimer 'yet' to end his turn, suggesting that there is an expectation that he may be subject to discrimination or racism in the future.

Whilst there is a sense that Kris, in Extract 6.6, may be downplaying incidents of discrimination in order to avoid evaluating Wales negatively, as he had just been given refugee status at the time of interview, his account also appears to be questioning whether the incident he reports is in itself discrimination based on 'race' or whether it is related to his status as a refugee living in Wales. Following on from the data shown in Extract 6.6, Kris goes on talk about his experience of working in Wales and how he was initially employed on a temporary contract (along with British workers). He talks of how he was surprised, that at the end of the contract he was kept on and the British workers were not, because he had only recently been given refugee status which is time limited (5 years Leave to Remain). As with Amna, in Extract 6.1, this construction may reflect a dilemma existing between Kris' ethnic identity and his new legal status in the UK.

#### Extract 6.7: Awet

Sam: yeah and you've not- in terms you said you'd not experienced any:: (.) racism or (.) [discrimination]?

Awet: [no:::]

I haven't- I haven't had that the like (1.0) things

5 Sam: yeah 6 Awet: °yet°

In Extract 6.8 Mustafa, a refused asylum seeker who had been in Wales for one year at the time of interview, constructed a very similar account to that of Kris, which also focuses on feelings which he has picked up from everyday encounters with British nationals.

#### Extract 6.8 - Mustafa

1 2 3 4	Sam: Mustafa:	in London? yeah (.) yeah but not in everywhere .hhh but here is yeah (0.5) it's open::: community for everyone I think so
5	Sam:	yeah
6	Mustafa:	some people told me some people here .hhh
7	madiara.	err racist with us er racist with us but er for me
8		I (1.0) I didn't see anything like this
9	Sam:	mmm you've never experienced any (.)
10		racism here?
11	Mustafa:	no no I can feel it but (.) nobody .hhh err:::
12		say something bad for me you know? (1.0) .hhh
13	Sam:	when you say you can feel it (.)
14		what- how do you?
15	Mustafa:	no it's ok if he if he ignore it so or for
16		he hidden it .hhh so it's ok for me (.) yea:::h
17		but if he show it to me I will(1.0) I will be a
18		different person heh heh I think so heh heh
19	Sam:	yeah
20	Mustafa:	yeah but with- you know (.) errm discussing
21		and something like that (0.5) I met one err::m
22		when I first came (.) was in Dover (1.0) .hh
23		and he told me (.) I don't like (0.5) people
24		to come here::: a:::nd .hhh look at errm people
25		in the street they wearing (0.5) Arabic
26		or .hhh Indian:: clothes

Prior to the beginning of this extract Mustafa had been talking about his experiences of living for a time away from Wales, in London, and in lines 2 to 4 he makes a comparison between Cardiff and London using an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) "it's open community for everyone". However, in his following turn (I.6-8) he immediately brings this into question by bringing into play the subject of racism, suggesting that it is a feature of life in Wales for asylum seekers, although he makes a disclaimer in line 8 that it is what he has heard from a third person ("others")

and not something he perceives that he has experienced himself. Following Sam's clarification question, in line 11 Mustafa makes a clear denial of experiencing racism but immediately repairs this by saying "I can feel it", mirroring Kris' talk of 'sensing' racism. A further repair is given immediately following this in lines 11 to 12. Beginning with the discourse marker *but*, a dilemma is evident for Mustafa between suggesting that he might be being discriminated against and making direct accusations of racism. Indeed, Mustafa expands on this further in lines 15 to 18 following Sam's follow-up question and he constructs an account in which everyday racism ("hidden") is okay for him but more explicit racism would not be and that it would only be in this latter case where he would be likely to make a complaint. Such a response also functions to justify "everyday" racism as acceptable.

Goodman and Rowe (2014), in a discursive analysis of online discussion forums about Gypsies, found that whilst contributors would go to rhetorical lengths to distance themselves from being labelled racist, there was an acceptance that their comments could be classified as prejudiced. It appears that Mustafa may also be constructing such a hierarchy of acceptability in Extract 6.8 which again may reinforce the idea that refugees and asylum seekers are reluctant to make complaints about their host society.

Whilst the examples of downplaying discrimination in many of the earlier extracts were made by participants who had been granted protection in the form of refugee status in the UK, Awet and Mustafa's cases are more precarious as both are refused asylum seekers. At the time of interview both were appealing negative initial decisions from the UK Home Office regarding their applications for asylum which may also explain their downplaying of discrimination and reluctance to make accusations of racism about the host society.

Emanuel, in Extract 6.9, is also a refused asylum seeker who had been living in Wales for six months at the time of interview. In this extract he is talking about his

feelings of safety in Swansea and, whilst he does not talk about racism or discrimination, he constructs a similar account to Kris and Mustafa in "feeling" that he may be treated differently because he is an asylum seeker.

# Extract 6.9: Emanuel

1 2	Emanuel:	it's difficult because (2.0) you are different from others local people
3	Sam:	mmm
4	Emanuel:	and always you are watching your back not because
5		they mean do something wrong to you (.) but you feel
6		that you are not belong to here so you'll you'll see this
7		by different expressions (.) even if someone is not
8		telling you something err when you see something
9		you feel that you are different or you are so (1.0)
10		you'll you'll select your peoples or er others or
11		anyone who is a refugee=
12	Sam:	yeah
13	Emanuel:	=er (2.0) I think if I didn't do any wrong thing
14		nobody is going to touch me (.) unless I touch them
15		(.) err so when I walk I feel safe

In lines 1 and 2 Emanuel begins by positioning himself as different from "local people" but uses a disclaimer "not because they mean do something wrong to you" (L.4-5) to begin an account of feeling that there may be unspoken hostility towards him. This feeling is further constructed in lines 5 to 9 where he uses the second person pronoun "you" which has the effect of suggesting that he is talking for all refugees and asylum seekers, whereas in lines 13 to 15 he moves to using the first person singular to talk about himself. He constructs an account which suggests that separation, rather than integration, may be his preferred acculturation strategy because of the hostility which he feels and that refugees are "your peoples", implying that local people are not. Accounts such as these therefore have implications for the ways in which integration policies are implemented and, in particular, suggest that focus should to be placed on ensuring that local residents in dispersal areas have the opportunity to better understand why refugees and asylum seekers are there. In this sense, Emanuel appears to be constructing integration as a multi-faceted process, and something which is constrained by the experiences of 'everyday discrimination' he has encountered.

#### 6.5 Discussion

In this chapter I have taken a discursive psychological approach to study how accounts of perceived racism or discrimination are constructed by forced migrants living in Wales. The analysis has identified that the asylum seekers and refugees in this study constructed accounts of 'everyday' racism which they had experienced whilst living in Wales. These will now be discussed in relation to forced migrants' integration in Wales and the claims that the increasingly super-diverse nature of Wales challenges the tolerance thesis (Williams, 2015).

Analysis of the extracts presented in this chapter has shown that participants either constructed the reported incidents of discrimination as trivial or constructed accounts where banal everyday encounters gave them the feeling that they may have experienced racism in Wales. Kirkwood et al. (2013b) have suggested that such talk may share features with other forms of talk where complaints are raised reluctantly or only through necessity (Edwards, 2005). Indeed, the examples in Extracts 6.1 and 6.3 show how this talk allows the participant to put the experience of discrimination in play whilst avoiding the negative consequences of making accusations of racism (Kirkwood et al., 2013b). It is suggested that such strategies also allow the speaker to avoid complaining about the society and appearing ungrateful for the protection which they have received, in line with the findings of Goodman et al. (2014a) and Kirkwood et al. (2013b).

In extracts 6.1 to 6.3, participants drew on a repertoire of a 'naughty child' to explain the incidents that they had experienced. Use of this repertoire played down the seriousness of the incident by presenting those involved as being a small minority who do not know the bounds of "normal" behaviour which therefore avoided making more general negative assessments of the host society. It is suggested that both strategies allow the speaker to avoid complaining about the society and appearing ungrateful for the protection which they have received, in line with the findings of Goodman et al.

(2014a) and Kirkwood et al. (2013b). It may also be that by constructing an account in which cultural ignorance justifies the reported incidents, that discrimination is re-worked into not discrimination (Greenland and Taulke-Johnson, 2017). I have also shown that participants drew on 'other' identities such as their ethnic or religious identities in order to account for the experiences they described to further distance their criticism from being directed at the host society.

Whilst Kris, Awet, Mustafa and Emanuel also downplayed discrimination to some extent, their strategy of questioning the basis of the discrimination again allows the explanation of racism to be put in play but also avoids some of the difficulties that can follow from making direct accusations of racism. Flam and Beauzamy (2011) draw on Billig's (1995) argument relating to banal forms of everyday nationalism to develop an account of how migrants are confronted by different forms of rejection in their everyday encounters with natives. Also drawing on Essed's (1991) notion of everyday racism they suggest that "rejection takes many forms, ranging from rendering one invisible to negative singling out, from averted gaze to bodily attack and outright violence" (Flam and Beauzamy, 2011, p.223). All of these participants constructed accounts that support the idea of everyday racism; a sense of feeling discrimination in everyday encounters that are not explicit as in the examples constructed by Amna, Victor, Aysha and Gloria.

Extract 6.8 from an interview with Mustafa is of particular relevance because of his status as a refused asylum seeker, which is in contrast to many of the other interviewees discussed above who had been granted refugee status in the UK. His status might lead us to hypothesise that his reluctance to make accusations of racism may be as much to do with the asylum system itself as it is to do with an unwillingness to criticise the host society. Bloch and Schuster (2005) have shown how changes to asylum policy under the New Labour government in the UK from 1999 onwards sought to create a 'hostile environment' in which policies of dispersal, destitution, detention

and the deportation of asylum seekers were introduced as a means of deterring people from entering the UK in order to claim asylum. Similarly, Sales (2002) is critical of the UK asylum system which she claims is predicated on the notion that all asylum seekers are bogus and 'undeserving' of either entry to the UK or social support. Experiencing a system where you are not believed may therefore explain reluctance to make direct accusations of discrimination which may both seem critical of the host country and potentially undermine the reasons why someone is seeking protection. Indeed Goodman et al. (2014a) suggest that asylum seekers are more critical of the asylum system itself as opposed to the host society, a finding similarly found in research with opponents of asylum seeking (Goodman and Speer, 2007; Leudar et al., 2008) whose participants also constructed their opposition to asylum seeking by criticising the asylum system rather than making direct criticism of asylum seekers themselves.

What each of the extracts analysed in the present chapter demonstrate is that whilst incidents of racism may be downplayed, such a strategy may reinforce the notion of Wales as the 'tolerant nation' (Williams, 2015) and that further research is needed to fully understand experiences of discrimination faced by ethnic minorities in Wales. Indeed, the analysis of the extracts in the current study suggests that Williams (2015) is indeed correct to challenge the tolerance thesis in light of the growing "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007) experienced in Wales and that the forms of everyday racism, such as those described in the extracts presented in this chapter, need to be considered. The current study has shown a number of ways in which discrimination is experienced by asylum seekers and refugees living in Wales and supports the findings of Threadgold et al. (2008), Race Council Cymru (2012) and Crawley and Crimes (2009) in demonstrating the many ways in which this discrimination is a feature of life for ethnic minorities living in Wales.

Whilst I have noted a general reluctance to make accusations of discrimination in the extracts analysed in this chapter and have suggested that this may be due to not

wanting to evaluate the host society negatively there may be other considerations that are worthy of discussion. Firstly, as a white British male undertaking the interviews in this study it is possible that the accounts offered by participants were constructed with an awareness of this. It may therefore be a case of downplaying racism in order to positively evaluate the society, of which the researcher is a member. Similarly, it would be remiss not to consider the context of the asylum system in relation to the lives of participants, whether they are still a part of that system or have recently been part of it. Indeed for many of the participants in this study the process of being interviewed may have been their first in the UK since their asylum interview.

This also highlights problems for future research with asylum seekers and refugees in Wales and the extent to which their experience of the asylum system may, or may not, lead them to downplay potentially discriminatory experiences they have had. If discrimination is consistently played down, as shown in the extracts presented here, it may be more difficult to identify and challenge racism in Wales, particularly the kinds of everyday racism described. Fekete (2001) and Sivanandan (2006) proposed the idea of xeno-racism to describe the ways in which policies of the state have created a system (in particular the asylum system) which focus on securing borders and deterring asylum seekers. Sivanandan (in Fekete, 2009, p.19) justifies use of the term xeno-racism stating that it is "... a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism. It is racism in substance, but 'xeno' in form. It is a racism that is meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white". This raises questions for Wales and the devolved government; if xeno-racism is a consequence of policies which are not devolved how should the Welsh Government seek change to address these challenges?

## 6.6 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has focussed on the ways that refugees and asylum seekers in Wales construct accounts of their perceived experiences of racism. The examples presented

show a reluctance to make accusations of racism or discrimination and that when incidents are reported they are frequently raised 'delicately', downplayed or explained through reference to some part of their own identity which avoids making criticisms of their host society and avoids risking their status as a person in need of protection. However, they also demonstrate that more everyday and banal forms of racism are regularly experienced by refugee and asylum seekers living in Wales, which they have to negotiate on a regular basis. If, as Ager and Strang (2004) suggest, the absence of racism is crucial for refugee and asylum seeker integration, the presence of such 'everyday' racism may prove problematic for government attempts to aid refugee integration in Wales. The findings question the 'Tolerant Nation' thesis (Williams, 2015) and have implications for the ways in which the Welsh Government responds to these challenges when asylum and immigration policy is a non-devolved matter.

In the next chapter, I move on to analyse the ways in which participants talked about both living within local communities in Wales and being a forced migrant in the UK. I argue that relationships at the local level are constructed on a continuum between 'silence' and 'inclusion'. At the national level, I demonstrate how economic repertoires were drawn on by participants, which positioned them as desiring economic self-sufficiency, rather than simply relief or protection as they are positioned in the refugee integration strategies analysed in Chapter 5.

# 7. "Just eating and sleeping": Refugee and asylum seekers constructions of being and belonging in Wales

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial"

(Turner, 1969, p.95)

#### 7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented an analysis of interview extracts in which participants talked about incidents of discrimination or racism that they had experienced whilst living in Wales. I argued that some participants drew on an interpretative repertoire (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) of "naughty children" in order to explain their experiences and to transform incidents of discrimination into 'not-discrimination'. I also identified that other participants constructed accounts of 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1991) in which they could 'sense' that they were being treated differently but could not point to any specific incidents of blatant racism.

In this chapter, I move on to look at the ways in which asylum seekers and refugees interviewed for this study talked about belonging in Wales. As discussed in Chapter 1, housing policy for asylum seekers is a non-devolved matter and is therefore co-ordinated by the UK Home Office. Whilst refugees have some degree of choice over where they live, asylum seekers are dispersed to accommodation in Wales on a no-choice basis. Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework*, which informed the interview schedule for this study, emphasises the important role which housing plays in integration arguing that it "impacts a community's sense of security and stability and opportunities for social connection" (p.15). At its most basic level,

belonging may refer to feelings of being at 'home' (Jones and Krzyzanowski, 2008). However, it has also been argued that the notion of belonging may be better suited to understanding migrants' identifications with their new countries than the concept of identity, which researchers argue has become a catch all concept that means all things to all people (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2008; Jones and Krzyzanowski, 2008, Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005). Indeed, Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008.p.39) argue that taking a discursive approach to belonging allows "us to look at how various patterns of belonging are constructed dynamically, which helps situate 'where' an individual positions herself in relation to collectives of both her 'original' community and the society to which she has migrated". Such an approach therefore allows for examination of both the banal, every day practises of belonging in addition to giving consideration to the more formal structures of power that operate in society and define who can belong.

Whilst my focus in this chapter is on belonging, I also draw on the work of Dixon and Durrheim (2000) who use the term 'place-identity' to recognise that "questions of 'who we are' are often intimately related to questions of 'where we are'" (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, p.27). Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue in favour of a discursive reframing of place-identity in the same way as discursive psychologists have sought to challenge cognitivism in other areas of social psychology (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992). A growing body of discursive research (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Stokoe and Wallwork, 2003; McKinlay and McVittie, 2007; Wallwork and Dixon, 2004) has focused upon the relationship between self and place and rejects the view that place-identity is purely a mental structure that is formed through individual's interactions with their environments. Instead, place-identity is seen as a "collective construction, produced and modified through human dialogue that allows people to make sense of their locatedness" (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000, p.40). In this view, place is no longer seen as a fixed or static background to which social action

takes place but rather as one which is both socially constituted and constitutive of the social world. Dixon and Durrheim (2000) suggest that social actions, such as excluding, justifying and blaming, are performed as constructions of place are oriented to. They demonstrate examples of this in their study of the language of desegregation on a formerly white-only beach in post-apartheid South Africa. For example, they found that "whites' experience of blacks pushing them out maintained their sense of entitlement to exclusive space despite desegregation. Similarly, blacks' experiences of whites running away from them maintained their belief that whites continued to view them in stereotypically racist ways, as less than human" (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005, p.174-5).

Following a discursive approach to belonging, I begin by looking at the ways in which belonging (or not belonging) in the local neighbourhood is constructed through every day banal activities and on a continuum between 'silence' and 'inclusion'. I then proceed to look at the national level and consider the ways in which participants' talk about belonging in Wales (and the UK) is dilemmatic in terms of where should be considered 'home' and at the same time constructed through criticisms of the UK's asylum policy. Here I draw on Billig et al.'s (1988) exploration of lived ideologies and their finding that such ideologies are contrary or dilemmatic by nature, making them rich and flexible resources for everyday sense making and social interaction. In the final section of this chapter I explore how such criticisms of asylum policy raise ontological questions about what it is to be a forced migrant in Wales, extending the analysis to the nature of 'being' as well as belonging for participants. Here I argue that such constructions support Hynes' (2011) view that the current asylum system creates "policy-imposed liminality".

7.2 "Just say hi": Neighbourhood belonging as the absence of conflict

Stokoe and Wallwork (2003) note that relationships amongst neighbours have often

been neglected by social psychologists despite being an important and routine aspect

of social life. Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008), drawing inspiration from Michael Billig's (1995) work, Banal Nationalism, further argue for the importance of considering the mundane day-to-day 'things' that feed into ways of belonging. In the context of refugee and asylum seeker integration, the local neighbourhood was identified by Ager and Strang (2004) as a key integration space. They argue that it is a place where social bridges and bonds can be formed, but that it also has the potential to be a place of exclusion if the right conditions for integration are not put in place. Lofland (1998) aimed to extend the dichotomy that has preoccupied many sociologists between the "public" and the "private" by suggesting an alternative model in which the social territories in which individuals interact with one another are considered to exist within three different realms. In this model "the private realm is the world of the household and friend and kin network; the parochial realm is the world of the neighbourhood, workplace, or acquaintance network; and the public is the world of strangers and the "street"" (Lofland, 1998, p.10). Wessendorf (2013) argues that distinguishing between these three realms is useful for understanding the ways in which interactions between people of different backgrounds may be meaningful and in this chapter much of the focus is on the "parochial realm".

In each of the interviews participants were asked about the areas in which they had lived and their relationships with their neighbours and people in the local area. This topic was, in most cases, the first discussed in the interviews, as it was felt that this topic was one that all participants would be able to discuss, regardless of their immigration status. Of the 19 participants, only one (discussed later), who had been living in the UK for 12 years, reported having regular meaningful contact with her neighbours. Extract 7.1, below, from an interview with Hayat, who had been living in the UK for 6 months at the time of interview and had recently been granted refugee status, exemplifies the way in which many of the participants talked about their relationships with neighbours.

# Extract 7.1 Hayat

1 Sam: yeah heh heh and is it- is it mostly British people living there?

2 [Or is it Arabic speakers?]

3 Hayat: [the neighbours are British] yeah

Sam: yeah (.) and have you spoken to them?

Hayat: "hello" (.) nothing more heh heh Sam: yeah ok but it's a nice area?

7 Hayat: the area is nice yeah

Prior to the extract shown here, Hayat had talked about living in a mostly Arabic speaking community whilst she was awaiting a decision on her asylum claim and how she had recently moved to a new area upon receiving refugee status. Extract 7.1 begins with Sam asking Hayat about the neighbours in her new neighbourhood (L.1-2). In his turn he attempts to give Hayat two options as to whether the people who live in her new area are British or Arabic, however, she confirms that they are British immediately (as shown in the overlap between lines 2 and 3). Interestingly, despite Sam using the terms "people who live there" in his initial question, Hayat responds using the term "neighbours" which constructs a relationship with others more so than "people who live there". Hayat's response to Sam's question about the level of contact she has with her new neighbours in line 5 is short and to the point, using the extreme case formulation "hello nothing more". Kusenbach (2006, p.289) suggests that "saying hi", or "friendly recognition" as she terms it, is a common urban neighbourhood phenomenon and is the equivalent of what Goffman (1963) describes as "civil inattention" in the public realm: a recognition that strangers are close by that does not impose on one another, that may include not looking or acknowledging one another. She goes on to conclude that such "friendly recognition" is "the normative, minimum principle of interaction among people who consider each other neighbours, and the foundation for the development of deeper neighbourly relationships" (2006, p.291).

The laughter which Hayat produces immediately following this utterance, at the end of her turn in line 5, suggests that she may have been engaging in 'troubles talk' (Jefferson, 1984). Such laughter may therefore be indicative of Hayat attempting to

resist such troubles and position herself as coping well with the situation and that having safe accommodation for her family may be more important than relationships with her neighbours. The laughter is clearly heard by Sam as 'troubles-talk' as he does not reciprocate the laughter in his turn in line 6. Rather he attends to the previous utterance to ask Hayat more generally about the area rather than specific relationships with her neighbours and moves the conversation back onto positive talk. This supports Jefferson's (1984) claim that a recurrent feature of 'troubles-talk' is that a troubles-teller may laugh but the troubles-recipient may decline to laugh by talking to the prior utterance.

Awet, in Extract 7.2 below, constructs his neighbourhood relationships in a similarly banal way to those seen in Extract 7.1. Awet, who is a refused asylum seeker, and had been living in Wales for approximately three years at the time of interview, had been discussing the different houses he had lived in whilst in Cardiff.

# Extract 7.2 Awet

1 and when you lived there:: did you (.) get to know other Sam: people who lived in that area the neighbours on that 2 3 street? 4 Awet: oh the neighbours not really 5 Sam: 6 Awet: not really yeah just (0.5) erm the friends in the house just 7 comes to see errm ((interruption)) just er:: friends (.) my housemates they come by and jus::t know each others 8 9 Sam: and then other than that the neighbours:: not that much 10 Awet: 11 maybe we'll when we see like "hi" or something Sam: 12 ok 13 Awet: yeah

In Extract 7.2 Sam begins in lines 1 to 3 by asking Awet about one of the places where he had lived and his relationships in that area. Sam's initial question is repaired from "people who live in that area" to "the neighbours" (I.2) which implies that his question is focused upon relationships in Awet's street. In line 4, Awet begins his turn with an "oh" receipt (Heritage, 1984) suggesting that this may have been an unexpected question and he uses the hedged phrase ("not really"), which he repeats again at the beginning

of line 6. He then proceeds hesitantly, in lines 6 to 9, to focus upon those who he did have relationships with in his house. He uses the discourse marker "just" on four occasions in this turn, which may be functioning to imply that what he is saying is a reflection of the facts (Weltman, 2003), supporting the view that this may have been an unexpected question and difficult topic for him and also functioning to move the talk onto a more positive topic. Later in the interview Awet talked of only being able to go to places that were for refugees and asylum seekers, restricted by his status to places where he felt he belonged. Indeed, it is not until line 11 that he confirms that he had limited interaction with his neighbours and that this consisted of the banal, every day, only saying "hi" to them.

The interesting point to note here is what "just saying hi" achieves in terms of their belonging and the importance that place plays in this. Wodak (2008) has shown that, for migrants, "us" and "them" discourses can lead to places of "inclusion" and also "exclusion". However, in these examples "just saying hi" is both banal and ordinary, making "them" everyday and normal, just like "us". This may therefore suggest a certain sense of belonging is being constructed here as they are not being met by silence or ignored by their neighbours and is similar to Goffman's concept of "civil inattention" in the public sphere. Indeed, Wessendorf (2013, p.400) suggests that such informal relations may ultimately "contribute to a sense of being part of a community and being able to communicate with people who are different". By engaging in such small talk with their neighbours, Hayat and Awet are showing that they respect the moral order and recognise that to have "good" relationships with neighbours requires them to, as a minimum, engage in small talk with their neighbours. Positioning themselves in this way also works to ensure that they cannot be questioned or criticised for this as they are portraying themselves as willing to integrate at the local level.

The themes raised in the extracts from Hayat and Awet can also be seen in Extract 7.3 below. Aminata, like Hayat, had recently been granted refugee status prior to the interview and had been in Wales for 9 months at the time of the interview.

#### Extract 7.3 Aminata

1 2	Sam:	where you live now do you kno::w many of your neighbours?
3	Aminata:	no I err (0.5) actually I don't err er go with the'rr my neighbour (.) only from outside "hi" only "that's
5	_	it°
6	Sam:	ok would you like to know your neighbours better?
7	Aminata:	outside o- ok but in my house now anybody errr l
8		don't like it with the hhh err go and come in with
9		the neighbour I'm little separate
[]		
10	Sam:	you don't want to say morning hello?
11	Aminata:	only "hello" outside heh heh heh
12	Sam:	but that's ok?
13	Aminata:	that's ok yeah heh heh
14	Sam:	uhm are the neighbours:: are they British people or
15		other asylum seekers?
16	Aminata:	yeah I have err British people I have from Syria with
17		my'rr friend my friend very very friendly (.) hhh err
18		because she have one boy ↑5 months
19	Sam:	ok
20	Aminata:	yeah a baby it's a very cute it's- she's coming only
21		°in my house°

The extract begins with Sam asking Aminata about her current housing. This section of the interview follows on from a discussion of the initial asylum accommodation and subsequent asylum housing, which had been provided to Aminata and her family. In line 3 Aminata makes an immediate denial of knowing her neighbours before hesitantly going on to elaborate on this further and in line 4 states that she says "hi only". However, in line 4, Aminata makes a specific reference to place ("outside") suggesting a distinction between public and private spaces and that only outside the home is a place for speaking to neighbours. As with Hayat and Awet, she does not break the moral order as she positions herself as engaging with her neighbours outside of her home, but she also discursively creates a space in which the home is a place for her family only. Sam's follow-up question in line 6, reflects Aminata's normative response, and is constructed as an extreme-case formulation (Pomerantz, 1984). Aminata's

response begins in line 7 with a reaffirming of her previous turn in which it is only relationships with neighbours outside the house that would be acceptable for her. She justifies this in line 9 with the hedged construction ("I'm little separate"), which functions to show that she acknowledges the norms of neighbourhood behaviour but that her own house is not a place in which she will have relationships with her neighbours.

Sam's question in line 10 shows that he has interpreted Aminata's earlier talk as dispreferring interaction with neighbours and preferring silence. In Aminata's next turn (I. 11), as was also seen in Extract 7.1, there is evidence of this being "troubles talk" (Jefferson, 1984). Both of Aminata's turns (at line 11 and 13) are completed with laughter, suggesting that responding to Sam's questions and accounting for herself may be problematic. Indeed, her use of "only" may be functioning here as a face-threat mitigator, showing that she respects the moral order in the neighbourhood and ensuring that she cannot face criticism.

In the final turns of this extract, Aminata provides a specific example of who would be welcome in her home (her Syrian friend) which works to position the home as a place for "us" and the neighbourhood as for "them". This construction is aided by the repeated use of the words "friend" and "friendly" in line 17 that works to distinguish friends, who are welcome in her house, from neighbours, who are British, and would not be, but who she still recognises the moral order requires her to have some form of engagement with.

In each of the extracts presented thus far good neighbour relations have been constructed as "saying hi" and, by consequence, as the absence of silence and conflict. In this way, neighbourhoods are positioned as banal and everyday spaces in which safety and security take precedence over closer relationships with neighbours. The absence of conflict is clearly present in Emanuel's talk about his neighbourhood in Extract 7.4, where he constructs an account of "difference" to explain why he does not have any relationship with his neighbours. Morawska (2014, p.359), in theorising

conviviality, points to a "continuum of views and practices, ranging from side-by-side coexistence without much or with no mutual engagements to intense interactions bringing joy and reciprocal enrichment to the involved parties". Kusenbach (2006, p.279) also describes four distinct patterns of neighbourhood relations in the parochial realm: friendly recognition (discussed above, as the foundation of all neighbourhood relations), parochial helpfulness, proactive intervention and embracing and resisting diversity. It is perhaps possible to theorise the ways that participants in this study constructed their neighbourhood relationships on a similar continuum from "silence" (no interaction), to "just saying hi" (foundation interaction) and up to "inclusion" with their neighbours (full interaction). Therefore, Extract 7.4 may be taken as an example of "silence" on such a continuum as here we see the construction of a binary between "our" house (which is for forced migrants) and "their" neighbourhood, which is for British people and not forced migrants.

#### Extract 7.4 Emanuel

Sam:	yeah ok .hhh errm (1.0) and where you live do you know your neighbours the other people who live on the street?
Emanuel:	no no we don't know we don't er (0.5) we don't have good relations with our neighbours
Sam:	ok
Emanuel:	err (1.0) mm (1.0) we are different you know we are the only one who is from another place and most of them are (.) er (1.0) local people so (.) we are different in terms of colour in terms of identity even so it's
	difficult for us to have relations with our neighbours
	yeah
Emanuel:	plus (.) our way of life it's- our house is not Welsh it's kind of like our way (0.5) prepared will connect with
	our neighbours
Sam:	ok
Emanuel:	so they know that simply by looking or my hou-you can see our house in (.) we are asylum seekers or refugees (.) so we don't have good relation (0.5) but it's good for our life
Sam:	yeah do you- do you ever speak to them?
Emanuel:	no heh heh
	no
Emanuel:	no (.) we don't have that kind of relation to speak people from this country is a good opportunity in (.)
	community
	Emanuel: Sam: Emanuel: Sam: Emanuel: Sam: Emanuel:

27	Sam:	mm
28	Emanuel:	when we come to community group we get chance to
29		talk with others (.) and people from in community are
30		volunteer (0.5) so they are easy they welcome us so
31		it's easy to communicate that-them instead of (.)
32		communicating in neighbourhood
33	Sam:	yeah
34	Emanuel:	so it's like
35	Sam:	ok (.) but there's not been any problems any
36		[arguments or no?]
37	Emanuel:	[yeah no problem] no no no no you do not even-
38	Sam:	just separate?
39	Emanuel:	separate yeah=
40	Sam:	yeah
41	Emanuel:	=it's a house a big house (0.5) so if- unless you are not
42		making any trouble with them (.) unless you do disturb
43		your er neighbour no-one is going to come
44	Sam:	ok (.) so no problems?
45	Emanuel:	yeah no problems

The extract begins, in lines 1 to 3, with Sam asking Emanuel whether he knows his neighbours. In Emanuel's first turn (lines 4 and 5) he immediately rejects Sam's proposition of knowing his neighbours and, after a brief pause, uses an ECF to imply that there is an absence of relations with his neighbours (silence), rather than bad relations. Here Emanuel's use of the plural pronoun "we" is of interest, and indeed, he uses this pronoun throughout this extract (although he did not use "we" when talking at other times during the interview). This suggests that his use of "we" refers to "we" as the group of asylum seekers who have been provided accommodation in this specific house in the neighbourhood under discussion, rather than a claim that he is talking on behalf of all forced migrants. The use of "we" throughout this extract positions Emanuel and his housemates as a collective household and a community that are separate from their neighbours and is used to justify such a separation. It also constructs a moral order in which it is okay for "them" (forced migrants) to be there as long as they do not cause any trouble.

The account begins to be constructed in lines 7 to 10 with a three-part list (Jefferson, 1990) that details three ways in which "they" are different from their neighbours in terms of where they are from, their colour and identity. Here the three-

part list works to construct an account of feeling different in this place and of not belonging here. In this turn, there are a number of pauses and hesitations, implying that it is difficult for Emanuel to account for his earlier talk. Although Emanuel (I. 8) begins by using an ECF to suggest that they are the only household that are not "local people" this is quickly repaired (lines 8 and 9) by suggesting, "most of them are local people". Emanuel constructs further difference in lines 13 and 14 and here uses the first person plural possessive pronoun "our" to justify having no relationship with his neighbours due to cultural differences. However, in lines 17 to 20 he repairs "my" house to "our" house and talks of how the physical space ("our house") signifies difference and further justifies "them" not belonging with local people. Since asylum seekers are dispersed to towns and cities across the UK on a "no-choice basis", it is perhaps slightly concerning that the house is constructed as a spatial signifier of difference within the neighbourhood. Indeed, this was highlighted in controversies in 2016 when asylum seekers' doors in Middlesbrough were all found to have been painted red and had led to asylum seekers becoming the victim of hate crimes as a result (Bates, 2017). Separation is further justified in lines 19 and 20 in Emanuel's claim that "we don't have good relation but it's good for our life". Here, Emanuel is avoiding making criticism and constructing an account in which separation is okay and that the absence of problems is more important in the neighbourhood than good relationships.

Up until line 22 Emanuel constructed an account of not having relationships in his neighbourhood and in lines 35 to 45 it becomes clear that rather than having hostile neighbours, it is a lack of interaction with them, which justifies his position of not belonging. Unlike the previous extracts in which participants would "just say hi", Emanuel's talk constructs an account of 'silence' (I.37) that is justified by difference in physical appearance and the house itself. What is interesting is the way in which he does construct a place of belonging in this extract and the way that he explicitly

differentiates this belonging from his lack of belonging with his neighbours. He begins this differentiation in lines 25 and 26 as he talks about the "community" being a good place to meet British people. Emanuel's use of the word "community" has a specific meaning here: the refugee community organization which he attends twice per week. Indeed, the interview with Emanuel was conducted at this organization in Swansea which is predominantly led by a small group of mostly British volunteers. In addition to neighbourhoods, Wessendorf (2013) describes community centres and associations as parochial spaces, characterized by communal relations. Here, once again he uses the first person plural "we" which in this turn can be interpreted as "we" the forced migrants who attend this community group. In lines 28 to 32 Emanuel justifies his sense of belonging in this place describing it as "easy" because the British people who run the service have chosen to volunteer here and have thus chosen to be welcoming to forced migrants, whereas neighbours might not provide such an "easy" welcome (because asylum seekers may be dispersed to their neighbourhood under arrangements agreed between the UK Home Office and local authorities). Here then we see Emanuel's place-identity constructed positively and in sharp contrast to his negative construction of belonging in the area where he lives. In terms of the continuum outlined previously, relations and sense of belonging in such a parochial space, could be classified as "inclusion".

In Extract 7.2, Awet, described his relationship with Welsh neighbours as "just saying hi", however, in Extract 7.5, below, we see him construct an account similar to that seen in the extract from Emanuel, in which belonging is restricted to community groups that are for refugees and asylum seekers.

#### Extract 7.5 Awet

1	Awet:	errm (2.0) to- to be honest er::: I haven't had
2		much like err you know exposure to Welsh
3		culture (1.0) such as like interacting with erm
4		the peoples (.) mostly I spend my day (0.5) the
5		people like me (0.5) meaning like er (.) people
6		like (0.5) asylum seekers or because I'm not

7		going to work (.) or most of the time I'm not
8		going to school .hh so I go to the charity places
9		where they have errm (2.0) spending your days
10		like maybe in Oasis or maybe by the Trinity
11		Centre (0.5) in that place there is no like er
12		Welsh thing
13	Sam:	mmm
14	Awet:	it's only like spending your days and then
15		when it gets (0.5) nights like when it gets
16		darker (.) everybody goes to their homes sleep
17		(.) and then everyday is like that

In line 1, Awet uses an honesty phrase to begin his description of his interactions with British people that reaffirms the position he took previously of having minimal meaningful interactions with the host population. His use of the term "exposure" in line two works to carefully manage his stake and interest (Edwards and Potter, 1992) and situates responsibility for this outside himself, suggesting that responsibility is shared amongst asylum seekers. In this extract there are many pauses, suggesting difficulty, and Awet positions himself as an asylum seeker to implicity counter the idea of being personally lazy but does not immediately say how he spends his days. Indeed, in line 5 he constructs an account of spending most of his time with "people like me", that he further explains (I.6) as meaning other asylum seekers. In this case, he justifies spending time with other asylum seekers by drawing on the category of 'asylum seeker' and the associated exclusions that follow from that due to UK asylum policy, such as being unable to work and limited educational opportunities (I.7-8). Awet's construction can be read as a suggestion that belonging is contingent upon being able to participate in the formal structures of society that British citizens have the right to. In this way, Awet is able to justify a sense of belonging at community organisations for asylum seekers (I.9-11) because the other people who attend those groups also fit in to the category of 'asylum seeker'. However, at the same time, it is a construction of liminality and emptiness ("spending your days") that is further developed through the use of two extreme case formulations in his final turn (I.16-17) that justify the only activity available to him, sleep.

In section 7.4, I consider further the ideas of liminality and restriction raised by Awet, however, before that I provide an analysis of one interview extract in which relationships with neighbours were positioned as "inclusion" on the continuum theorised above. Indeed, Extract 7.6 from an interview with Amna, represents the only such example of "inclusion" with neighbours found in this study.

# Extract 7.6 Amna

1	Amna:	no it's- well my flat it is they are very friendly with
2		me and I am and before er just my in front of me a
3		flat is (1.0) before they live now for a few years but
4		before them a lady old lady she lived there err she
5		passed away and but- I was very (1.4) uhm close to
6		her. She was very lonely and I usually cook (0.5)
7		something every day and I took it for her and err she
8		was pleased she was very old lady and she was very
9		friend to me and I was and err so she gave me her
10		sister's number just in case if >something< and I
11		always pleased that I had it because hh (.) one day I
12		saw she was in everyday I check on her to make sure
13		she is ok and one day I saw she is not ok something
14		wrong with hh so I (.) straight away I rang her hhh
15		err sister and they came her sister and her nephew
16		they came and they took her to hospital and they
17		find that it was stroke (.) so they were very pleased
18		I'm there and I went to her funeral after that I
19		always go to the bed at hospital to er (.) just visit her
20		and then .hhh (.) one day she passed away and I went
21		to her funeral and hh I went to her (.) eldest sister to
22		say how sorry I am and for her loss and I told her and
23		hhh she said ↑who are you? and I said "I'm neighbour"
24		of your sister and she said "↑oh I know <u>you</u> because
25	_	I've heard a lot about you you're a good cook"
26	Sam:	heh heh heh
27	Amna:	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
28		some cook- and some food and it's very nice" yes yes
29	0	that's why how
30	Sam:	mmm nice
31	Amna:	yes very close

Here, Amna begins by describing her neighbours as "very friendly with me" (I.1-2) and interestingly then says "and I am", implying it to be a reciprocal "two-way" friendship amongst neighbours. Indeed, she then proceeds to offer an account of her relationships with her neighbours that goes beyond the "just saying hi" seen in previous extracts. In this extract Amna's own agency is demonstrated throughout as it is her who is cooking (I.6), checking (I.12), ringing (I.14) and visiting (I.19) which constructs an

account of an everyday friendship with her neighbour. Throughout this extract, Amna is able to position herself as a caring friend and neighbour and is achieved through the repair from "lady" to "old lady" in line 4 that positions her neighbour as someone in need of support. This positive construction, of herself and her relationship with her neighbour, is further reinforced in lines 22 to 24 with the use of reported speech from her neighbour's sister. Such reported speech functions to show this as a reciprocal friendship and supports Amna's claim in line 5 that she was "very close to her", a claim which she repeats in her final turn of this extract (I.31). Indeed, Amna constructs a positive place-identity here using such a reciprocal friendship as the basis for her belonging in her neighbourhood, that is clearly in contrast to the constructions of "just saying hi" or "silence" that were seen in Extracts 7.1 to 7.5. In this extract Amna is also able to construct several of the normative principles of neighbouring identified by Kusenbach (2006), in particular parochial helpfulness ("I usually cook something every day and I took it for her" (I.6-7)) and proactive intervention ("I check on her every day to make sure she is ok" (I.12-13).

In this section, I have shown how participants' place-identity has played a role in the ways in which notions of belonging are discursively constructed at the neighbourhood level. I have suggested that participants' have constructed accounts of belonging in their neighbourhoods on a continuum from "silence" to "inclusion". For those who had few, or limited, encounters with their neighbours the absence of conflict and feeling safe in their accommodation were used to justify such positions. In the next section of this chapter, I consider further the difficulties of belonging at the national level for participants in this study and whether it is possible for participants to belong somewhere that is not 'home'.

# 7.3 "Home country is home country": Belonging in Wales when it is not 'home'

The first two extracts in this section demonstrate the ways in which the participants draw on a repertoire of 'home' to construct accounts of belonging in the UK as a potentially temporary status.

## Extract 7.7 Bhaija

would you (.) if you get- if you're granted Sam: refugee status would you one day then want 2 3 to apply for British citizenship? Bhaija: It depends (.) like if the condition in my country was 4 5 better then I will leave my family I will leave the Britain and go back to [country] because I really miss 6 7 the environment there I really miss my friends so it 8 depends if the condition in [country] is suitable for me then I will live there 10 mmm hmmm Sam: Bhaija: because own country is own country and another 11 12 country is another

Extract 7.7 begins with Sam asking Bhaija to consider the future and whether, if she were awarded refugee status, she would then want to apply for British citizenship. In Chapter 1, I outlined changes to policy that impact upon the ability of those granted refugee status to make long-term plans about their future in the UK. This has included the granting of temporary (5-year) refugee status for those recognised as refugees, rather than the indefinite leave to remain awarded prior to the Immigration, Nationality and Asylum Act 2006, and has thus extended the time that it takes for someone granted refugee status to apply for British citizenship. As such, I was interested in whether such a policy change was related to the ways in which asylum seekers and refugees construct notions of belonging. Bhaija's account, in lines 4 to 9, shows evidence of dilemmatic thinking (Billig et al., 1988), as shown in her use of the phrase "it depends" (lines 4 and 8) and the term "like" (I.4) functions to create a hypothetical construction. Throughout this extract she uses the first person pronoun "I", and the

modal verb "will" (I. 5 and 8), to construct an account in which she has agency and that it is she who will decide to leave the UK, if the situation in her home country improves. This is strengthened through the use of extreme-case formulations ("really miss") in lines 6 and 7, and allows her to construct belonging in Wales as something that could only ever be temporary and not a complete sense of belonging. Indeed, she justifies this view in line 11 by saying that "own county is own country", an idiomatic taken-forgranted 'being', and indicating that belonging in Wales is contingent upon whether or not she may be able to return to her home country in the future.

#### Extract 7.8 Kris

1 Sam: do you want to apply for British Citizenship one day? 2 °British citizenship° errrm Kris: Sam: is that something you've thought about or is it all too 3 4 new? 5 Kris: err well I haven't given it quite a big thought (.) but errr I think time will tell about that hhh (.) time will 6 7 tell about that yeah but err (0.5) I think err Britain is 8 Britain is a good place to stay and yeah .hhh (.) only 9 that still home seems to be the best heh heh heh 10 veah 11 Sam: sorry I know it would be a long way off but err 12 yeah but if all goes well I would wish to stay in Britain Kris:

Extract 7.8 also begins with Sam asking Kris whether he would one day want to apply for British citizenship. In contrast to Bhaija, Kris had recently been granted refugee status (5-years) at the time of the interview. However, he constructs a very similar account to Bhaija, despite having a more secure status in the UK. In line 2, Kris repeats Sam's question quietly suggesting that he is initially hesitant to answer this question or that it is not something he has previously thought about. This is recognised by Sam (I.3-4), prompting him to ask a different question, reflecting this hesitancy and his recent granting of refugee status. Kris's account in lines 5 to 10 once again begins hesitantly with the phrase "time will tell" repeated, suggesting uncertainty in his long-term feelings of belonging in Wales. In lines 7 to 9, this is further shown in a dilemma that Kris may be facing between feeling safe in Wales and the idea that Wales is not his home country. Again, as with Bhaija, this may be an

attempt to avoid making criticism of the host country, particularly as the interviewer is British. Kris also uses a similar phrase to Bhaija, "home still seems to be the best" (I.9), suggesting that long-term belonging may be contingent upon whether or not he can return "home" in the future or if Wales is to become "home". In line 9, there is also evidence that this may be "troubles talk" (Jefferson, 1984) for Kris, indicated by his laughter at the end of the turn. Sam recognises this as "troubles talk" as he does not respond by joining in the laughter, rather he instead makes an apology in line 10 for asking the question. Kris' use of the conditional "if all goes well" in line 12, further constructs an account of not yet feeling a sense of belonging in Wales.

#### Extract 7.9 Amna

1 2 3 4	Sam:	does having citizenship make you feel more a part of British society or does it not make any difference hhh (.) do you feel a part of society anyway because of all the things you do?
5 6	Amna:	
7		someway °I don't feel it° because one day I was in
8		airport and I gave it to err the just hhh passport
9		officer and errr hhh (0.5) to just pass the passport
10		control and er he said (0.5) "do you think you are
11		British?" with an ↑ANGRY face
12	Sam:	in an airport in Britain?
13	Amna:	yes (1.0) I said "well I think I have British passport"
14		and he said "but you are not British (.) don't feel
15		that" (0.5) that word still is in my head that what he
16		said he said it ANGRY (.) er "you are not British don't
17		think you are British" er
18	Sam:	gosh
19	Amna:	anyway I have British passport have I done
20		something wrong because I haven't done anything
21		wrong (.)and he said "no no I'm not saying you have
22		done something wrong"and I said "ok that's why you
23		are angry with me" (.) and (.) he didn't say anything
24		°he just give me the passport and I go° (.) I feel a bit
25		bad you know (.) that's er hh (.) how I feel about
26		British but I have (.) I have but (1.0) in somehow I
27		don't feel which I have

Whilst both Kris and Bhaija had been in Wales for less than a year, Amna (Extract 7.9) had been living in Wales for 12 years at the time of her interview. Indeed, she had also applied for, and been granted, British Citizenship in this time and Extract 7.9 begins with Sam asking her if this status makes her feel more a part of British society.

Throughout this extract, Amna constructs an account in which having British citizenship does not positively contribute towards a sense of belonging. She begins her turn in lines 5 to 7 hesitantly suggesting that the question asked by Sam maybe problematic for her. There is also evidence here of dilemmatic thinking between 'having citizenship' and 'feeling citizenship'. To justify this dilemma, Amna recounts an experience she had had at an airport in Britain (I.7-24) that led her to question her status as a British citizen. What is apparent in this account is that Amna lacks agency and that it was the passport official who held power in this situation to police British nationality. Amna makes several references to having a "British passport" (I. 13 and 19), and indeed the British passport is constructed here as something which should provide a sense of belonging, and it is the questioning of this by the official which provides the dilemma for Amna. This dilemma is most clearly articulated in lines 26 and 27 where Amna describes British citizenship as something that she has but that she does not feel she has.

The three extracts presented in this section demonstrate the ways in which dilemmatic thinking (Billig et al., 1988) may be a feature of forced migrants' discourses of belonging, particularly in relation to notions of citizenship. The extracts from Bhaija and Kris show that they constructed accounts that can be read in the following way: I belong at home, but this is not home. Fullilove (1996, p.1519) argues that displacement may lead to a powerful sense of place nostalgia and that "because "home" represents the accumulation of many relationships and much history, the disturbance caused by loss of home cannot be understood without taking the lost object into consideration". Durrheim and Dixon (2005, p.185) suggest that such nostalgia may be "expressed via a 'bitter-sweet' yearning for a cherished environment that has been relinquished, lost or destroyed". Although both Bhaija and Kris construct accounts which support this view, and it could also be because both participants had only been living in Wales for a short amount of time, it was interesting that dilemmatic thinking was also a feature of Amna's

talk about citizenship and belonging. She too constructed an account of not belonging in this context, despite now having a British passport. This suggests that belonging may be discursively constructed in a number of different contexts and at different levels, as Amna (Extract 7.6) constructed a strong existential sense of belonging in the neighbourhood, but not at the national level, but also that there may be deeper ontological issues at stake than 'discursive' construction alone suggests.

In the final section, I move on to further consider the ways in which participants talked about the effect the UK asylum system has had on their constructions of both 'being' and belonging in Wales. I develop further a number of the themes raised in extract 7.5 from Awet, about the restrictions that UK asylum policy places on feelings of belonging and how a sense of 'being' and belonging may be constructed as having the rights to "fully engage" in the formal structures of the host country and, in particular, the workforce.

7.4 "Just eating and sleeping": Criticisms of the UK asylum system and its impact on integration and feelings of 'being' and belonging in the local area

In Chapter 1, I outlined the ways in which the UK's asylum policy had developed over the past 20 years and suggested that the current system had created a "hostile environment" (Bloch and Schuster, 2005) designed to both discourage forced migrants from claiming asylum in the UK and encourage refused asylum seekers to leave the UK. In chapters 2 and 5, I also discussed how refugees, and not asylum seekers, have been the focus of the Westminster government's refugee integration strategies. This is based on the assumption, stated in such strategies, that integration cannot begin in its fullest sense until refugee status is granted and a long-term future in the UK can be planned for. Such an approach tends to assume that the time spent waiting for an

asylum decision does not impact upon a forced migrants' sense of belonging or their later integration prospects. Hynes (2011, p.94) talks of this being a "policy-imposed liminality", in which asylum seekers are left in limbo as a marginalised outsider who "has recently left 'there', but who is not yet allowed to be fully 'here'" (Lewis, 2007, p.103). However, few research studies have focused on accounts of experiences of liminality. In this section, I look at the ways in which four participants who were still waiting for a decision on their asylum claim constructed accounts of belonging in the UK and Wales. Here, I continue to follow Jones and Krzyzanowski's (2008, p.39) approach of identifying how participants position themselves in relation to collectives of both their 'original' community and the host society. I argue that participants criticise the UK asylum system, raise ontological questions about what it means to be a forced migrant in Wales and position themselves as not belonging because of the UK's asylum policies. However, at the same time I show that participants manage their stake and interest when making these criticisms so that they do not come across as bitter or appear ungrateful for the protection they have received in the UK.

Previously, whilst discussing Extract 7.5 from Awet, I suggested that he had used the category of 'asylum seeker' to construct an account of restriction that created a sense of not belonging with British people. In particular, his account could be seen as an implied criticism of asylum policy, which does not give asylum seekers the right to work and places restriction on education and in consequence this absence of meaningful activity implied a sense of liminality and everyday being void.

#### Extract 7.10 Munir

Munir: just waiting it's it's (.) very difficult to just 1 waiting and you can't do anything (0.5) the 2 3 problem (.) er is (.) when you waiting until they 4 decide your claim you we- can't do anything 5 just volunteer (.) and err I'm happy to open 6 this err (.) this way of volunteer you know it's 7 give you feeling that you're working and you 8 doing the thing err people here many people I 9 know them here they are feeling we are nothing we are not exist 10 Sam: mm hmm 11

Munir: it's very important just eating and sleeping (.)
that's all (.) and sometimes going to (.) to learn
some (.) courses

Sam: yeah
Munir: yeah to open this err (.) way it's very good and
we have the right I think to go to::::: college (.)
to college (.) to learn some English

In Extract 7.10, above, Munir is discussing his experience of being an asylum seeker in Wales with Sam. In lines 1 to 4, Munir uses a series of extreme case formulations to begin to construct an account in which the UK asylum system restricts him from doing "anything". However, he does not make reference to the asylum system itself and, rather, uses the liminal phrase "just waiting". Weltman (2003, p.369) suggests that use of the word "just" may allow two different orders of concern to be active simultaneously "the personal/interpersonal and the ideological-historical". Here, Munir is using "just" to construct his own sense of self whilst also drawing on broader ideological notions of the UK's asylum system as being restrictive. "Just" is used again at the start of line 5, but this time as a repair to his previous criticism. Here he is beginning to construct a specific account of the importance of work (which he is not allowed to do), rather than to de-value the role that voluntary work plays. Indeed, in lines 5 and 6, Munir positions himself as "happy" for having the opportunity to be able to volunteer, allowing him to do criticism without coming across as bitter or invested. Using such emotion discourse (Edwards, 1999) to do positive assessments may function to counter arguments that he is either ungrateful or critical. He describes this as "feeling that you're working", implying that it is not actually working. In lines 9 and 10 he switches to using the first person plural "we", for "we" as asylum seekers, and uses two ECFs to construct a sense of self as being "nothing" or "not exist(ing)" due to being economically inactive. This works to construct an account in which a sense of belonging (and "existing") are contingent upon being able to work and thus being economically productive, something which asylum seekers are currently restricted from doing. This sensing, or "feeling" in many ways mirrors the construction of everyday racism described in Chapter 6 by Kris

and Mustafa and highlights the importance of looking closely at the ways in which topics are constructed discursively.

Munir uses two further ECFs in lines 12 and 13, "just eating and sleeping" and "that's all" to construct a liminal account and suggest that he does not feel a sense of belonging because of the restrictions that the asylum system places on him and an implied absence of other meaningful activities. However, his use of a repair in line 13, to show what he is able to do, functions as a complaint mitigator so that his previous utterances appear less critical.

In this extract, Munir draws on an interpretative repertoire (Potter and Wetherell, 1987), of the economic value of work, as a common-sense way of interpreting the situation he is in. The economic repertoire drawn on by Munir is also used in Extract 7.11 from an interview with Aziz. Like Munir, Aziz, at the time of interview, was an asylum seeker awaiting a decision on the outcome of his asylum claim and had been living in Wales for only one month.

# Extract 7.11 Aziz

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Sam: Aziz: Sam: Aziz: Sam: Aziz:	you c- you're not allowed to work exactly I don't how does that hhh affect your life? it's yeah of course I have a family in [country] mm hmm they need some support but of course (.) the other hand also the other hand the country where I apply asylum they are not well have the confidence because I didn't finalise the paper
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	Sam: Aziz: Sam: Aziz:	mm hmm also they have right to say no (.) but still I believe even so still I have errm I have errm (0.5) I am able to provide any kind of voluntary work until my paper- because still I am eating from the country I'm a sleep so= mm hmm =what's the point?
19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26	Sam: Aziz:	yeah so it should- it sh- the efficiency and the effectiveness of resource you paying someone five pound a day but just a sleep (.) if he have abilities to do something it's best to let us do both of them instead of just hiding somewhere because you know it's leaving sometimes it creates "kind of criminal issues"

27 Sam: yeah 28 Aziz: yeah 29 Sam: so you think asylum seekers should be 30 allowed= 31 yea[h::] Aziz: 32 Sam: [to] work? 33 Aziz: ↑yeah it should be allowed to- even not got salary but at least I have to do something 34 mmm hmmm 35 Sam: because I believe:: (0.5) from the n- non-36 Aziz: governmental aspect whenever "we're" - we 37 38 should do something as free-voluntary (.) err 39 (.) even if there is no salary it should go contri-40 vou know like contribute to community

In addition to use of an economic repertoire, Aziz (I.15-16) also draws on the discourse used by Munir to describe life in the UK as "just eating and sleeping", reflecting the government imposed economic inactivity that he faces due to current asylum policy and revealing a lack of meaning without economic productivity. In line 4, Aziz begins by constructing an account that is based on responsibilities, here as a father, but later on, as a member of the local community. In lines, 6 to 10, Aziz appears to be negotiating an ideological dilemma (Billig et al., 1988) between his status as an asylum seeker, which affords him minimal rights, and the responsibilities he has towards his family and the wider community. This dilemma plays out further in lines 14-16 as Aziz acknowledges that he has the right as an asylum seeker to undertake voluntary work but also positions himself as having a moral responsibility to do this, because of the support that he receives from the government. Here, Aziz constructs an account that shows that he lacks individual agency to undertake the activities that he feels he has the moral responsibility to do. However, in lines 20 to 26 he develops this further as he moves on to construct an account, which can be read as a more general criticism of asylum policy, and one in which all asylum seekers lack agency. This begins in line 21 with the use of "someone", which contrasts to the first person account given until this point, and which continues with a third person pronoun ("he") and the first person plural pronoun ("us"). The use of terms such as "efficiency", "effectiveness" and "resource" further allude to use of an economic repertoire as Aziz

justifies his criticism of the policy to not allow asylum seekers to work. However, he also draws on an "ability" repertoire to further show the restrictions faced by asylum seekers, who he argues have skills that could be used by the Government who are providing them with subsistence and accommodation support. In lines 24 to 26 he justifies this view on two grounds. Firstly, in terms of giving back to the community, he suggests that current policy leads asylum seekers to "just hiding somewhere" indicating a separation from the host population as a result of being unable to work and contribute to economic and civil society. Secondly, he uses the economic repertoire, to further suggest that current policy may lead asylum seekers to engage in "kind of criminal issues" (I.26), which is said quietly and underemphasized thus implying it to be a reasonable response to an unreasonable policy. At the end of the extract he returns to justify his position as being based on responsibilities to the local community by using the imperative "I have to do something" (I.34) and the modal verb "should" (I.39) to strengthen this position which also works to construct an account of liminality.

Through drawing on the economic repertoire in this way, Aziz is able to justify his view that asylum seekers should be able to work, and, more importantly, that such economic activity fosters a greater sense of belonging within the community. Here then, there is a dilemma being played out between rights and responsibilities and Aziz constructs voluntary work as both a right and a responsibility for him.

Extract 7.12, from an interview with Bhaija, a refused asylum seeker who had been living in Wales for one year at the time of interview, begins with Sam asking Bhaija about how being an asylum seeker makes her feel.

# Extract 7.12 Bhaija

1 Sam: how does that make you feel?
2 Bhaija: It's just a helpless situation because you are
3 depending you are seeking peace from them
4 and you are asking for giving you a secure
5 place and in return of that they are asking you
6 to follow their rules not follow their rules they
7 are just implementing their rules on you you

8 9 10		have to eat at that time you have to go to bed at that time you have to get back to the dining area on that time so it's like the difficult thing
11	Sam:	mmm hmmm
12	Bhaija:	people have different routines but to seek
13		peace to get to a secure life you need to (.)
14		follow whatever they are saying to you (.) and
15		like with me I got a good house but some
16		people have a really bad houses they can't
17		move from there
18	Sam:	mmmm yeah
19	Bhaija:	they have no option and even if someday they
20		can take a house from the person hhh they
21		have to sleep on the streets °just not a°- not an
22		independent life it's just a life where you are
23		alive but you have no rights for them in your
24		own life

In this extract, we see an ideological dilemma (Billig et al. 1988) created between safety and restriction. In line 2, Bhaija begins her turn using the discourse marker "just", with the ECF "a helpless situation", which starts to construct her account of facing restriction. Indeed, it is the situation which she describes, rather than her feelings, which was the initial question asked by Sam. She then draws upon a safety repertoire in lines 3 to 5, using a number of terms such as "seeking peace" (I.3) and "secure place" (I.4-5) that are associated with the category 'safety' and function as an implied rhetorical contrast to 'home'. Throughout her first turn, Bhaija uses the second person pronoun "you" to position herself as talking about all asylum seekers which contrasts with "they" and "their" which she uses to talk about the UK Home Office. In lines 6 and 7, she uses the term "their rules" on three occasions, drawing on the restriction repertoire. This also points to a lack of agency which she feels she has in her current situation and is highlighted through use of the phrase "implementing their rules on you" (I.7).

Restriction is further shown through the use of a 3-part list in lines 8 to 10 as

Bhaija gives examples of the requirements placed on asylum seekers through current
asylum policy. Here she also uses the modal verb 'have to' in order to express the
obligation that asylum seekers may feel they have to comply with in order to receive

the support they require. However, in lines 12 and 13 she switches to drawing upon the safety repertoire with use of the phrases "seek peace" and "secure life" which further consolidates the dilemma she faces as an asylum seeker between needing to be in a safe environment and the restrictions which asylum policy also places on this. Indeed, this dilemma is stated most clearly by Bhaija in lines 21 to 24 when she says "not an independent life it's just a life where you are alive". The phrase "just a life where you are alive", as seen in earlier extracts suggests a sense of nothingness and liminality, that Bhaija does not have a sense of belonging in Wales and that the restrictions of current asylum policy may be responsible. However, it is also interesting to note how she draws on the ideas of rights and responsibilities in the same way as Munir and Aziz did in the previous extracts, again suggesting that belonging for Bhaija is contingent upon having rights that allow her to live her day-to-day life in a way that is safe and free of restrictions.

# Extract 7.13 Ghirmay

1 2	Sam:	no (7.0) erm what changes could be made (.) to make your life in Wales
3		better?
4	Ghirmay:	get my visa (.) unless I don't get my
5		visa nothing gonna get improved
6	Sam:	yeah
7	Ghirmay:	(1.0) nothing gonna get changed (1.0)
8		you have got your visa you are- erm to
9		be honest I am like a moving dead (.) I
10		can't do nothing I can't do study I can't
11		work (.) I can't do anything .hhh (.)
12		nothing and it's quite suffering and just
13		it's getting my nerves and it's nerve
14		wracking hhh (.) and it's (.) very bad

A similar construction is evident in Extract 7.13, above, from an interview with Ghirmay, a refused asylum seeker who had been living in Wales for three years at the time of interview. In line 9 he uses the phrase "I am like a moving dead" which can be read similarly to Bhaija's use of "just a life where you are alive" to emphasise that an ontological condition of not belonging and liminality comes from restrictions of the asylum system and an associated lack of rights. His account consists of a series of

extreme case formulations in lines 5, 7, 10 and 11 that are combined with lists of rights that he feels he does not have, such as the right to work or the right to study. In each case he uses the modal verb "can't" to strengthen his construction of restriction, which he compares (lines 4 to 8) with those who do have a visa or right to remain in the UK. In this sense, he constructs an account where to have no visa is to be a non-person, supporting Hynes' (2011) view that this is policy-imposed liminality.

The examples presented in this section have demonstrated how, for these participants, belonging and what it is to 'be a person', is intertwined with national identity and immigration status and thus contingent upon having the rights to engage in civil society and the economic life of the country. I have demonstrated how a number of ideological dilemmas are at stake for participants in the way they justify these claims. This may be a dilemma between restriction and a sense of having a responsibility to integrate, or, between feeling safe and feeling restricted. However, the constructions discussed here also represent a dilemma between 'being' and 'not being' a person and being in a position of liminality. This then marks a sharp contrast with the ways in which belonging at the neighbourhood level were constructed as the absence of conflict and suggests that the absence of rights is critical to this sense of 'not belonging' or 'not being'. Brown and Stenner (2009, p.199) distinguish between two impossible extremes or "dimensions of vitality: unrepeatable chaos and redundant order". For Brown and Stenner (2009, p.200) such a redundant order is defined as "the total static space of complete redundancy where nothing but the monotonous repetition of the same brute reality is possible. No life is possible in this frozen, stratified, non-moving space of redundancy". In many ways the participants constructions of belonging, shown in the extracts in this section, support this theory of being in, or near, the 'redundant order'.

#### 7.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I have taken belonging as the central focus and analysed the ways in which this was discursively constructed by participants in differing contexts. As Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008, p.41-2) have argued, the concept of belonging, in preference to identity, in the analysis of forced migrants' discourses, allows for "an understanding of how transient, sometimes unclear relationships can contribute to an individual's position vis-à-vis a collective identity". For refugees and asylum seekers in Wales there are a number of levels and places at which belonging (or not belonging) might be constructed which have been considered here.

At perhaps the most basic level, belonging in the immediate or local area, the examples presented in this chapter demonstrate the importance of analysing the ways in which place is characterised by forced migrants and the implications which this has for the kind of person who does, or does not, belong in that place. In Extracts 7.4 and 7.5 I demonstrated how, for Emanuel and Awet, the local area was constructed as a place of liminality, in direct contrast to refugee community organisations, which were constructed as places of inclusion and belonging. Durrheim and Dixon (2005. p.185) suggest that displaced people may "struggle to construct a sense of 'home' elsewhere, living with a perpetual sense of being 'out-of-place' or excluded". This may be particularly the case for asylum seekers, such as Emanuel or Awet, who are dispersed to areas of the UK on a 'no-choice' basis, away from areas where potential support networks (including friends and family from their country of origin) exist. Indeed, in Chapters 1 and 2, I discussed the rationale for the current dispersal scheme and situated it within the current hostile policy environment (Bloch and Schuster, 2005) for asylum seekers. There, I suggested, that disrupting the ability of asylum seekers to develop a sense of 'home' in a place of their choice was a planned outcome of public policy and analysis of Emanuel and Awet's talk suggests that this is being played out in practice as "policy-imposed liminality" (Hynes, 2011). I also questioned the extent to

which the promotion of integration was possible within such a policy approach and noted that the Welsh Government conceptualise integration as beginning from "day one" of arrival in the country, as opposed to the Westminster Government who see it as beginning only from when refugee status is granted. Indeed, in *Integration Matters* the Westminster Government justifies this position, whilst also acknowledging that integration experiences may also occur for asylum seekers: "it is quite true to say that 'integration begins on day one'. Asylum seekers will learn much simply from being in Britain and from their contacts with officials, voluntary workers and neighbours" (Home Office, 2005, p.14).

The examples presented in this chapter show that participants constructed their relationships with neighbours on a continuum from 'silence' through to 'inclusion'. For participants, such as Emanuel in Extract 7.4, who uses a three-part list to position himself as different from his neighbours, such 'silence' may be indicative of not belonging there. However, whilst those who constructed accounts as 'just saying hi' could also be seen as evidence of not belonging, they may in fact be indicative of normative urban neighbouring (Kusenbach, 2006). Here, participants constructed accounts in which security appeared to take precedence over feelings of belonging. These constructions work to present the participants as uncritical of their neighbours and their local area and to position themselves as 'good neighbours' who respect normative behaviours in the neighbourhood (Stokoe and Wallwork, 2003). However, it does not appear that participants are constructing such relationships as integration experiences in the same way as the Westminster Government do in their integration strategy, which assumes that just by being in neighbourhoods, refugees will learn from their neighbours.

When looking at the national level, the extracts presented here suggest that the participants were constructing belonging as being more than about a geographical location, and that, rather, it is rights and citizenship which underpin feelings of

belonging in the UK. This supports Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration* framework, which also saw rights and citizenship as the foundation of integration experiences. In Extracts 7.10 and 7.11 both Munir and Aziz drew on an economic repertoire to construct accounts in which belonging was contingent on them having the right to contribute to the economic life of the country (i.e. through work). However, there was also a dilemma at stake for them as they also constructed accounts which emphasised their personal responsibility to be economically active, both to support their families and to acknowledge the welfare support given to them as asylum seekers.

A number of discursive studies (Goodman et al., 2014a; Kirkwood et al., 2015) suggest that asylum seekers avoid making direct criticisms of the host country so as not to appear ungrateful for the support they have been given in the host country. Indeed, there is evidence of Munir and Aziz's talk functioning in a similar way here, as they present themselves as grateful for the support they have received and focus on their responsibilities and ability to contribute to the economy rather than rely purely on state help. Here though there are a number of direct criticisms made of the asylum support system in an account, which is constructed without appearing ungrateful to the host country. In Extracts 7.10 and 7.11, Munir and Aziz, additionally draw on a repertoire of restriction to position themselves as unable to meet their responsibilities to contribute economically to the host country. This draws attention to the multi-faceted practices involved in integration but also as criticism of current asylum policy which does not allow asylum seekers to work (unless they are able to fill a vacancy on the Shortage Occupation List). Both draw on the idea that they are "just eating and sleeping" at the expense of the British state, however, this does further rhetorical work to suggest that the current asylum system restricts their ability to feel a sense of belonging because they are not permitted to take part in the day-to-day economic life of the country. Such a position is exemplified by Shotter (1993, p. 162-3) who states that:

"to live in a community which one senses as being one's own – as both "mine" and "yours", as "ours", rather than "theirs" – one must be more than just an accountable reproducer of it. One must in a real sense also play a part in its creative sustaining of itself as a "living tradition". One must feel able to fashion one's own "position" within the "argument" or "arguments" to do with both constituting and reconstituting the tradition".

The extracts also support the view that the asylum seeking participants may be subject to a "policy-imposed" liminality (Hynes, 2011, p.94) that can only be ended when refugee status (with its associated rights) is awarded. Hynes (2011) envisages a continuum between liminality and belonging and has shown how asylum seekers may attempt to remake their belonging despite being in a state of liminality. In this study, Extracts 7.4 and 7.5 represent examples of cases where participants had developed social networks within refugee community organisations which allowed for 'inclusion' and remaking of belonging.

Whilst analysis of the extracts in section 7.4 suggests that a sense of belonging may be contingent upon having the rights to engage in the economic life of the host country, the extracts analysed in section 7.3 indicate a further dilemma for participants' senses of belonging in Wales. That is, in the way in which Wales (and the UK) is constructed in comparison to their "home" country. Such constructions are shown here to have the rhetorical effect of positioning these participants as away from their "home" and, by consequence, if belonging refers to feelings of being at 'home' (Jones and Krzyzanowski, 2008), then these participants may be facing dilemmas as to the degree in which they feel a sense of belonging in Wales. In some ways Amna, who had been in the UK for 12 years and granted British citizenship, demonstrated this dilemma most acutely, as her talk demonstrated that her sense of belonging was contingent upon the behaviour of others and that even with a British passport she simultaneously constructed a sense of both inclusion and exclusion.

# 7.6 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated the ways in which asylum seekers and refugees in Wales discursively construct places of belonging and not belonging, places of inclusion

and exclusion (Wodak, 2008), and in so doing also construct ontological accounts of what it means to be a forced migrant in Wales. At the local level, neighbourhood belonging was constructed on a continuum between 'silence' and 'inclusion', with many participants constructing accounts of "just saying hi" that were indicative of general urban neighbourhood relations (Kusenbach, 2006). For some, who constructed neighbourhoods as places of 'silence' and not belonging, a contrast was made with refugee community organisations that were constructed as places of 'inclusion' and belonging. It appears that security and safety, particularly the absence of conflict, in local settings is positioned as being of greater importance than meaningful relationships with neighbours. However, security was also constructed as an important factor at the national level, justifying participants' positions as sanctuary seekers in the UK. Perhaps, most importantly, this analysis demonstrates that forced migrants construct integration in a multi-faceted way (rather than the "two-way" conception advocated by Ager and Strang, 2004) and that the lack of rights which they feel they have impact upon their responsibilities to contribute to the economy in a way which would allow them to construct a sense of both self and belonging in Wales. The analysis further demonstrates the importance of critically examining the ways in which forced migrants construct their experiences within the context of the current 'hostile policy environment' (Bloch and Schuster, 2005) and the effects of such a "policyimposed liminality" (Hynes, 2011, p.94).

In the next Chapter I move on to focus upon the ways in which participants spoke about the 'means and markers' (Ager and Strang, 2004) of integration such as health, education and employment and consider further the ways in which current policy continues to play a role in integration experiences in Wales.

# 8. Aspirations for a quality of life or just 'getting by'?: Forced migrants' constructions of self as potential in a hostile policy environment

"The 1951 refugee regime established a basic right to protection secured through a process of exceptional and non-socioeconomic admission. Yet this ability to cross-borders, secured by separating refugee and migrant, categories, has left refugees frequently unable to move freely in order to secure the livelihoods that form an essential part of long-term protection and sustainable solutions"

Long (2013, p.22-3)

#### 8.1 Introduction

In chapter 2, I outlined the *Indicators of Integration Framework* (Ager and Strang, 2004) which has influenced Westminster, Scottish and Welsh refugee integration strategies. The interview schedule in this study were also structured around the ten domains identified in this framework. Chapter 6 focused broadly on the 'facilitator' of safety and stability and Chapter 7 on 'social connections' and the means and marker 'housing'. In this chapter I move on to analyse how what Ager and Strang (2004) call the "means and markers" of education and employment are practically produced and negotiated in interviews. Although I have used Ager and Strang's (2004) framework to conceptualise integration, in this chapter I continue to develop a critique of this framework, which I further develop in the final chapter of this thesis. In doing so I argue that the refugees and asylum seekers interviewed in this study constructed themselves as agents with potential and that the *Indicators of Integration Framework* may be insufficient in explaining such agency. In this chapter, I also show that whilst some participants constructed aspirations for a quality of life, others constructed accounts of restriction and of just 'getting by' in a hostile policy environment.

The 'hostile environment' (Bloch and Schuster, 2005), which I outlined in Chapter 1, has seen a raft of UK-wide legislation develop over the last 20 years, which aims to deter asylum seekers from coming to the UK and encourage refused asylum seekers to leave the UK, within the context of increasing public concern about levels of immigration to the UK (Duffy and Frere-Smith, 2014). In terms of employment and education, academic research has tended to focus on the period of economic inactivity experienced by asylum seekers whilst waiting for a decision on their claim (e.g. Mulvey, 2014) and the difficulties faced by refugees in securing employment that matches their experiences and qualifications (e.g. Phillimore and Goodson, 2002; 2006). As such, there is a clear place for discursive psychology to play a role in understanding how asylum seekers and refugees talk about their experiences. Whilst discursive psychology has been used to study a number of areas relating to forced migration, it has tended to focus on media representations of asylum seekers and refugees (Lynn and Lea, 2003; Leudar et al., 2008), political speeches (Capdevilla and Callaghan, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2006) and lay discourses (Goodman and Burke, 2010; Nightingale et al., 2017). More recent work in discursive psychology, however, has moved the focus onto the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers themselves (e.g. Kirkwood et al. 2013b; Kirkwood et al. 2015; Goodman et al. 2014a, 2014b).

Goodman et al.'s (2014a) work is particularly relevant in the context of the current chapter. Their research looked at the ways in which asylum seekers managed complaints about their treatment in the UK. They found that complaints were directed towards the UK asylum system, which was seen as being unfair, rather than towards members of the public or the government. They also found that their participants faced a dilemma between making criticisms of their host country and the interactional requirement to show gratitude towards the host country (see also Kirkwood, 2012). As such, participants positioned themselves as being "unhappy" or "okay" in the UK but justified this on the basis of being safe, so that their claims for being a legitimate

refugee could not be disputed. Similarly, Clare et al.'s (2014) analysis of interviews with asylum seeking women in the UK revealed that participants drew on repertoires of strength, resilience and rejecting pity to present themselves as strong and capable mothers and members of society. McPherson (2010) suggests that integration policy has too often positioned forced migrants as un-agentic victims in need of civilised, Western charity. By contrast, she argues that there is a need to "engage with migrants and refugees as current and prospective citizens of potential, rather than responding to 'our' privileged constitution of them as 'problematic'" (2010, p.565).

Therefore, following such an approach, in the next section I begin with a focus on community and responsibility and argue that the participant positions himself as an agent with potential, rather than as a problematic figure in need of change which has often been the case in integration discourses (Sales, 2002; Goodman et al., 2014a). This theme of potential continues in the proceeding section which looks at how participants spoke about restrictions they faced in accessing education in Wales. In section 8.4 I once again return to the subject of employment, perhaps one of the most debated aspects of the hostile policy environment (Zetter and Pearl, 2000), and argue that through engaging in voluntary work asylum seekers are able to demonstrate potential and resist dominant discourses within a restrictive policy environment. I argue that the extracts in each of the first three sections can be characterised by participants constructing aspirations for a better quality of life. In the final section of this chapter, however, I show how three refused asylum seekers constructed life in the UK as "just getting by", feeling restricted in their ability to integrate due to the minimal support they receive as part of the asylum system. Here, I argue that participants' talk reflected governmental discourses (Miller and Rose, 1992) on when integration should begin and on creating a hostile environment, particularly for refused asylum seekers.

# 8.2 Contributing to the community: "You have a responsibility to be a good citizen here"

In Chapter 7, I discussed the ways in which Aziz and Munir used notions of responsibility, particularly in relation to employment, to construct accounts of what it was to be an asylum seeker and belong in Wales. Responsibility is a theme which is also seen in Extract 8.1 below from an interview with Samir who had been living in Wales for approximately one year at the time of interview and had been granted refugee status two months prior to the interview. The extract is taken from a section of the interview in which Samir is summarising his views on the topics discussed up until that point in the interview. In lines 1 and 2, Samir begins hesitantly and makes categorical distinctions between himself as a "refugee" and the interviewer, who is not. His use of "you are not refugee", works as a denial of categorical membership and implies that he thinks the researcher may not be able to understand his feelings here, which is also indicated by the laughter after this utterance. In lines 2 and 3 we see Samir first raise the idea of being a "good citizen" as the key to living successfully in Wales. Through the use of terms, such as "I try" (I.2), "put this idea in my mind" (I.3) and "made enough efforts" (L.4), Samir begins to construct an account of responsibility in which he must actively make the effort to be a "good citizen".

### Extract 8.1 Samir

Samir: I will reach (0.5) err I will try to improve my English seriously not err (0.5) not in easy (.) because I believe English is the most important thing and after that .hhh you have to to to know the culture here .hh you have to know (.) err:: you you have to you have to try to continue your study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here  Sam: mmm	1 2 3 4 5 6	Samir: Sam:	yeah so (.) err (.) I think if you (.) or if I because you are not refugee heh heh if I try to be a good citizen (.) and if I put this idea in my mind .hhh and err::: made enough efforts to do that I will reach yeah
English seriously not err (0.5) not in easy (.)  because I believe English is the most important thing and after that .hhh you have to to to know the culture here .hh you have to know (.) err:::  you you have to you have to try to continue your study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here  Sam: mmm  Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)			
because I believe English is the most important thing and after that .hhh you have to to to know the culture here .hh you have to know (.) err::: you you have to you have to try to continue your study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here  Sam: mmm  Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	8		` '
thing and after that .hhh you have to to to know the culture here .hh you have to know (.) err::: you you have to you have to try to continue your study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here Sam: mmm Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	9		
you you have to you have to try to continue your study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here Sam: mmm Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	10		
study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to make good relationships with people here .hhh you have to know the culture here Sam: mmm Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	11		the culture here .hh you have to know (.) err:::
<ul> <li>make good relationships with people here .hhh</li> <li>you have to know the culture here</li> <li>Sam: mmm</li> <li>Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)</li> </ul>	12		you you have to you have to try to continue your
<ul> <li>you have to know the culture here</li> <li>Sam: mmm</li> <li>Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)</li> </ul>	13		study to to have a good job .hhh err you have to
16 Sam: mmm 17 Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	14		make good relationships with people here .hhh
Samir: if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	15		you have to know the culture here
18 country as a family for your er childrens future (.)	16	Sam:	
	17	Samir:	if you are planning to to .hhh err to grow up in this
so you have to to know the culture here (.) you	18		
	19		so you have to to know the culture here (.) you

20		have to integrate your beliefs your (.) your
21		religious beliefs your culture beliefs your (.) er
22		becau- because this country as a refugee will be
23		your second home (0.5) this is your choice when
24		you when you decided to to move here (.) so you
25		are- you have a responsibility to to to try to be a
26		good citizen and err (.) er an effective citizen here
27	Sam:	mm hmm
28	Samir:	this is in the first side and in the other side (0.5)
29		this is the others responsibility to help you to to
30		be able to do this

Samir goes on, in lines 7 to 15, to demonstrate how he can be a "good citizen", using the modal verb "will" and a number of imperatives ("have to") to create a list of his responsibilities. His use of listing constructs an account where he has agency and can do all these things (to improve his English, work, have good social relationships and understand the culture in Wales). Indeed, use of the imperatives further suggests that it his responsibility and he must do these things. Miller and Rose's (1990) discussions of 'governmentality' suggest that current forms of government are increasingly complex and formed from networks which seek to regulate and shape social, personal and economic activities. Indeed, they suggest that "modern political power does not take the form of the domination of subjectivity. Rather, political power has come to depend upon a web of technologies for fabricating and maintaining self-government" (Miller and Rose, 1990, p.28). It can be seen that Samir's focus on 'being a good citizen' and on 'responsibility' here may be indicative of such 'technologies of government' (Miller and Rose, 1990) placing an emphasis on his own self-government to deliver personal success. Samir's use of the second-person personal pronoun "you", is also of note as he constructs his list of responsibilities, and it is not initially clear whether he is using it in the singular form to refer to his own responsibilities, or the plural form to refer to all forced migrants. It is not until line 22 that it becomes clear that Samir is referring to all forced migrants in the conceptualisation of integration he constructs in this utterance. Indeed, at this stage in the conversation it appears that Samir is constructing a oneway account of integration in which forced migrants must make changes in order to integrate. This is also seen in his third utterance (I.17-26) which also contains a number of imperatives but begins with a number of hesitations (I.17) suggesting that it may be difficult for Samir to talk about a long-term future in the UK. In line 18, Samir also raises this as an issue for his "children's future" and begins to construct an account which is about aspirations for a good quality of life, rather than just getting by. Interestingly, in lines 22 and 23, he draws on notions of belonging discussed in Chapter 7, employing the category "refugee" to suggest that Wales could be a "second home" for refugees and that it is their responsibility to integrate for having made the "choice" (I.23) to move to the UK, but at the same time implies that "this country" is not "their country". Samir's turn ends in line 26 with repetition of the claim made at the beginning of this extract with mention of being a "good citizen" and an "effective citizen". This can be read as 'If I do the things required of me I will be considered a good citizen and will integrate', promoting the idea of a one-way conception of integration. However, in lines 28 to 30, we see that his account is shifting and dilemmatic and that it is others who enable one's citizenship, thus highlighting the importance of seeing integration as a series of (discursive) situated practices, rather than simply as a "process".

Throughout this extract Samir positions himself as having agency; he made the "choice" to come to the UK, he tries to be a "good citizen", he will try to improve his English. By focusing on his own agency Samir is able to construct an account which demonstrates his aspirations for a good quality of life in Wales. Such constructions were found, in Chapter 5, to be absent from government refugee integration strategies, which failed to acknowledge forced migrants as agents with potential. In this extract, Samir strongly emphasises the role that education and language play in bringing about connection with others. Education (and the learning of the English language) is discussed further in the next section that looks at the ways in which participants positioned themselves as agents with potential but against a backdrop of restriction stemming from the current 'hostile' asylum policy environment.

# 8.3 Accessing education: "It's so sad how the dreams were cut short"

In their Indicators of Integration Framework, Ager and Strang (2004) include 'education' as one of their 'means and markers'. However, English 'language and cultural knowledge' are included as a separate domain, a so-called 'facilitator', that is distinct from the means and marker of 'education'. As such, in their report, much of the focus on 'education' relates to refugee children and their progress with rather less attention paid, particularly at a policy-level, to adults. Indeed, it is only in the 'language and cultural knowledge' where there is a focus on adult refugees attending appropriate English language classes. Such a focus may therefore assume that, in terms of integration, the educational needs of forced migrants are solely on learning the English language. In this section I analyse two extracts from participants who were awaiting a decision on their asylum appeal, having initially been refused asylum at the initial application stage. Both of these examples demonstrate how the participants positioned themselves as agents with potential but for whom the ability to access suitable education opportunities is restricted by the 'hostile' asylum policy environment. As such, they are two extracts which feature a strong narrative of struggles and negotiating barriers. These examples represent participants, who at the time of interview had very different educational needs, but for both of whom education was constructed as being critical for their future integration.

# Extract 8.2 Layla

```
so you've not been to any English classes (.)
1
       Sam:
2
               here?
3
       Layla: no
4
        Sam:
               not needed to?
5
       Layla: because the education is a bit difficult down
               here in Cardiff (.) basically they don't have
6
7
               childcare it's not approved for asylum seekers I
8
               think they cancelled it so it's a bit of struggle
               yeah
9
       Sam:
       Layla: to get into the college
10
               so has that meant you've not done any (0.5)
       Sam:
11
12
                [education?]
       Layla: [yeah I haven't] done any education here (.)
13
14
                though I've gone later to put down my name to
15
               see if (.) they ask me to come in if some of my
```

17 other's children if we have appointment if they 18 can help me out so .hhh 19 Sam: yeah Layla: then I can give it a go 20 but they've not? 21 Sam: 22 Layla: no they haven't come back to me and what- what course are you hoping to do? 23 Sam: Layla: ye:::s for now I choose ESOL just for them to 24 see the written but I really wo- for like hhh 25 doing a course that would lin-link me into the 26 27 line of med-medicine and surgery (0.5) so but I believe if I start somewhere with the starters 28 29 30 Sam: yeah (0.5) did you work in that area- did you work in medicine before? 31 32 Layla: no::: but when I was in secondary school I have 33 the back home I have the aim of being a 34 medical surgeon so I'm a science student hhh 35 yeah Sam: Layla: so heh heh heh but it's so sad how the dreams 36 37 were (1.0) were cut short yeah

asylum seekers friends that will look after each

Extract 8.2 is taken from a section of the interview with Layla immediately following a discussion of her prior English learning experiences, in which she talked of having been required to use the English language in her home country. The extract begins with Sam asking Layla to account for her previous English learning and uses an extreme case formulation to clarify whether any of that learning had occurred in Wales. Sam's follow-up question (line 4) asks Layla to account for why she has not been to any English classes in Wales following her response in line 3. In lines 5 to 8, Layla uses a number of hedged constructions ("a bit"), to initially play down the restrictions placed on her as an asylum seeker trying to access educational opportunities. Indeed, she draws on the categories of both 'parent' and "asylum seeker" (I.7) to emphasise this restriction. Despite this restriction, in lines 14 and 15 we see Layla state that she had been to the college to "put my name down", thus constructing an account in which she shows her agency and that she tries to do things herself. In lines 16 to 18 she further shows agency in her description of the solution that her and other "asylum seekers" have come up with to look after each other's' children, suggesting that she can only do this with the help from others.

16

From line 24 onwards we begin to see Layla construct an account of potential and of having aspirations for a better quality of life than just getting by, as was also seen in Extract 8.1 from Samir. In line 24 she uses the phrase "for now", suggesting that ESOL classes are not what she wants to do and that it is only a temporary or interim phase. Indeed, she then moves on hesitantly to talk about her aspirations. Such hesitations are seen in the cut-off and repair (using the word "like") in line 25, indicating that she may feel uncomfortable discussing her aspirations with the interviewer. Her agency is once again demonstrated in line 28 as she positions herself as willing to start from the beginning in order to achieve her dreams. In lines 30 and 31 Sam seeks to clarify from Layla whether or not these aspirations are new or the continuation of a previous career from her home country. In lines 32 to 34, Layla constructs herself as a subject with potential to achieve her long-held ambitions and in line 36 we begin to see evidence of 'troubles talk' (Jefferson, 1984), as indicated by the laughter at the start of this turn. Her final turn is completed using the emotive term "sad" to position herself as having a dream that cannot be fulfilled because of the restrictions she faces because of being an asylum seeker.

The theme of restriction is also found in Extract 8.3, below, from an interview with Awet. This extract comes directly following a discussion of the courses that Awet had completed since arriving in the UK three years earlier. Awet had studied via the English language in his home country and was therefore able to attend mainstream courses soon after arriving in the UK. This is a different situation to that of Layla discussed previously, and also highlights the difficulties in Ager and Strang's framework which focuses on policy outcomes regarding children's education and pays less attention to adults in further and higher education.

# Extract 8.3 Awet

Sam: do you want to do::: (.) another course afterwards?

Awet: yeah I w- I was planning to go to the university (1.0) but as my er (2.0) current situation (1.0) it's::: not

4 likely to happen 5 Sam: because of the fees?

6 Awet: yeah because of the fees and also (0.5) expense as 7 well it's not just only for tuition 8 Sam: mmm I do need to eat or maybe sleep some (.) place or 9 Awet: buy books or use (0.5) maybe materials such as (0.5)10 11 laptop or something 12 yeah so do you think (.) the asylum system as it is is Sam: stopping you from (0.5) doing that? 13 erm (.) it it didn't stop me to apply:: (0.5) but (.) w-14 Awet: heh heh (0.5) still if I have money it will not er stop 15 me to study 16 17 Sam: veah 18 Awet: but since I I'm not allowed to work (0.5) I- so I can't 19 get money to pay or (.) .hhh I can't get ask for errm 20 finance so (0.5) indirectly it's is stop me to study Sam: 21 veah 22 Awet: not directly

The extract begins with Sam asking Awet to reflect on his future plans after he has completed his current college course. In his first turn (I.2-4), Awet is initially hesitant to discuss his future aspirations, as indicated by the initial sharp cut off and long pauses in this turn. Such hesitations were also evident in the extract from Layla above when discussing her future aspirations, however, whilst Layla explicitly drew on the category of "asylum seeker" to explain the restriction she felt in accessing education, Awet does not. Instead he refers to his "current situation" (I.3) and uses the extreme case formulation "not likely to happen" (I.3-4). This "current situation" is understood by Sam to be in reference to his status as an asylum seeker, which means that he would be required to pay international student fees in order to study in higher education and, as such, would not be eligible for financial support from the UK government towards his study. This understanding is shown by Sam's question in line 5, which shows understanding of the "current situation" but does not refer to the category of "asylum seeker". In lines 6 to 7 and 9 to 11, Awet agrees with Sam's question but goes on to list other ways in which attending university with his "current situation" would be difficult for him. His use of "I do need to eat or sleep some place" works to position himself as a person like anyone else who needs support in order to fulfil his potential and fulfil his aspirations. Throughout this extract Awet constructs an account that shows aspirations for a better quality of life, and higher education and work are positioned as being the

keys to this. However, he also makes concessions to show that he is still a person and not willing to 'just get by' with reference to a list of things that other students would need to achieve their own aspirations in higher education.

Sam's question, in line 12, is framed as an extreme case formulation, and explicitly refers to the "asylum system" for the first time in this exchange. However, in constructing this question, Sam gives agency to the 'asylum system' as abstract bureaucracy. Thus in this construction the 'system' is established as a candidate for blame by Sam, which is endorsed by Awet as his final three turns progress (I.14-22). However, he manages this endorsement of blame carefully in turns which demonstrate his own agency ("it didn't stop me to apply") and his own aspirations ("if I have money it will not stop me to study"). In doing so, he is able to construct an account that resists Sam's extreme case formulation of giving total agency to the 'system', and suggests that the 'system' does not in itself lead to complete restriction. In lines 18 to 20 Awet uses the modal verb "can't" to list a number of restrictions he faces as an asylum seeker, but again, although he endorses Sam's candidate for blame, we see that he describes the 'system' as "indirectly" (I.20) stopping him from going to university.

In line 18 Awet makes reference to work and the importance that this could play in achieving his aspirations. As in Chapter 7, this is constructed through an economic repertoire, and can be read as "if I worked, I could pay for it myself". In the next section I move on to look at the 'employment' means and marker (Ager and Strang, 2004), extending my discussion of the ways in which work was constructed as a responsibility for participants in Chapter 7.

# 8.4 Employment: "It's a very bad and sad idea to see refugees who are highly qualified working in a restaurant"

In this chapter, thus far I have argued that participants in this study construct agentic accounts in which they discursively position themselves as actively pursuing their

aspirations for a better quality of life despite facing restrictions from the UK's hostile asylum policy environment. In Chapter 7, whilst discussing belonging in Wales, I suggested that an economic repertoire was drawn on by participants to construct accounts of belonging that were contingent upon their individual responsibility to contribute to the economic life of the UK and Wales. Here, I move on to look at the ways in which participants talked about the experiences of working (whether paid or voluntary) they had had whilst living in the UK.

#### Extract 8.4 Samir

1 2 3 4	Samir:	not just one organisation we need more .hh (.) because it's very bad and sad idea (0.5) to to see err refugee who has a very high qualqualified (1.0) .hhh and working in a restaurant
5	Sam:	mmm
6 7	Samir:	I believe I believe (.) a:::II (.) all jobs has it's er value (0.5) every every every job is good (.)
8		itself but (.) you know you have to do you have
9		to put the (.) the suitable person in the suitable
10		situation
11	Sam:	yeah it's very difficult when you've worked at
12 13		that higher level (.) to then come and (.) [to do
14	Samir:	something below that level]
	Sami.	[mmm
15 16		because personally for me] I can do anything in
17		this life (1.0) ju- just to working with autistic children
18	Sam:	yeah
19		so I can't wash (0.5) er not for any reason just
20	Janni.	because I haven't this skills to wash dishes or
21		to to clean or to to make foods I can't heh
22		heh heh

Extract 8.4, above, from an interview with Samir (whose status is discussed above in section 8.2), is taken from a section of the interview immediately following a discussion of the difficulties which Samir had encountered trying to find voluntary work in the specialist field he had worked in in his home country. In this extract Samir discusses a dilemma between 'just getting by' and 'aspirations for a good quality of life' in relation to employment. However, it will also be shown that he faces a dilemma and manages his talk carefully so as not to appear ungrateful for the support that he has received in the UK. The extract begins with Samir making a claim that more support is needed in

Wales to help those with refugee status into employment. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 5, the UK Government funded the Refugee Integration and Employment Service between 2007 and 2011, to provide support to those granted refugee status (for the first year after their grant) in finding employment and understanding the UK employment market. When this was scrapped by the coalition government in 2011 it was not replaced by similar provision and services to support refugees into work became less co-ordinated and run by charities where funding became available.

In lines 2 to 4, Samir justifies his claim that more support is needed in the initial stages after a grant of refugee status by drawing on a repertoire of aspirations. He constructs a moral account which signals that 'just getting by' should not be satisfactory and, by using the category "refugee", positions himself and other refugees as aspirational and with skills that should be used. In his next turn (lines 6 to 10), Samir begins hesitantly and constructs a dilemmatic account, using a number of extreme case formulations, in which "every job is good" but then draws on ideas of suitability, using a number of imperatives ("have to") to suggest that this may not be the case and that refugees may aspire to more than what is presently offered to them. It is dilemmatic for Samir because he does not appear to want to present himself as "workshy" but at the same time attempts to maintain his integrity. His use of "you know" (Fox Tree and Schrock, 2002) invites the inference that what he is saying is common sense and Sam attends to this dilemma in his turn (lines 11 to 13), acknowledging Samir's prior experience in his home country and his higher-level qualifications.

In his remaining turns Samir then proceeds to use the first person pronoun "I", rather than drawing on the category "refugee", moving from a general to a more personal account. Here he positions himself as being able to make a difference in one specific area ("working with autistic children") and reinforcing the point that he has aspirations to work in this field again, rather than in a restaurant where he would 'just be getting by'. Indeed, in his final turn (lines 19 to 22) he uses a three-part list, to

position himself as unable to undertake jobs that could be considered 'just getting by'.

This works to strengthen his argument for what he can do but the laughter at the end of this turn suggests that he acknowledges this may also be problematic for him.

In this extract, although Samir does not talk of work that he has undertaken whilst living in the UK, it is an account in which he has agency. In the next two extracts in this section, I focus on examples from participants who were still awaiting a decision on their refugee status and were thus unable to undertake paid employment. However, in these examples, where voluntary work they have undertaken is discussed, I argue that agency is shown in resisting the restrictions of the hostile policy environment in which they find themselves.

Extract 8.5, from an interview with Emanuel, is taken from a section of the interview in which he discusses voluntary work he has been undertaking since arriving in Wales nine months earlier. What is interesting to note from this extract is the many ways in which he constructs himself as actively working and contributing to the community. Such constructions may function to counter accusations that forced migrants are lazy or welfare seekers (Jones et al. 2017; KhosraviNik, 2010; Capdevila and Callaghan, 2008) and Emanuel begins his account in lines 1 to 4 by drawing on the category 'forced migrants' to position others as being similarly active. This is achieved through his use of "others" (I.2) and the personal pronouns "we" and "us" (I.3) but also the modal verb "will" (I.4) and suggests a willingness to contribute and do something for society in the absence of being able to undertake paid work. In lines 5 and 16, Sam also gives positive moral assessments which position work and encouraging others as a moral "good".

### Extract 8.5 Emanuel

1	Emanuel:	now even I got many other around six
2		seven (.) others (.) who want to
3		volunteer there (.) with this week we
4		will go like se- like six of us will go
5	Sam:	oh ok good
6	Emanuel:	to help others errm so because many

7 8 9 10 11 12		others who are- who are watching this thing (.) who observe this thing they they will come as they asking me if you bring your friends for volunteer (.) you welcome they say to me so my friends also volunteer to go there (0.5) so this what we are doing
14	Sam:	yeah so you enjoy doing that?
15	Emanuel:	yes yes
16 17	Sam:	ok (.) good (.) would you do other volunteering opportunities if they
18		came up?
19	Emanuel:	yeah in Swansea I have another
20		voluntary work (0.5) I work in gym
21	Sam:	ok
22 23 24 25 26 27	Emanuel:	and I work in (.) one music school so I will help them (.) because in YMCA in Swansea YMCA (.) at the first when I came here I don't have anything to do so I was searching simply trainings so I enter there and ask them
28	Sam:	yeah
[] 29 30 31 32 33 34	Emanuel:	after that I read that (.) they need volunteer for their activities (.) so when I asked them they give me er (1.0) music and gymnasium for workfor to be volunteer for four hours so I am volunteer for eight hours per week
35 36 37	Sam: Emanuel:	ok (1.0) so this is another (.) voluntary work

Emanuel's construction continues in line 6 where doing voluntary work is justified as "helping others". In lines 6 to 10 Emanuel positions himself as a role model in the asylum seeking community and someone who "others" (I.7) are "watching" (I.7) and who they "observe". Such positioning suggests that Emanuel sees it as his responsibility to encourage others who look up to him to behave in a similarly community-minded way. This is further alluded to in lines 12 and 13 when Emanuel says "so this what we are doing", "we" here draws on the category of asylum seekers and positions them as actively helping. From these initial turns it is interesting to note that the justification for doing this is to "help others". In this way, Emanuel is able to avoid making negative assessments of the UK asylum system, which does not allow asylum seekers to undertake paid work, but also positions asylum seekers as a group who want to work and contribute to the community.

In lines 16 to 18, Sam asks Emanuel to consider future voluntary work, however, Emanuel continues to construct his account of being an active member of the community by listing a number of other places where he is already undertaking voluntary work (I.20 and 22). In lines, 24 and 25 Emanuel accounts for this by stating, "when I came here I don't have anything to do". This accounting can be seen as doing the rhetorical work of criticising asylum policy that does not allow asylum seekers to work. However, Emanuel is also constructing a moral account which stresses his responsibility to contribute and to encourage others to also do the same. This construction is aided, in lines 33 and 34, with quantification rhetoric (Potter et al., 1991) to show the number of hours he is contributing as a volunteer each week.

In this extract Emanuel is constructing an account of more that "just getting by" within a hostile policy environment. He demonstrates his own agency throughout and avoids making direct complaints about asylum policy. Like previous extracts in the current and previous chapters, it is an account that is about contributing and places a high level of importance on work. However, unlike previous extracts, Emanuel avoids making direct criticism by not focusing on economic arguments for belonging. Rather, through demonstrating his own and other asylum seekers' agency, he is able to construct an account in which he has aspirations to make the most of his time and to encourage similar behaviour amongst the asylum seeking community.

# Extract 8.6 Bhaija

1	Bhaija:	It was really good thing doing
2	Sam:	oh how did you find out about it?
3	Bhaija:	It's not- °I think° the best feeling because as I
4	-	am asylum seeker I can't help- because I need
5		help from other people >but still in this
6		condition I am helping others< so it's a really
7		good feeling for me to- to help people when
8		you know that they can't give me anything back
9	Sam:	yeah yeah what do you do here?
10	Bhaija:	I do a lot of work heh heh like ↑I just want
11	-	to do work so I like basically I am in the policy
12		department
13	Sam:	mmm hmmm
14	Bhaija:	so I am working for the policy for asylum
15	-	seekers and refugees but I do sometime I do

16 interpreting sometimes I did sit on the 17 reception sometimes I attend different 18 meetings it depends 19 so it's good to meet lots of people? Sam: 20 Bhaija: yeah::: lots of people and help other people in the err whatever way you can help them 21 22 ok and errm how does not being able to work-Sam: 23 paid work (.) how do you think that affects 24 [you]? 25 Bhaija: [it's] really worse because you need money for everything (.) and even for going to (.) saloon or 26 going to buy a new dress or anything you need 27 28 money or \text{\text{even for tran- travel you need}} 29 money (.) or food 30 Sam: mm yeah Bhaija: so it's like "this" difficult thing not to be in the 31 32 work in the paid work

Extract 8.6, above, is from a section of the interview in which Bhaija is discussing the topic of voluntary work that she has been undertaking since coming to the UK. Like Emanuel, in Extract 8.5, Bhaija's account is one that contains a number of moral assessments about the "good" which work can provide. In line 1, she begins by describing volunteering as a "really good thing" and Sam follows up this (I.2) with a question about social connections to find out how it was that she came to be a volunteer. In line 3 we see that Bhaija has understood this question as 'how do you find volunteering?' and thus as a question about her feelings rather than as a question about social connections. This response may be because English is a second language for Bhaija and suggests a lack of understanding of the phrasal verb 'to find out'. A similar response was seen in several of the interviews in this study when the phrasal verb 'to find out' was used in Sam's questions, providing support for this explanation. Therefore, the analysis of this turn proceeds based on Bhaija's interpretation of the question and we see that this creates some difficulties for her. We also see in this extract that Sam does not attempt to initiate a repair, allowing Bhaija to continue her turn based on her understanding of the question. At the start of her turn (I.3) Bhaija makes a sharp cut-off following "it's not" which she then self-repairs to "I think", which is said quietly and suggests a topic change that downgrades a potential complaint. In line 4, Bhaija explicitly draws on the category "asylum seeker" and the

limited rights which are associated with people in this category. This category use functions to position asylum seekers as being in need of help rather than able to provide help. However, in lines 5 and 6, Bhaija positions herself within this category as someone who is able to help, thus demonstrating her own agency within a restrictive "condition" (I.6) and suggesting that the category "asylum seeker" is an ambiguous one Restriction is further constructed in line 8 where Bhaija continues to draw on the category "asylum seeker" to position others as being unable to "give me anything back". This functions to position Bhaija as someone who is selflessly willing to work and help others despite the restrictions she faces as a member of the category "asylum seeker".

In line 9, Sam asks Bhaija to expand on this account of helping others by offering a question that allows her to explain what work she does. In her next turn (I.10-12) Bhaija provides an account focusing on her own agency ("I do a lot of work") and desire to work ("I just want to do work"). Within this turn we see a period of laughter (I.10) suggesting this may not be a comfortable topic for Bhaija to discuss. Interestingly she also uses the discourse marker "like" twice in this turn (I.10 and 11). Fuller (2003) argues that 'like' can be used as a marker of both inexactness and focus. Here, it appears to be used as a marker of inexactness which is attended to by Bhaija in her next turn following Sam's use of a discourse continuer (I.13). In lines 14 to 18 Bhaija uses a strategy of listing the different roles that she has undertaken in her voluntary work. Such a strategy functions to demonstrate Bhaija's agency and is achieved through the use of active verbs such as "work", "do" and "attend". It also functions to counter media and lay discourses (KhosraviNik, 2010; Sales, 2002) which construct asylum seekers as unwilling to work or as seeking welfare benefits only. Sam (I.22-24) further develops this theme in a question that asks Bhaija to reflect on how work restrictions affect her as an asylum seeker. Her response (I.25-32) constructs a very different account to the agency she positions herself as having when discussing her

voluntary work. Her use of a list functions to show the ways in which she is restricted by being unable to undertake paid employment. However, it goes further to suggest that these things (which she lists) are necessary for being a part of the society in which she now lives. Bhaija therefore positions herself as excluded from the everyday activities of society because she is unable to work and earn a wage as a direct result of UK asylum policy.

Despite being unable to work, and their accounts functioning as a criticism of the UK's asylum policy, in both extracts Bhaija and Emanuel demonstrate significant agency within a context of restriction. In both cases these participants use active language to position themselves as both willing and able to work and as people who seek out opportunities to help and inspire others. These extracts therefore differ from those in the previous chapter, which drew on an economic repertoire and emphasised a responsibility to contribute to the economic life of the country. However, here too the participants were constructing a desire for a better quality of life, making the most of what they are able to do within the context of a restrictive asylum policy environment.

# 8.5 "It's not enough but I really appreciate it": 'Just getting by' in a hostile environment

Thus far I have argued that many of the participants in this study positioned themselves as having 'aspirations for a better quality of life' and had resisted the discourse of 'just getting by', despite the UK's hostile policy environment. In this final section, however, I look at some counter-examples that show the ways in which some participants did construct 'just getting by' as their only option, which I suggest, may be as a result of living in such a hostile policy environment.

Extract 8.7 is from an interview with Mustafa, a refused asylum seeker who had been living in the UK for approximately one year at the time of interview. In this section of the interview, Sam is attempting to ask Mustafa about the level of support he receives as an asylum seeker and whether this is sufficient to enable him to be able to

fully integrate. In the extract, below, Sam's question begins in line 1 but is not completed until line 9. This is because Mustafa makes a series of simultaneous responses and interjections as Sam is attempting to ask the question.

# Extract 8.7 Mustafa

1 2 3	Sam:	(4.0) errm (5.0) in terms ((coughs)) of the money you get from the government each week=
4	Mustafa:	mmm
5	Sam:	=do you feel that's enough=
6	Mustafa:	[no]
7	Sam:	[=to] help [you to integrate=]
8	Mustafa:	[heh heh heh]
9	Sam:	=and to do things?
10	Mustafa:	.hhh of course not no (.) it's just it's just
11		for food (.) .hhh if you if you are a
12		smoker you have to stop smoke (.) .hhh
13		err:::: you can't do anything with er
14		thirty five pound
15	Sam:	mmm
16	Mustafa:	heh heh a week you know
17	Sam:	does it stop you going to places to
18		things to meet (.) British people (.)=
19	Mustafa:	of course
20	Sam:	=do you think?
21	Mustafa:	yeah (1.0) I think I can't move from
22		here to anywhere I want you know?
24		(1.0) err (1.0) you can't buy new clothes
25		if you if if you don't have someone to
26		support you some money heh heh .hhh
27		so yeah if you are not working you
28		don't know anything just (.) with this
29		money you are yeah (.) it's not enough
30		(.) mmm

In line 6, Mustafa makes an immediate categorical answer ("no") to the first part of Sam's question in line 5 ("do you feel that's enough"). This is made before Sam is able to finish the question and set the context of the question. This interjection functions to position Mustafa as critical of government support for asylum seekers. His laughter (I.8) as Sam continues his question, bringing the subject of integration into play, further functions to criticise this support. When Sam finishes the question (I.9), Mustafa's next turn begins with a further denial and his use of "of course not" constructs an account which implies that it is common sense that someone receiving only around £35 per week will be unable to fully integrate. He uses the discourse marker "just" twice in line

10 to begin to construct an account of the restriction he faces. Here, "just" is used to provide a rational response (Weltman, 2003) that is a reflection of the facts and, in this sense, continues the development of this construction as common sense. Mustafa states that this support is "just for food" and indeed the Home Office similarly state that this support "will help you pay for things you need like food, clothing and toiletries" (Gov.uk, 2017).

In Chapter 5, I discussed the ways in which integration is positioned as a process for refugees only, in Westminster government refugee integration strategies. Such strategies reflect the dilemma that the government faces between the aim of refugee integration and their 'hostile policy environment' for asylum seekers which simultaneously aims to discourage asylum seekers from coming to the UK and encourages refused asylum seekers to leave the UK. One tranche of the 'hostile environment' has been enforced destitution including support paid to asylum seekers at a rate of under 70% of income support. Mustafa's construction here suggests that he is aware of the aims of this policy and he begins to describe one of the ways in which restriction is a feature of being an asylum seeker. In lines 11 to 14 Mustafa uses the second person pronoun "you" to construct a more general account where "you" is in reference to all asylum seekers. He begins by giving a general example, of smoking and how this is not possible when you only receive £35 per week, but in line 13 this claim is upgraded to "you can't do anything". This positions asylum seekers as being in a state of complete restriction but Mustafa's laughter in line 16 suggests that this may be a difficult claim for him to make.

In line 17, Sam's question seeks to broaden the discussion to social connections and Mustafa's ability to make such connections when, as the Home Office state, asylum support is only for "food, clothing and toiletries" (Gov.uk, 2017). The question is phrased as an extreme case formulation ("does it stop you") and, as in line 6, Mustafa makes an immediate denial before Sam can finish the question. Again, "of

course" positions himself as making a common sense response that is clear cut. Sam's question (I.20) functions to encourage an extended answer from Mustafa that requires him to account for his previous response. In lines 21 to 30 Mustafa constructs a similar account of complete restriction, but there a number of pauses and hesitations in this turn and some laughter (I.26), which indicates that this may be a difficult topic for him to discuss. In line 21 and 22 Mustafa uses the first person pronoun "I", rather than "you" which was used in his previous turns and also in the remainder of this turn. "I think" (I.21) is a hedged response again suggesting that it is a difficult topic for him to discuss and is in contrast to the more direct claims he makes in this extract. His use of "you know?" suggests that he is discussing issues with someone who will understand this restriction, but it is also used in a similar way to the discourse marker "like" to construct inexactness (Fuller, 2003). Throughout this turn Mustafa used negative verb forms ("can't move", "can't buy" "don't have" etc.) which functions to construct his account of restriction. Interestingly, in line 27, Mustafa raises the issue of "not working", despite this not being asked in Sam's questions. This brings into play the policy which restricts most asylum seekers from paid employment and functions to both criticize the policy and imply that work is a key factor in integration. Mustafa constructs an account in which work is not just about financial reward but also about knowledge and in lines 27 and 28 uses the extreme case formulation "you don't know anything" to position himself as being unable to fully integrate without the knowledge that comes from being a member of the workforce.

This extract can be characterized as being about 'just getting by' and, although this is done hesitantly, it functions to criticize the UK government's policies that restrict asylum seekers through the provision of limited asylum support payments and through work restrictions. In the next extract, we see another example which can be characterized as 'just getting by', but where the criticism is much less direct than that made by Mustafa.

### Extract 8.8 Barbara

1 yeah and with being an asylum seeker do you think (0.5) the money you get 2 each week do you think that is 3 4 enough? 5 Barbara: errm I say the truth is it's not eno:::ugh 6 but (.) I appreciate 7 Sam: yeah 8 Barbara: I appreciate it soo mu- more than anything I appreciate because .hhh 9 10 before I don't use to have that kind of money (0.5) yeah I appreciate s- the 11 money they give me every week (.) I 12 appreciate it yeah 13 14 Sam: yeah Barbara: yeah it's okay for me .hhh yeah 15 16 because I I can manage it (.) for me 17 and my daughter 18 Sam: veah

19 Barbara: till the week finished then yeah

Extract 8.8 is from an interview with Barbara. Like Mustafa, Barbara is a refused asylum seeker; however, she had been living in the UK for eight years at the time of the interview, with half of that time spent in Wales. The extract begins with Sam's question in lines 1 to 4, which specifically asks whether Barbara thinks the money she receives in asylum support, is "enough". Sam uses the category "asylum seeker" to frame the question and in this sense it may be that Sam has a presupposition that it is not "enough". Indeed, the questioning itself may be contesting the reality of the situation and, asked in this way, only allows Barbara two responses, a confirming or disconfirming answer. At the start of her turn (I.5), Barbara is initially hesitant and uses an honesty phrase "the truth is" to make her response to Sam's question. Once she has made this claim Barbara then has to account for her response, however, this can be characterized as a dispreferred response as she does not indicate why it is "not enough". In line 6 her use of "but" acts as a topic change from a potential complaint and, instead, she constructs an account of gratefulness that is indicated through multiple uses of the phrase "I appreciate" suggesting that she is also balancing an ideological dilemma. Kirkwood et al. (2015) show that forced migrants in their study went to great rhetorical lengths to avoid being portrayed as ungrateful by not

complaining about their quality of life in the UK. Such a strategy appears to also be evident here as Barbara's second turn (I.8-13) begins with a repetition of "I appreciate" and a claim that is upgraded, following a self-repair with the extreme case formulation "more than anything". She accounts for this appreciation in line 10, using a rhetorical contrast with her past that also functions to avoid making criticism. Similarly, in line 12 she is uncritical as she positions herself as a passive receiver of welfare support ("money they give me") and in line 13 she uses "I appreciate" for the fourth time within this turn.

Sam acknowledges Barbara's prior turn with the receipt "yeah" (I.14) before she continues her next turn (I.15-17). Whilst her previous turn emphasized her appreciation of the asylum support payments she receives, this turn can be characterized as being about "getting by" as indicated by the use of "it's okay"(I.15) and "I can manage" (I.16). Again, this allows her to construct an account of "just getting by" without making direct criticism of the asylum support she receives. Her use of "I can manage" also works to position herself as having agency within a hostile policy environment and by referencing her "daughter" (I.17) is also able to position herself as a mother who does her best for her child.

Whilst both Mustafa and Barbara constructed accounts of "just getting by", the final extract in this section can also be characterised in a similar way. However, here we see a much more critical construction of "just getting by" than those of Mustafa and Barbara. Ghirmay, like Mustafa and Barbara, is a refused asylum seeker, who had been living in Wales for three years at the time of interview. The extract is from a section of the interview in which asylum support is being discussed and begins with Sam asking Ghirmay if this is "enough" for him.

# Extract 8.9 Ghirmay

1 Sam: do you think that's enough?

2 Ghirmay: enough in what terms enough? If you would like t- (.) no it's- it's just er (.) to

4		(.) to being alive yes
5	Sam:	ok
6	Ghirmay:	heh heh heh
7	Sam:	do you think it's enough to help you to
8		do things that you want to <u>do</u> (.) errm
9		in terms of education or .hhh meeting
10		other people?
11	Ghirmay:	no it's not thirty five pounds a week
12		you can <u>not</u> - <u>also</u> you don't have to pay
13		for everything you don't have to pay
14		any bills (.) but er still is not enough
15		thirty five °pounds° when- when
16		sometimes I'm- I tell other people how
17		much money I'm gonna get every week
18		they laugh .hhh and they say to me
19		heh heh how do you heh heh survive
20	Sam:	mmm yeah
21	Ghirmay:	but in terms of just er buy something
22		to eat (.) yes that's it

The lack of specificity in Sam's question is immediately questioned by Ghirmay in his first turn (I.2-4) as he asks what is meant by "enough". However, he does not wait for Sam to provide further definition, instead he continues his turn attempting to provide his own understanding. This is done hesitantly, indicated by the pauses and two sharp cut offs (in line 3) which are repaired with the use of "it's just" suggesting that these repairs maybe downgrading the initial claim that was cut off. At the end of the turn, Ghirmay positions his support as enough for "being alive" only, the most minimal it could be and therefore the opposite of an extreme case formulation. His laughter in line 6 suggests that this may be a problematic subject for him to discuss, however Sam does not recognise this as problematic and, in his next turn, responds to Ghirmay's question in line 2 by providing further definition of what "enough" might mean in terms of integration.

Ghirmay's turn begins (I.11) with an immediate denial of Sam's question. He then proceeds to construct an account which makes a claim of being common sense which can be read as thirty five pounds a week is not enough for anyone in the UK to live on. However, he cuts off this utterance sharply after "you cannot" and instead offers a concession (I.12-14) that, as an asylum seeker, his support also means that

he does not have to pay for accommodation or any associated bills. Such a concession (Antaki and Wetherell, 1999) functions to make his account appear less critical and ensure that he cannot be accused of being ungrateful or of not recognising the other aspects of the support he receives. Despite this concession his use of "but" in line 14 acts as a topic change but, unlike Barbara's use of "but" in the previous extract, here it is used to make a complaint. He repeats his claim that it is "not enough" (I.14) and then in the remainder of his turn positions "other people" (I.16) as being in agreement with this claim and also questioning how he is able to "survive". Use of the word "survive" here is a further example of this being the most minimal position and indicates that Ghirmay positions himself as "just getting by" and this is further expanded upon in his final turn in this extract when asylum support is positioned as being for "just buy something to eat" (I.21-22).

Each of the extracts presented in this section have demonstrated the ways in which participants who, at the time of interview were asylum seekers, constructed life in the UK as "just getting by". Above, I quoted the Home Office asylum support policy which states that the cash support for asylum seekers is for essentials such as clothing and food only and, in constructing life in the UK as "just getting by", Mustafa and Ghirmay were able to make criticisms of this policy. Barbara too positioned herself as being able to "manage it", and although less critical, than Mustafa and Ghirmay constructed an account in which this policy was positioned as a barrier to integration. However, as I showed in Chapter 5, the Westminster government do construct integration as a process that is for those with refugee status only, despite acknowledging that integration experiences can occur for asylum seekers awaiting a decision on their claim. In constructing life in Wales as 'just getting by' the extracts in this section exemplify the dilemma faced by the Welsh Government, who state in their refugee integration strategy that they see integration as beginning from the first day of arrival in Wales, yet do not have devolved responsibility for a policy that could change

this. To resolve this dilemma the Welsh Government could call for asylum support and housing to become a devolved matter, so that integration from day one of arrival in Wales and not 'just getting by' becomes a more realistic policy target. I discuss this further in Chapter 9 and also in a policy document developed for practitioners (in Appendix 7).

### 8.6 Discussion

In this chapter, I have looked at the ways in which forced migrants in Wales interviewed for this study talked about the potential that they have and also the ways in which they discursively construct restriction within the current hostile policy environment for asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. Analysis revealed that whilst some participants used their agency and potential to construct aspirations for a better quality of life, others used this to show how they face restriction and thus constructed their lives in Wales as "just getting by".

For Samir, in Extract 8.1, aspirations for a better quality of life were constructed around being a "good citizen". His use of active language in this extract allows him to position himself as having potential, supporting McPherson's (2010) view that forced migrants should be viewed as agents with potential. In this extract, Samir did, however, concede that whilst he had this potential, he also needed support in being able to achieve this potential. In Chapter 5, I concluded that government integration strategies tended to construct integration as a one-way process, in which refugees, who were seen as problematic, were positioned as being required to achieve their "full potential". In these documents it was unclear how refugees were to achieve their "full potential" as they generally lacked agency in the way that integration is constructed. Samir's concession at the end of the extract can perhaps be seen as criticism of this approach which has not resulted in significant measures to assist refugees to achieve their "full potential". Indeed, in a recent report by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on refugees it is acknowledged that "very little time, if any, has been given to considering

what happens to refugees once they have been granted protection by the UK Government" (APPG on Refugees, 2017, p.5). In this report they allude to the lack of specialised integration services for refugees, following the coalition government's decision to end the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) in 2011. Samir's talk here points to the importance of viewing refugees as agents with potential, but also that refugees need specific support in order to be able to access appropriate employment opportunities. In Samir's case he talked elsewhere in the interview about being unsure how to pursue the career which he had started in his home country and how his qualifications could be accepted in the UK, aspiring for more than "working in a restaurant" (Extract 8.4). Again, this points to the need for specific integration services for refugees in the months following a grant of protection in the UK and, in the subsequent, final chapter of this thesis, this forms one of the policy recommendations I make for the Welsh Government to consider.

In Section 8.3, in relation to education, the participants here too positioned themselves as having potential and aspirations for a better quality of life. However, this was constructed within the context of restriction. In both Extract 8.2 and 8.3 there is an implied criticism of the policies that result in exclusion for the two participants, both of whom are refused asylum seekers. As other researchers have found (Kirkwood 2012, Goodman et al. 2014) this criticism centred on the asylum system itself rather than making direct criticisms about the host country. In Extract 8.3 Awet implicitly criticises rules which mean that, in higher education, asylum seekers are treated as international students, despite only receiving £35.95 per week and being unable to access student funding. However, in this extract, whilst the interviewer established "the system" as a candidate for blame, Awet managed his turns carefully, demonstrating some restriction, but also resisting the implication that the "system" leads to total restriction. In Extract 8.2, the concern for Layla was with access to further education, the restriction she faces is similarly constructed as being a barrier to her aspirations for a better quality of

ife and to continue ambitions held in her home country. By drawing on the category "mother" Layla's account does further moral work in constructing her aspirations for a better life for her family. This also functions to criticise the education system in Wales for not offering enough opportunities to those with childcare responsibilities and suggests that a review of policy is needed to ensure adequate access to education for those with childcare responsibilities. Again, this is an implied criticism as Layla's talk focuses more on the ways in which she and other single asylum-seeking mothers have worked together to try to overcome this restriction. Presenting themselves as having potential also works to challenge discourses in the media and general public that have positioned asylum seekers as coming to the UK solely to be able to claim welfare benefits (Leudar et al., 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Baker and McEnery, 2005).

Overcoming restrictions in employment was also a theme evident in Extracts 8.5 and 8.6 from interviews with Emanuel and Bhaija. Through their talk about voluntary work they have undertaken, both participants construct accounts in which they have potential and are doing what they can to contribute to the community and support others. Positioning themselves in this way ensures that they cannot be criticised for doing all that they can, however, it also functions to criticise the UK government's policy of excluding asylum seekers from the workforce. As I discussed in Chapter 5, Westminster government refugee integration strategies construct integration as a process for refugees only, and not for asylum seekers. The extracts presented here challenge this assumption as both participants positioned themselves as actively working to improve their life in the UK by making social connections and contributing to and being a part of the local community.

In the final section of this chapter the analysis demonstrated a counter position where, rather than aspiring for a better quality of life, participants constructed accounts of "just getting by". Participants positioned themselves as managing within an asylum system that restricts their ability to integrate. As Goodman et al. (2014a) also found, the

complaints made by participants were of the asylum system and not about British people or the government. Kirkwood (2012) has suggested that there may be an interactional requirement for asylum seekers not to appear ungrateful for the support that they have received in the UK which may explain the use of the "just getting by" repertoire. It should also be noted that all three participants in this final section had been living in the UK for between one and eight years and all had had their applications for asylum refused.

### 8.7 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of looking at the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers who live in Wales talk about what Ager and Strang (2004) call 'means and markers', within the context of their integration experiences. In contrast to research into media and political discourses, where findings indicate that forced migrants are frequently presented as welfare seekers, analysis here reveals that forced migrants position themselves as both willing and able to work and that they have aspirations for a better quality of life. The importance of work to forced migrants was also seen in the previous chapter and suggests that employment may be one of a number of key factors for forced migrant integration. Resisting the discourse of welfare seeking was also seen in the final extracts, which were about 'just getting by', and highlight the role that a restrictive asylum system plays in forced migrants' reported experiences of integration.

In the final chapter of this thesis I go on to discuss further the analysis presented in chapters five to eight and consider the implications of this analysis for policy relating to forced migrants in Wales. There, I will also build upon some of the criticisms of Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework* identified in this chapter and suggest the need to move away from integration "processes" in favour of "practices" of integration.

## 9. Discussion and Conclusions

"At a time when political figures easily adopt the claim that refugees are entitled to no more than relief from the immediate threat of persecution, it is important not to forget that how we treat those we define as refugees may tell us little about them, but a great deal about ourselves"

Maley (2016, p.41)

This thesis has addressed existing gaps in the literature on the reported integration experiences of forced migrants in the devolved Welsh context. To satisfy this aim it also contributes to a growing body of discursive research that focuses on refugee and asylum seeker discourse through a close analysis of interviews with refugees and asylum seekers who live in Wales. In this final chapter, I begin by providing a summary of the main results from the four empirical chapters. Following this, I discuss the theoretical and methodological implications of these findings and how they might be applied practically within a policy context and the "impact" potentials of this project. Finally, I finish with some final conclusions, reflecting on my experience of undertaking research with forced migrants in Wales and drawing attention to some possible limitations with this research and also offering some suggestions for future research within this area.

# 9.1 Summary of the thesis

In the first empirical chapter, I presented a critical discourse analysis of refugee integration strategy documents published by the UK, Welsh and Scottish governments since 2000. It illustrated the contrasting ways in which the UK and devolved governments have approached aspects of refugee integration and revealed ideological differences in the extent to which the integration of forced migrants is seen as either

positive or necessary. Analysis revealed that both the Welsh and Scottish
Governments construct integration as a process for refugees and asylum seekers,
beginning on day one of arrival in the host country, whereas the Westminster
government constructed it as a process for refugees only (beginning on the day that
refugee status is awarded). It also revealed that each of the strategy documents were
framed using a discourse of a "proud tradition" that worked to frame who integration
was a process for and when it should begin. Textual analysis of the documents
revealed that the Welsh Government used a grammatical style in which it was clear
that they were responsible for integration, whereas the Westminster government used
ambiguous and passive sentences with unclear modality that worked to generate an
ambivalent response to the 'problem' (integration of forced migrants). In Appendix 8 I
provide a table that further highlights the differences between the integration strategies
of the Westminster, Welsh and Scottish Governments.

From a Welsh perspective, it was important to analyse the way in which integration was constructed at the devolved as well as the UK-level and to examine areas of policy divergence. As Mulvey (2015) has argued, immigrant policy (integration policy) is inherently linked to immigration policy and, in Chapter 5, I showed how this relationship played out within the strategy documents in a number of ways.

Firstly, through conceptualising integration as a "process" for refugees only in the UK government strategies, it can be seen that the UK's immigration (asylum) policy is played out and at the same time is at odds with immigrant (integration) policy. The UK government has arguably endeavoured to create a 'hostile environment' (Zetter et al. 2005) that aims to discourage asylum seekers from coming to the UK and simultaneously encourages refused asylum seekers to leave the UK. Such an approach stands in opposition to one in which new forced migrants are welcomed and encouraged to integrate. This approach also fails to consider the intimate linking of the categories of 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' and renders the experiences of asylum seekers invisible and unimportant in policy documents, despite the fact that they may

eventually be awarded refugee status (sometimes after many years of being in the UK). By contrast, the devolved strategies do not suffer from these conceptual difficulties; they treat integration as a "process" which begins from day one of arrival in the country, regardless of status. But, this is itself shown to be problematic when the responsibility for the support of asylum seekers remains a matter reserved to the UK government, and the Home Office in particular.

I am not suggesting here that such matters should be devolved to the Welsh or Scottish governments, my intention is merely to point out the dilemmas that currently exist within a system of multi-level governance and the ideological differences that exist between national and devolved governments. Indeed, this is not to say that the Welsh and Scottish governments have not used their devolved powers to implement policies for asylum seekers that diverge from England. Access to education and healthcare are examples of areas of policy divergence which asylum seekers are able to benefit from upon arrival in Wales or Scotland that are not permitted in England.

In Chapter 5, I also showed how each of the strategies was framed around an interpretative repertoire (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) of the nation state as having a 'proud tradition' of offering protection to refugees. Through such a humanitarian framing I have argued that refugees are presented as unagentic and in need of protection or relief only, which fails to take account of the aspirations for economic self-sufficiency that were evident in the analysis of the interview data presented in chapters 7 and 8. Use of such a framing means that governments can create a discourse of integration which implies that it is refugees who must do the work because they are being given protection. It also positions the government, and country, as inherently tolerant, whilst at the same time potentially discursively represses (Billig, 1999) both other histories of not offering protection and the dilemmatic relationship discussed previously between the deterrence of asylum seekers and the integration of refugees. Long (2013) argues for refugees to be considered within the category of 'migrant', in an

attempt to move debates on from the concept of the 'refugee' requiring protection only. Indeed, I suggest that these integration strategy documents would benefit from such a re-framing, in which the economic aspirations of forced migrants, and not just their need for protection, is recognised and to see a shift whereby it is not just the 'refugee' who is seen as the problem and in need of change. Use of the 'proud tradition' repertoire furthers this "one-way" conception of integration by positioning the nation as inherently tolerant and experienced in welcoming those who need 'protection'.

Chaney (2016) and Williams (2015) have shown how notions of equity and tolerance have been at the heart of Welsh government policy since the beginnings of the devolved Assembly in 1999, so it is perhaps no surprise to see such a prominent framing of this repertoire within its *Refugee Inclusion Strategy* (2008). However, in Chapter 6, I questioned the view of Wales as the 'tolerant nation' (Williams, 2015) through an analysis of the interview data for this study concerning participants' talk about their experiences of racism in Wales. There, I showed how some participants drew on repertoires of cultural ignorance to play down reported incidents of racism and positioned the perpetrators (children) as blameless because of such cultural ignorance.

This second empirical chapter, and the first reporting a discursive analysis of the interview data, focused on participants' reported and implied experiences of being subject to racism in Wales. The absence of racism and hostility is identified as a key 'indicator of integration' in Ager and Strang's (2004) framework and therefore a question about reported experiences of racism was included within the interview schedule. However, as I note in Chapter 6, such discussions within the interviews were not limited to direct questioning by the interviewer about the issue of racism and also featured in talk about other topics (such as crime) too. Williams (2015) has shown that whilst Wales has historically portrayed itself as a 'tolerant nation', the growing diversity in Wales has led this thesis to be challenged. Seven participants in this study suggested, during the course of the interviews, that they had experienced racism and,

through analysis of these extracts in Chapter 6, I identified two ways in which the asylum seekers and refugees in this study constructed such accounts. In common with Edwards (2005), I suggested that the criticisms were raised reluctantly or only through necessity. The analysis also revealed an important methodological finding; that the framing of the question by the interviewer might have played a role in the way in which the participant responded to particular questions. I identified that in most cases the interviewer framed the question using "any racism" or "any prejudice", which Heritage and Robinson (2011) suggest orients interviewees towards giving more negative answers than other strategies for framing questions. The hesitant responses given by participants show a reluctance on the part of the interviewees to report a complaint about discrimination. However, Kirkwood et al. (2013b) have shown how this strategy can be pursued in order to put the experience of discrimination in play whilst avoiding the negative consequences of making accusations of racism.

The first identified way in which participants constructed accounts of perceived discrimination or racism was through drawing on repertoires of a 'naughty child', where it was the age of the child which functioned to explain the incident. In this sense, the perpetrators were presented as being a small minority who did not know the bounds of "normal" behaviour or who did not know better. In Extract 6.1, Amna explicitly compares this behaviour with that of the parents who she positioned as being responsible for the incident. Blaming the parents specifically functioned further to downplay the seriousness of the incident (having stones thrown at her by children) and allowed her to avoid making general complaints about the host society or appearing ungrateful for the protection she had received (Kirkwood et al., 2015). It may also be that by constructing an account in which cultural ignorance justifies the reported incidents, such that apparent discrimination is re-worked into not being discrimination (Kadianaki, 2014; Greenland and Taulke-Johnson, 2017).

The second way that participants constructed accounts of reported discrimination or racism was seen in the extracts from interviews with Kris and Mustafa.

There, I showed that whilst both were reluctant to make direct accusations of racism or discrimination, their strategy of questioning the basis of the discrimination again allowed the explanation of discrimination to be put in play, whilst also allowing them to avoid the difficulties that can follow from making direct accusations of discrimination. Both Kris and Mustafa constructed accounts which support the idea of everyday racism (Essed, 1991); a reported sense of feeling discrimination in everyday encounters that is not explicit. Flam and Beauzamy (2008) suggest that migrants are confronted by a range of different forms of rejection from violent attack to the more banal forms of nationalism (Billig, 1995) that can leave them feeling invisible. It appears that Kris and Mustafa were both constructing accounts of the more banal and everyday forms, unable (or perhaps unwilling) to give details of anything more than just a "sense" or "feeling" that they might have been discriminated against. As such, this may offer some support for the 'modern' racism approach, as they appear to be suggesting that whilst they had not experienced 'blatant' racism, they had been treated differently. However, this may support Fekete's (2009, p.20) 'xeno-racism' thesis more strongly; that government changes to the asylum laws, aimed particularly at deterring asylum seekers from coming to the UK have "created an ideological space in which racism towards asylum seekers became culturally acceptable".

What each of the extracts analysed in Chapter 6 demonstrate is that whilst incidents of racism may be downplayed in the interviews, such a strategy may reinforce the notion of Wales as the 'tolerant nation' (Williams, 2015). Indeed, the analysis of the extracts in Chapter 6 suggests that Williams (2015) is indeed correct to challenge the tolerance thesis in light of the growing "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007) experienced in Wales and that both explicit forms of racism and the more banal forms of everyday racism described by Kris and Mustafa need to be considered. The current study supports the findings of previous research (Threadgold et al. 2008; Crawley and Crimes, 2009) in demonstrating the many ways in which this discrimination appears to be a feature of life for ethnic minorities living in Wales. The findings also go further,

however, and suggest that Ager and Strang's conceptualisation of integration as a "two-way process" that requires there to be an absence of racism, is too simplistic. It therefore points to a need to look instead at the discursive "practices" of forced migrants, which indicate more nuanced and multi-faceted practices of adapting to living in Wales than Ager and Strang's (2004) model would predict.

In the third empirical chapter, I moved on to look at the ways in which interview participants constructed accounts of "belonging" in their local communities and at the national level. I began by drawing on the work of Dixon and Durrheim (2000) and their examination of the discursive construction of place-identity. Ager and Strang (2004) identify the "social connections" of "social bonds" and "social bridges" as playing a key role in the "processes" of refugee integration. The extracts presented in Chapter 7 showed that at the local level of the neighbourhood, participants co-constructed their place-identity in relation to safety and stability. As such the local neighbourhood was simultaneously constructed as a place in which there were minimal interactions with neighbours, suggesting that the development of "social bridges" may be difficult for forced migrants in Wales. Indeed, whilst I suggested that such interactions were constructed on a continuum between "silence" and "inclusion", the most common response given by participants was "just saying hi", suggesting that neighbourhood belonging was constructed as the absence of conflict and also as a banal and everyday "normality". This construction also functions normatively to show that participants are aware of urban neighbouring practices and allows them to position themselves as "good neighbours".

This talk allowed participants to present themselves as uncritical of their neighbours, however, it also showed the difficulty for them in developing "social bridges" (Ager and Strang, 2004). By contrast, in Extracts 7.4 and 7.5, Emanuel and Awet constructed an account of "belonging" within Refugee Community Organisations that they differentiated from their feelings of difference and of not belonging in their neighbourhoods. Such accounts could be taken as evidence for what Ager and Strang

(2004) call, a "two-way process" of integration, however, by analysing discursive "practices" I have shown that there is a need to consider such practices as multifaceted rather than as a simple "one- or two-way process". It suggests that the Welsh Government, in future integration strategies, should consider policy interventions that promote practices which lead to more meaningful contact between forced migrants and local residents.

Hynes (2011) describes the current system for the dispersal of asylum seekers as creating policy-imposed liminality and there was evidence of this in the extracts shown in Chapter 7. As I outlined in Chapter 1, the Welsh Government currently do not have devolved responsibility for matters relating to immigration and asylum and thus no powers to change the policy-imposed liminality described by Hynes (2011). However, a recently formed group, the Welsh Refugee Coalition (2016), argues in favour of devolved asylum support in its manifesto. Their proposal is not for devolved immigration decision making powers, but rather for a devolved asylum support system that includes asylum accommodation and dispersal in Wales. The Welsh Refugee Coalition (2016) argue that this is one of a number of measures that could lead to a greater culture of welcome in local communities and benefit community "cohesion". Indeed, the extracts presented in Chapter 7 suggest that whilst the development of community "cohesion" is needed so that neighbourhood relationships develop beyond "just saying hi", because safety and security was the predominant repertoire drawn on by participants, any such measures should not undermine feelings of safety and security.

As the chapter developed I suggested that analysis of the talk by participants went further than just being about belonging and that their talk raised more complex ontological questions about the nature of "being" a forced migrant in Wales. Whilst Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008) have argued for the focus of study to be on migrants' belonging, rather than identity, it is notable that neither issues of belonging, nor identity, are a key feature of Ager and Strang's (2004) *Indicators of Integration Framework*.

Spencer and Charsley (2016) propose an alternative model of "integration processes and effectors" which includes many of the social, structural, cultural and civic domains included by Ager and Strang (2004), but also with an explicit reference to "identity" as a key domain of the model. Their model also proposes a number of "effectors": the factors which impact upon integration processes across these five domains. The five "effectors" proposed by Spencer and Charsley (2016, p.7) are individuals, families and social networks, opportunity structures in society, policy interventions and transnational effectors. However, whilst it is positive that this model is more comprehensive and acknowledges the importance that identity plays in the context of integration, further research would be needed to see if it can account for the identity constructions found in this research. Indeed, whist their model focuses on "processes" I have suggested in this thesis that a change in focus towards situated "practices" is beneficial when undertaking research into forced migrant integration.

The issues raised in Chapter 7 also support the concept of integration that I first discussed in Chapter 5 when focussing on the language used in government refugee integration strategy documents. That is, there is arguably a need to see forced migrants, and their integration, as being about more than just protection. In line with Long (2013), I argue that the analysis presented in Chapters 7 and 8, suggests that there is a need to re-consider the categories of refugee and asylum seeker to also include economic aspirations. Moving the focus from "processes" to discursive "practices" supports such a re-framing of these categories.

The disruption of mainstream humanitarian narratives was also a feature of the extracts analysed in Chapter 8 from participants who constructed aspirational accounts in relation to employment and education. In these instances, integration was constructed around having the opportunities to achieve aspirations, but within the context of a restrictive and 'hostile environment'. Although the refugee integration strategies analysed in Chapter 5 also constructed refugee integration as being about 'achieving full potential', I showed that they lacked specificity of how this was to be

achieved, and reflected a dilemma for the UK, and particularly Welsh, governments between refugee integration and the deterrence of asylum seekers (through the creation of a 'hostile environment'). Many of the extracts analysed in Chapter 8 showed that participants constructed accounts of themselves as agents with potential and, whilst they drew on categories such as 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' in their talk which suggests a need for protection, the predominant repertoire found in their talk was for aspirations of a better quality of life.

Despite the UK and devolved governments' refugee integration strategies suggesting that 'achieving full potential' is key to integration, examples such as Extracts 8.1 and 8.4 from Samir, show that this may be more complex and multifaceted than the strategies imply and that restriction and lack of opportunity may continue to be a feature of forced migrants' lives in Wales. The All Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees (2017) has recently suggested that there needs to be more attention focused on what happens to refugees once they have been granted refugee status, so that refugee status becomes something more than just a piece of paper. Such an approach is seen in the talk of the participants in the extracts in Chapter 8, where there is a desire to be seen as more than just someone requiring protection (or a piece of paper conferring this). The Welsh Refugee Council have recently been awarded funding through the Welsh Government's Equalities and Inclusion Grant to provide the 'Asylum Rights Programme' in addition to their 'Move-on' project for newly recognised refugees. Whilst these programmes offer vital services, it is also important to consider developing specialist employment and education services, that refugees can access once they have overcome any barriers to accessing the rights and entitlements that come from their new status.

Chapter 8 also included a number of extracts from refused asylum seekers who constructed accounts of their life in Wales as 'just getting by'. This is most clearly seen in Extract 8.9 from Ghirmay who constructs his life in Wales using the most minimal formulations of being about 'survival' or 'being alive'. Recent discursive research by

Kirkwood (2012) and Goodman et al. (2014a, 2014b) also showed that their participants in Scotland and England constructed integration in a similar manner. This may suggest that, despite having different Government approaches to integration (as discussed in Chapter 5), the ways in which forced migrants discuss integration is relatively similar in the separate nations of the UK and also reinforces the view that it is the UK government (and the Home Office) which may lead to integration being constructed in restrictionist ways or as 'just getting by'.

As I suggested above, the analysis of forced migrants' talk about integration has revealed an inherent dilemma for the Welsh Government in its conceptualisation of inclusion as beginning from day one of arrival in Wales. Those who are awaiting a decision on their asylum claim are in many ways caught between the 'hostile environment' approach of the UK government and the more inclusive approach of the Welsh Government that has led some to suggest Wales be regarded as the 'Tolerant Nation' (Williams, 2015). For those, such as Ghirmay, Barbara and Mustafa, it is the restriction that they face from the asylum system, controlled by the UK Home Office, which leads to constructions of life as 'just getting by'. Thus, it may remain difficult for the Welsh Government to intervene and generate policies that do see greater inclusion for asylum seekers, unless asylum support and housing are devolved to the National Assembly.

# 9.2 Policy implications

In this section, I outline some potential applications of this research study, some of which relate directly to the "process" of, and policies for, integration and others regarding the use of language in debates around forced migration in Wales. I also outline some of the ways in which the study has already achieved a number of "impact" applications to date.

In this thesis, I have applied the Indicators of Integration Framework developed by Ager and Strang (2004) through individual interviews with refugees and asylum seekers living in Wales and analysed the practical conduct of those interactions using discourse analysis. Based on this detailed analysis I concluded that this framework, whilst useful, is too mechanistic and focusses too greatly on attempting to define a successful process of integration (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). I therefore argue that a shift in research focus is needed from "processes" to "practices", particularly discursive practices where meaning is at stake and which highlight the variation within individuals talk about integration. As I discussed in the previous section, Ager and Strang's (2004) framework provided a useful way of structuring the interviews in this study and suggests that greater dialogue between discursive researchers and social cognition and social indicators researchers may prove fruitful in providing alternative perspectives that can have policy impact.

Through an analysis of government refugee integration strategy documents I have shown how refugees are constructed as being persons in need of protection only. They therefore fail to take account of any economic or civic aspirations refugees may have. Indeed, in analysing the interviews with forced migrants for this study I have shown how such economic and civic aspirations were a key part of the way in which interviewees talked about their experiences of integration in Wales. Through focusing on discursive "practices", rather than "processes" I therefore suggest a need for a fundamental re-framing of the categories 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker', or a move away from such categories to use of the category 'migrant', which Long (2013) has argued is the more appropriate term to use because it reflects the economic aspirations that migrating individuals may have. Indeed, in Chapter 1, I indicated a preference for use of the term 'forced migrant' in this thesis and there I suggested that this term emphasised that it relates to individuals who cross borders to seek protection rather than for purely economic or family reasons. Based on the analysis in this thesis it seems that this is indeed an appropriate term (or categorisation), firstly because it attends to the protection needs highlighted by the participants in this study ('forced')

and secondly because it goes further than this and recognises that individuals, such as those interviewed in this study, may have economic aspirations (through use of the term 'migrant'). This therefore also has implications for refugee and asylum seeker advocates and the language that they choose to use in the course of promoting the rights of refugees and asylum seekers. By this I am not suggesting that such organisations (or individuals) should fail to articulate the protection needs of forced migrants in their discourses, but that this should be done in a way which recognises forced migrants as agents with potential who have economic and civic aspirations. This is because such aspirations were found to be a key feature of the way in which participants in this study constructed their accounts of integration, but is an area that is often absent from popular, political and media discourses of forced migration (Goodman et al., 2017; Berry et al., 2016; Charteris-Black, 2006).

I also suggest that future Welsh Government refugee integration strategies should show a greater consideration of economic and civic aspirations and offer more practical policy solutions that give refugees greater assistance to achieve these aspirations. Such an approach could also lead to integration being constructed as more dynamic and multi-faceted than a simplistic one-way process, as the documents analysed in this thesis were found to do. Following the approach of the Scottish Government, in which refugees are afforded greater agency and a clear outcome for what the refugee should be able to do if successful, could also prove useful for future Welsh Government strategies. Similarly, developing a Wales-wide integration service should also be considered, following the approach of the Scottish Government's 'Holistic Integration Service' which Strang, Baillot and Mignard (2017) have shown has had positive benefits for forced migrants in Scotland.

One of the difficulties for refugee integration in the devolved context remains the dilemma between devolved and reserved matters and the fact that immigration and asylum remain matters remain reserved to the UK government. In Chapter 8, I showed

how several of the participants, who were waiting for a decision on their initial asylum application or appealing a negative decision, constructed life as "just getting by" because of the restriction placed on them by their immigration status as an "asylum seeker". As this status is judged and decided by the Home Office of the UK government it becomes apparent that whilst the Welsh Government could address certain policy recommendations, those that impact asylum seekers most can only be addressed at the level of the Westminster government. One such policy recommendation would be to allow asylum seekers who have been waiting for a decision on their claim for more than six months to enter paid employment. The findings in Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis suggest that, because of the way in which "being" and "belonging" for forced migrants is constructed around aspirations of contributing economically, further pressure should be exerted on the UK government to re-consider its position on this. However, it is also acknowledged that such a reform would be counter to the 'hostile environment' policy approach (Zetter et al., 2005) that has been a feature of the UK Government for over 15 years, and an approach which has been strengthened in more recent immigration legislation (e.g. the Immigration Act 2014, Immigration Act 2017). In spite of this, I make such a recommendation in a policy briefing developed from the thematic findings of the research conducted for this study. This policy briefing can be found in Appendix 7 and I aim to ensure it is shared with both the Welsh Government and with charities and organisations that support forced migrants in Wales.

In addition to this policy briefing, outputs from this project have already been published in academic journals (Parker, 2018, 2017a; Parker, Naper and Goodman, in press), online (Parker, 2016a) and in the British Psychological Society's monthly magazine (Nightingale, Goodman and Parker, 2017). I have presented at a number of national and international conferences (Parker, 2016b, 2017b) and contributed to a policy briefing for the Home Office as an outcome of one such presentation (Parker and

Sanders, 2016). Throughout the course of this study, as outlined in Chapter 4, I have volunteered at a support organisation for refugees and asylum seekers in Cardiff. As part of this work I have helped co-ordinate a project to create a book of stories (Space4U, 2016), written and produced by refugees and asylum seekers in Wales about their reasons for being in Wales. This book has been made available for free in libraries across Cardiff with the aim of making Cardiff a more welcoming place for forced migrants and to aid integration.

#### 9.3 Reflections

When I began work on this thesis in 2014, the "refugee crisis", that became so frequently talked about in 2015 and 2016 (Berry et al., 2016), had already begun but, like at the time I write these reflections in late 2017, was reported less frequently in the news media. I had worked with refugees and asylum seekers for several years prior to beginning this research and was motivated to undertake this research because, like other researchers (Kirkwood et al., 2015, Every and Augoustinos, 2007), I held (and still hold) the belief that refugees and asylum seekers are subject to a range of unfair and discriminatory policies and discourses. This previous work in practice showed me that some refugees and asylum seekers were willing to talk seemingly quite freely and openly about their experiences and I felt that many of these stories were absent in popular and academic discourses. At the same time I was also aware that there would be many who did not want to talk about their experiences and this was a concern in the initial planning stages of this research. However, I am pleased that the recruitment of participants was not an obstacle in this project, which was in part, I believe, because trust was developed between my participants and myself. Indeed, as trust is such a fundamental issue (Hynes, 2011) in forced migration research I would suggest that practical experience amongst refugees is a must for all potential researchers in this field.

The analysis that I have presented in the preceding chapters and discussed further in the present chapter utilised qualitative research methods and a small sample of interview participants and should therefore be regarded as illustrative rather than representative (Silverman, 2014). Here, I would also like to reflect on two issues raised in Chapter 4, which I believe warrant further discussion: 1) the use of English language as the medium of communication in the research interviews and 2) the use of interviews in discourse analytic research.

A potential limitation of this study relates directly to the use of language in the interviews. I took the decision to conduct each of the interviews through the medium of the English language, although, in the end, two were conducted with the aid of a friend of the participant translating where necessary. I met with each of the interviewees prior to interview to check that their level of English would be sufficient for the interview. Despite this, there were one or two interviews where the participants' level of English turned out to be poorer than expected and where they were unable to give detailed answers to the questions I posed. These interviews proved both difficult to conduct and to analyse. For those participants who did have good or excellent English language speaking skills it is also difficult to know if their use of particular words corresponds to the way that I analysed them.

Conducting interviews through the medium of English, rather than through the participants' first language, may have led to an over representation of more highly educated participants than would be typically found amongst the UK forced migrant population (Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader, 2009). However, due to the diversity in cultural backgrounds and experiences of forced migrants it would be difficult to ever achieve a fully representative sample. One suggestion for future research could be to diversify the sources from which participants are recruited so that those who do not engage with support organizations are also represented in the sample. However, such

a strategy could prove to be both timely and ineffective with such a hard to reach group, and may once again bring questions of language to the fore.

Such limitations may point to the need to conduct future research interviews in the first language of the participant. However, this approach would introduce added complexity to the research process as it would require either the interviewer to be fluent in the first language of each of the interviewees (12 languages in this study), to work with translators or to engage a larger team of researchers to carry out the interviews. Engaging forced migrants more closely in the research process and recruiting members of the forced migrant community to assist in undertaking and analysing the interviews could be one solution to this problem and, whilst it was not practical for the current thesis, it is something that could be considered in future research.

The language through which the interview is conducted is an issue which has largely been neglected by other researchers employing a discursive psychological approach to the talk of refugees and asylum seekers. In their book, *The Language of Asylum*, Kirkwood et al. (2015) provide a comprehensive description of their participants and methods. However, discussion of the language used to conduct their interviews is omitted. Indeed, Kirkwood et al. (2013a, 2013b), Goodman et al. (2014a), Clare et al. (2014) and Liebling et al. (2014), who all analyse interviews with refugees and asylum seekers from a discursive psychological perspective, similarly do not discuss the language used to conduct their interviews. It is only in Goodman et al. (2014b, p.331) that the authors suggest that participants having English as an additional language represented "a barrier to the informal conversational style that they were aiming for". I would therefore argue that a wider debate is needed amongst academics employing a discourse analytic approach to the study of forced migrants' talk. This seems to me to be important when using an approach which focuses on meanings in talk and interpreting social action.

Academics in this area have instead engaged in a number of critical debates around what could (to some) be seen as a second limitation of this study: the use of interviews in discourse analytic research. Potter and Hepburn (2005) and Stokoe and Edwards (2007) in particular have argued against the "unreflective" use of interviews in discourse analytic research suggesting that they become flooded with social science agendas and categories and are therefore not useful for understanding "real life".

Instead, they argue for the study of "naturally occurring" talk as an alternative to interview data. For the current study such data would have been difficult to obtain and may once again have led to problems relating to the translation of data. Of the few studies that have been conducted in this area (e.g. Kirkwood et al., 2015; Goodman et al., 2014a) such criticism has been defended against by arguing that interview data allows forced migrants' voices to be heard in the research process, particularly when much "naturally occurring public" discourse on forced migration does not include forced migrants' voices. Indeed, it was my intention at the outset of the study to ensure that forced migrants voices were given prominence in this study.

During the course of this research I was lucky enough to meet many people who have both inspired this thesis and myself personally. It seemed to me, from my personal viewpoint, that the majority of my interviewees talked "positively" about their experience of living and integrating in Wales. However, I am also aware that such positivity may not be evident in the analysis chapters which I have presented in this thesis, because of the critical approach to data analysis that I have utilised. What also came across to me during the interviews was a passion from each of the interviewees to be involved in the research process and a desire to influence and contribute towards real policy change so that those seeking sanctuary in Wales in the future become less constrained by a "hostile environment" (Zetter et al., 2005). I will continue to engage further with this research group and with policy makers so that my research can be of use to them.

A final area I wish to reflect on here is my use of discourse analytic methods. Whilst the majority of research within social psychology that influences policy may come from social cognition research, this study demonstrates the ways in which discursive psychological research can also be usefully applied in a policy context. Other recent examples of this include Potter and Hepburn's (2003) work on NSPCC helplines and Finlay, Walton and Antaki's (2008) research with individuals who have learning disabilities, both of which have shown how a close analysis can lead to organisational changes in the ways that language is used between employees and service users. Although I have highlighted some policy applications in section 9.2, it could be argued that taking a discursive psychological approach does not lend itself to easily making such policy relevant recommendations. Taylor (2001) suggests that this may be because of a perception that it is quantitative, rather than qualitative research, which is more likely to influence policy makers and that the rejection of assumptions associated with the positivist tradition of research create difficulties for the discursive researcher who wishes to argue for the application of their findings. Taylor (2001) summarises such debates around the application of discursive research suggesting that, whilst some would argue that application is not possible, there are possible applications of discourse analytic research in terms of both recommendations for practice and interventions to produce change (such as those mentioned above), but also in terms of critique. She suggests that such critique may be in the form of challenging the status quo and debunking accepted wisdoms or as a form of empowerment. In this sense, the research presented in this thesis certainly has the potential to challenge the status quo in terms of the ways in which forced migrants constructions of integration may differ from those of governments and policy makers.

Whilst I still see the benefits of taking a discourse analytic approach, and feel that in this thesis it has allowed the discourses of forced migrants themselves to be the main focus of the analysis, in the section which follows I offer a number of suggestions

for future research on the subject of forced migration in Wales. However, due to the lack of extant research on this topic, my suggestions include both qualitative and quantitative research that seeks to map the field of forced migration in Wales, and includes thematic as well as discursive analysis.

#### 9.3.1 Future research

This study has highlighted the usefulness of taking a discursive approach to an analysis of forced migrants' talk about their experiences of living and integrating in Wales. In this section I provide three suggestions for further research that could be conducted on the subject of forced migration in Wales that was not addressed in the present study, but where gaps in research currently exist. Indeed, as the literature reviews I presented in Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated, there is currently limited research on forced migration in the Welsh context, which this study has begun to address.

As I highlighted in Chapter 1, the number of refugees currently living in Wales remains unknown and many reports rely on a figure of six to ten thousand that is an estimate from research conducted at least 5 years ago (Crawley, 2013). This difficulty arises because once asylum seekers in Wales are granted refugee status they are permitted to move from their dispersal location and claim mainstream welfare benefits (where their refugee status is not recorded). As such, further research is needed to map the field of forced migration in Wales. This should also include an examination of the reasons why newly recognised refugees choose to remain in, move to and leave Wales, following a successful grant of refugee status. Stewart and Shaffer (2015) have conducted similar research, covering the wider UK-context, and, in which, they suggest that Cardiff has become an increasingly popular place for refugees to settle in recent years, due to increasing ethnic diversity in the city. However, their research also suggests that the main reason for onward migration from Wales was due to lack of employment opportunities for refugees. This is of particular relevance given the

findings in Chapters 7 and 8 that forced migrants constructed their identities and sense of "being" a person around economic aspirations to contribute to society.

In a similar vein, it could also prove fruitful to investigate the effects of the current move-on policy for newly-granted refugees in Wales, who receive just 28 days following a successful grant to leave the accommodation provided by the National Asylum Support Service, find their own housing and gain employment or register for welfare support. Recent reports by the National Assembly for Wales (2017) and the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Refugees (2017) have indicated that this policy continues to adversely impact on the integration prospects of new refugees and therefore further research of the policy implications in the Welsh context would fill a current gap in knowledge. The report by the National Assembly for Wales (2017) further suggests that a two-tier system has developed between spontaneous arrivals (awarded refugee status in-country) and those who are resettled in the UK (via programmes such as the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme). There is currently a lack of empirical evidence to support such claims and thus future research could seek to address this by researching the integration experiences of these two different groups in Wales.

A final suggestion for future research concerns Ager and Strang's (2004) suggestion that it is citizenship, and its associated rights and entitlements, which should be considered the 'foundation' of integration. In the present study only one of the 19 interviewees had applied for British citizenship, yet still reported discrimination, thus it would be useful to carry out further research with forced migrants who have successfully applied for British citizenship to better understand the role that this might play in their integration in Wales.

In this thesis I have argued for taking a discursive approach and showed how such an approach can usefully have policy implications (like the work of Potter and Hepburn, 2005; Finlay et al., 2008). However, for future work I would propose a thematic (Braun and Clarke, 2006) in addition to a discourse analytic approach as it

may be more accessible to policy makers. The policy briefing I have compiled (appendix 7) similarly takes this approach to ensure that the main themes identified in this research are accessible to policy makers and to a non-specialist audience.

Perhaps the "elephant in the room" (Zerubavel, 2006) in this thesis is the UK's decision to leave the European Union (EU) following a referendum in June 2016. The motivating factor for this "silence" (Zerubavel, 2006) was that all of the interviews for this research were conducted prior to June 2016's referendum (and the majority before the referendum date was announced in February 2016). Thus, at that time, discussions of "Brexit" would not have been relevant to the everyday experiences of those interviewed for this study. Goodman's (2017) recent research has shown how arguments about immigration (particularly in the context of the "refugee crisis") were used to present it as out of control and as a reason for voting to leave the EU, arguing that "opposition to immigration has become mainstream" (2017, p.35). Therefore, now that the decision has been taken to leave the EU, this points to further future research being necessary to understanding its impacts on the day-to-day lives of forced migrants in Wales.

# 9.4 Why this research matters

In summary, this thesis has demonstrated the usefulness of taking a discursive approach to analysing the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers talk about integration in Wales. The thesis also fills a gap in the extant literature on the experiences of forced migrants in Wales, a topic that until this point has been largely under-researched. Through taking a discursive approach, I have demonstrated how those forced migrants who participated in this study constructed themselves as having aspirations of contributing to the economic and social life of Wales whilst simultaneously constructing Wales as a safe and secure place for them to establish a new home. More generally, taking this approach has highlighted the importance of studying integration as a series of situated 'practices', rather than as a focus on

"processes", which has dominated the literature on refugee integration and is also a feature of Ager and Strang's (2004) framework.

Through analysing a number of government refugee integration strategies I showed that refugee integration is constructed primarily as a need for protection, reinforced through notions of a 'proud tradition' of offering refuge to those in need, and thus such strategies may fail to take account of the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers position themselves as having aspirations that go beyond simply a protected existence. Thus, I have argued for the need to re-consider the categories of "refugee" and "asylum seeker", which are associated only with protection needs, preferring instead the term "forced migrant" which indicates both a need for protection and to contribute economically. I have also shown how close analysis of the talk of participants who were awaiting a decision on their asylum claim points to a fundamental dilemma for the Welsh Government in their aims to ensure inclusion from "day one" of arrival in Wales. Such talk points to the restrictions faced by participants from the non-devolved matter of asylum support and suggests a need for this to be devolved to Wales if the ambition of inclusion from "day one" of arrival in Wales is to be realised. More crucially, this research highlights the importance of forced migrants' being heard and being visible, not just being "protected", and I will conclude by giving the last word to one of my participants, Samir:

"As a person in Welsh society, why will you help me if you do not see my ambitions?"

## 10. References

- Ager, A. and Strang, A. 2004. Indicators of integration. London: Home Office.
- Ager, A. and Strang, A. 2008. Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of refugee studies* 21(2), pp. 166-191.
- Ahmed, S. 2007. 'You end up doing the document rather than doing the doing': Diversity, race equality and the politics of documentation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(4), pp. 590-609.
- All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Refugees. 2017. *Refugees Welcome? The Experience of New Refugees in the UK.* London: APPG.
- Allsopp, J., Sigona, N. and Phillimore, J. 2014. *Poverty among refugees and asylum seekers in the UK: An evidence and policy review.* University of Birmingham: IRiS Working Papers Series.
- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andreouli, E. and Dashtipour, P. 2014. British Citizenship and the 'Other': An Analysis of the Earned Citizenship Discourse. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 24(2), pp. 100-110.
- Antaki, C., Condor, S. and Levine, M. 1996. Social identities in talk: Speakers' own orientations. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 35(4), pp. 473-492.
- Antaki, C. and Wetherell, M. 1999. Show concessions. *Discourse studies* 1(1), pp. 7-27.
- Aspinall, P. and Watters, C. 2010. *Refugees and asylum seekers: A review from an equality and human rights perspective*. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
- Atkinson, J. M. and Heritage, J. 1984. *Structures of social action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Augoustinos, M. 2016. Re-theorizing prejudice in social psychology: From cognition to discourse. In: Tileaga, C. and Stokoe, E. eds. *Discursive psychology: Classic and contemporary issues*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, pp. 243-256.
- Augoustinos, M. and Every, D. 2007. The Language of "Race" and Prejudice A Discourse of Denial, Reason, and Liberal-Practical Politics. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 26(2), pp. 123-141.
- Augoustinos, M. and Every, D. 2010. Accusations and denials of racism: Managing moral accountability in public discourse. *Discourse & Society* 21(3), pp. 251-256.
- Augoustinos, M. and Walker, I. 2004. *Social cognition: An integrated introduction*. London: Sage.
- Baker, P. Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McEnery, T. and Wodak, R. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis

- and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & Society* 19(3), pp. 273-306.
- Baker, P. and McEnery, T. 2005. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. *Journal of Language and Politics* 4(2), pp. 197-226.
- Banton, M. 1988. Racial consciousness. London: Longman.
- Barker, M. 1981. *The new racism: conservatives and the ideology of the tribe*. London: Junction Books.
- Basedow, J. and Doyle, L. 2016. *England's forgotten refugees: Out of the fire and into the frying pan*. London: Refugee Council.
- Bates, D. 2017. The "red door" controversy—Middlesbrough's asylum seekers and the discursive politics of racism. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 27(2), pp. 126-136.
- Benwell, B. and Stokoe, E. 2013. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Berry, J. W. 1990. Understanding Individuals Moving Between Cultures. *Applied cross-cultural psychology* 14, pp. 232-253.
- Berry, J. W. 1997. Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology* 46(1), pp. 5-34.
- Berry, J. W. 2005. Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International journal of intercultural relations* 29(6), pp. 697-712.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L. and Vedder, P. 2006. Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied psychology* 55(3), pp. 303-332.
- Berry, J. W. and Sam, D. L. 1997. Acculturation and adaptation. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* 3, pp. 291-326.
- Berry, M., Garcia-Blanco, I. and Moore, K. 2016. *Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: a content analysis of five European countries*. UNHCR, <a href="http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html">http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html</a>.
- Bhatia, S. and Ram, A. 2009. Theorizing identity in transnational and diaspora cultures: A critical approach to acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33(2), pp. 140-149.
- Billig, M. 1988. The notion of 'prejudice': Some rhetorical and ideological aspects. *Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 8(1-2), pp. 91-110.
- Billig, M. 1995. Banal nationalism. London: Sage.
- Billig, M. 1996. *Arguing and thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Billig, M. 1997. The dialogic unconscious: Psychoanalysis, discursive psychology and the nature of repression. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 36(2), pp. 139-159.
- Billig, M. 1999. *Freudian repression: Conversation creating the unconscious*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D. and Radley, A. 1988. *Ideological dilemmas: A social psychology of everyday thinking*. London: Sage.
- Bloch, A. 2008. Refugees in the UK labour market: The conflict between economic integration and policy-led labour market restriction. *Journal of Social Policy* 37(1), pp. 21-36.
- Bloch, A. and Schuster, L. 2005. At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(3), pp. 491-512.
- Bowskill, M., Lyons, E. and Coyle, A. 2007. The rhetoric of acculturation: When integration means assimilation. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46(4), pp. 793-813.
- Brown, S. D. and Stenner, P. H. 2009. *Psychology without foundations : history, philosophy and psychosocial theory*. London: Sage.
- Burke, S. and Goodman, S. 2012. 'Bring back Hitler's gas chambers': Asylum seeking, Nazis and Facebook—a discursive analysis. *Discourse & Society* 23(1), pp. 19-33.
- Capdevila, R. and Callaghan, J. E. M. 2008. It's not racist. It's common sense. A critical analysis of political discourse around asylum and immigration in the UK. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 18(1), pp. 1-16.
- Castles, S., De Haas, H. and Miller, M. J. 2014. *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. 2009. *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world.* 4th ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chaney, P. 2011. *Equality and public policy exploring the impact of devolution in the UK*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Chaney, P. 2016. Social Policy in Wales. In: Alcock, P., Haux, T., May, M. and Wright, S. eds. *The student's companion to social policy*. Fifth edition. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 174-180.
- Chaney, P. and Fevre, R. 2001. Ron Davies and the cult of 'inclusiveness': devolution and participation in Wales. *Contemporary Wales* 14(1), pp. 21-49.
- Charteris-Black, J. 2006. Britain as a container: immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign. *Discourse & Society* 17(5), pp. 563-581.
- Cheung, S. Y. and Phillimore, J. 2014. Refugees, social capital, and labour market integration in the UK. *Sociology* 48(3), pp. 518-536.
- Cholewinski, R. 1998. Enforced destitution of asylum seekers in the United Kingdom: the denial of fundamental human rights. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 10(3), pp. 462-498.
- Clare, M., Goodman, S., Liebling, H. and Laing, H. 2014. "You Keep Yourself Strong": A Discourse Analysis of African Women Asylum Seekers' Talk about Emotions. *Journal of International Women's Studies* 15(1), pp. 83-95.
- Condor, S. 2000. Pride and prejudice: Identity management in English people's talk about this country'. *Discourse & Society* 11(2), pp. 175-205.

- Crawley, H. 2013. Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Wales. Cardiff: Wales Strategic Migration Partnership.
- Crawley, H. 2015. *Migration: beyond what "people think"*. Open Democracy (online). Available at <a href="https://www.opendemocracy.net/heaven-crawley/migration-beyond-what-people-think">https://www.opendemocracy.net/heaven-crawley/migration-beyond-what-people-think</a> [Accessed 20th September 2015].
- Crawley, H. and Crimes, T. 2009. *Refugees living in Wales: a survey of skills, experiences and barriers to inclusion*. Swansea: Swansea University.
- Crawley, H. and Skleparis, D. 2017. Refugees, migrants, neither, both: categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, pp. 1-17.
- Crawley, H., Duvell, F., Jones, K., McMahon, S. and Sigona, N. 2018. *Unravelling Europe's 'Migration Crisis'*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Da Lomba, S. 2010. Legal status and refugee integration: A UK perspective. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4), pp. 415-436.
- Dahinden, J. and Efionayi-Mäder, D. 2009. Challenges and strategies in empirical fieldwork with asylum seekers and migrant sex workers. In: Van Liempt, I. and Bilger, V. eds. *The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, pp. 98-117.
- Darling, J. 2013. Moral urbanism, asylum, and the politics of critique. *Environment and Planning A* 45(8), pp. 1785-1801.
- Davies, B. and Harré, R. 1990. Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour* 20(1), pp. 43-63.
- De Leersnyder, J., Mesquita, B. and Kim, H. S. 2011. Where do my emotions belong? A study of immigrants' emotional acculturation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37(4), pp. 451-463.
- Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P. 2008. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, J. and Durrheim, K. 2000. Displacing place identity: a discursive approach to locating self and other. *British journal of social psychology* 39(1), pp. 27-44.
- Doyle, L. 2014. 28 days later: experiences of new refugees in the UK. London: Refugee Council
- Duffy, B. and Frere-Smith, T. 2014. *Perceptions and reality: Public attitudes to immigration*. Ipsos-MORI Social Research Institute.
- Dunkerley, D., Scourfield, J., Maegusuku-Hewett, T. and Smalley, N. 2006. Children seeking asylum in Wales. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19(4), pp. 488-508.
- Durrheim, K. and Dixon, J. 2005. *Racial encounter: The social psychology of contact and desegregation*. East Sussex: Routledge.
- Durrheim, K., Quayle, M. and Dixon, J. 2016. The struggle for the nature of "prejudice": "Prejudice" expression as identity performance. *Political Psychology* 37(1), pp. 17-35.

- Dwyer, P. 2009. *Integration? The perceptions and experiences of refugees in Yorkshire and the Humber.* Yorkshire & Humber Regional Migration Partnership, pp. 1-34
- Dwyer, P. and Brown, D. 2008. Accommodating 'others'?: housing dispersed, forced migrants in the UK. *Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law* 30(3), pp. 203-218.
- Edley, N. 2001. 'Analysing Masculinity: Interpretative Repertoires, Ideological Dilemmas and Subject Positions' in Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. J. (eds) Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis, London: Sage in association with the Open University.
- Edwards, D. 1999. Emotion Discourse. Culture & Psychology 5(3), pp. 271-291.
- Edwards, D. 2005. Moaning, whinging and laughing: The subjective side of complaints. *Discourse studies* 7(1), pp. 5-29.
- Edwards, D. and Potter, J. 1992. Discursive psychology. London: Sage.
- El Refaie, E. 2001. Metaphors we discriminate by: Naturalized themes in Austrian newspaper articles about asylum seekers. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(3), pp. 352-371.
- Essed, P. 1991. *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary approach*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Eurostat. 2017. Asylum Statistics. Available at <a href="http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum statistics">http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum statistics</a> [Accessed 3rd June 2017]
- Evans, N. 2015. Immigrants and minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: a comparative perspective. In: Williams, C., Evans, N. and O'Leary, P. eds. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting ethnic diversity in a devolved Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp.24-50.
- Every, D. and Augoustinos, M. 2007. Constructions of racism in the Australian parliamentary debates on asylum seekers. *Discourse & Society* 18(4), pp. 411-436.
- Every, D. and Augoustinos, M. 2008. Constructions of Australia in pro and anti asylum seeker political discourse. *Nations and Nationalism* 14(3), pp. 562-580.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. Discourse and social change. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Fairclough, N. 2000. New Labour, New Language? London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 2001. The discourse of new labour: Critical discourse analysis. *in Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. J. (eds) Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis, London: Sage in association with the Open University.*, pp. 229-266.
- Fanon, F.1967. Racism and culture. In: Fanon, F. (ed) *Toward the African revolution* (trans. H. Chevalier). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Favell, A. 1998. *Philosophies of integration: immigration and the idea of citizenship in France and Britain*. Basingstoke: Macmillan/Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations.
- Fekete, L. 2001. The emergence of xeno-racism. Race and Class 43(2), pp. 23-40.
- Fekete, L. 2009. A Suitable Enemy: Racism, Migration and Islamophobia in Europe. London: Pluto Press.

- Festinger, L. 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Finlay, W. M., Walton, C. and Antaki, C. 2008. Promoting choice and control in residential services for people with learning disabilities. *Disability & society* 23(4), pp. 349-360.
- Fishbein, M. and Ajzen, I. 1975. *Belief, attitude, intention and behaviour: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Flam, H. and Beauzamy, B. 2008. Symbolic Violence. In: Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P. eds. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 221-240.
- Fox Tree, J. E. and Schrock, J. C. 2002. Basic meanings of you know and I mean. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34(6), pp. 727-747.
- Free Movement. 2017. <a href="https://www.freemovement.org.uk/home-office-ends-policy-automatic-settlement-refugees-five-years/">https://www.freemovement.org.uk/home-office-ends-policy-automatic-settlement-refugees-five-years/</a> [Accessed 25/10/2017]
- Fuller, J. M. 2003. Use of the discourse marker like in interviews. *Journal of sociolinguistics* 7(3), pp. 365-377.
- Fullilove, M. T. 1996. Psychiatric implications of displacement: Contributions from the psychology of place. *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 153(12), p. 1516.
- Gabrielatos, C. and Baker, P. 2008. Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics* 36(1), pp. 5-38.
- Gale, P. 2004. The refugee crisis and fear Populist politics and media discourse. *Journal of Sociology* 40(4), pp. 321-340.
- Gatrell, P. 2017. Refugees—What's Wrong with History? *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30(2), pp. 170-189.
- Garvie, D. 2001. Far from home: The housing of asylum seekers in private rented accommodation. London: Shelter.
- Gilbert, G. N. and Mulkay, M. 1984. *Opening Pandora's box: A sociological analysis of scientists' discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gillespie, M. 2012. *Trapped: destitution and asylum in Scotland*. Glasgow: Scottish Poverty Information Unit, Institute for Society and Social Justice Research, Glasgow Caledonian University.
- Giudici, M. 2014. Immigrant narratives and nation-building in a stateless nation: the case of Italians in post-devolution Wales. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(8), pp. 1409-1426.
- Goffman, E. 1963. Behavior in Public Places. Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings. New York: Free Press.
- Goodkind, J. R. and Deacon, Z. 2004. Methodological issues in conducting research with refugee women: Principles for recognizing and re centering the multiply marginalized. *Journal of Community Psychology* 32(6), pp. 721-739.

- Goodman, S. 2007. Constructing asylum seeking families. *Critical approaches to discourse analysis across disciplines* 1(1), pp. 35-49.
- Goodman, S. 2008a. Justifying harsh treatment of asylum seekers through the support of social cohesion. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology* 6, pp. 110-124.
- Goodman, S. 2008b. The generalizability of discursive research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 5(4), pp. 265-275.
- Goodman, S. 2010. It's not racist to impose limits on immigration": Constructing the boundaries of racism in the asylum and immigration debate. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 4(1), pp. 1-17.
- Goodman, S. 2017. "Take Back Control of Our Borders": The Role of Arguments about Controlling Immigration in the Brexit Debate. *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe, Vol. 15 (3)*, pp. 35-53.
- Goodman, S. and Burke, S. 2010. 'Oh you don't want asylum seekers, oh you're just racist': A discursive analysis of discussions about whether it's racist to oppose asylum seeking. *Discourse & Society* 21(3), pp. 325-340.
- Goodman, S. and Burke, S. 2011. Discursive Deracialization in Talk about Asylum Seeking. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 21(2), pp. 111-123.
- Goodman, S., Burke, S., Liebling, H. and Zasada, D. 2014a. 'I'M NOT HAPPY, BUT I'M OK' How asylum seekers manage talk about difficulties in their host country. *Critical Discourse Studies* 11(1), pp. 19-34.
- Goodman, S., Burke, S., Liebling, H. and Zasada, D. 2014b. 'I Can't Go Back Because If I Go Back I Would Die': How Asylum Seekers Manage Talk about Returning Home by Highlighting the Importance of Safety. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 25 (4)*, pp. 327-339.
- Goodman, S. and Johnson, A. J. 2013. Strategies used by the Far Right to counter accusations of Racism. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 6(2), pp. 97-113.
- Goodman, S. and Rowe, L. 2014. 'Maybe it is prejudice... but it is NOT racism': Negotiating racism in discussion forums about Gypsies. *Discourse & Society* 25(1), pp. 32-46.
- Goodman, S., Sirriyeh, A. and McMahon, S. 2017. The evolving (re) categorisations of refugees throughout the "refugee/migrant crisis". *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 27(2), pp. 105-114.
- Goodman, S. and Speer, S. A. 2007. Category use in the construction of asylum seekers. *Critical Discourse Studies* 4(2), pp. 165-185.
- Goodson, L. J. and Phillimore, J. 2008. Social Capital and Integration: The Importance of Social Relationships and Social Space to Refugee Women. *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities & Nations* 7(6), pp. 181-193.
- GOV.UK. 2017. Asylum Support. Available at <a href="https://www.gov.uk/asylum-support/what-youll-get">https://www.gov.uk/asylum-support/what-youll-get</a> [Accessed 1st August 2017].
- Greenland, K. and Taulke-Johnson, R. 2017. Gay men's identity work and the social construction of discrimination. *Psychology & Sexuality 8(1-2)*, pp.81-95.

- Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein, J. A. 1997. *The new language of qualitative method*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, R. 2000. Citizenship and immigration in Post-War Britain: the institutional origins of a multicultural nation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayes, D. 2002. A history of immigration controls and welfare in Britain. In: Cohen, S., Humphries, B. and Mynott, E. eds. *From immigration controls to welfare controls*. New York: Routledge, pp. 30 46.
- Heider, F. 1958. The Psychology of Interpersonal relations. New York: Wiley.
- Helton, A. C. 2002. *The price of indifference: refugees and humanitarian action in the new century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hepburn, A. and Potter, J. 2003. Discourse analytic practice. In: Seale, C., Silverman, D., Gubrium, J. and Gobo, G (eds.) *Qualitative research practice*, pp. 180-196. London: Sage.
- Heritage, J. and Robinson, J. D. 2011. "Some" vs. "any" medical issues: Encouraging patients to reveal their unmet concerns. In Antaki, C. (Ed.), *Applied conversation analysis: Changing institutional practices,* pp. 15–31. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. R. 1988. Social semiotics. Cambridge: Polity.
- Holmes, J. 1990. Hedges and boosters in women's and men's speech. *Language & Communication* 10(3), pp. 185-205.
- Home Office. 1998. Fairer, faster and firmer A modern approach to immigration and asylum. London: Stationery Office Ltd.
- Home Office. 2000. Full and Equal Citizens: A Strategy for the integration of refugees into the United Kingdom. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. 2005. *Integration Matters: A National Strategy for Refugee Integration*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. 2009. *Moving on Together: Government's recommitment to supporting refugees*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. 2017. Immigration Statistics October to December 2016. Available at: <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum">https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum</a>
- Human Rights Watch. 2014. *World Report 2014: Eritrea*. Available at <a href="https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/eritrea">https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/eritrea</a> [Accessed 23rd January 2015]
- Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R. 1998. *Conversation Analysis: Principles, practice and applications*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Huxley, J. S. and Haddon, A. C. 1935. We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems
- Hynes, T. 2003. New issues in refugee research. *The issue of 'trust 'or 'mistrust' in research with refugees: choices, caveats and considerations for researchers.*Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, The United Nations Refugee Agency.

- Hynes, P. 2009. Contemporary compulsory dispersal and the absence of space for the restoration of trust. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22(1), pp. 97-121.
- Hynes, P. 2011. The dispersal and social exclusion of asylum seekers: between liminality and belonging. Bristol: Policy Press.
- IOM (International Organisation for Migration). 2015. Irregular Migrant, Refugee Arrivals in Europe Top One Million in 2015: IOM. Available from <a href="https://www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom">https://www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom</a>
- Jefferson, G. 1988. On the sequential organization of troubles-talk in ordinary conversation. *Social problems* 35(4), pp. 418-441.
- Jefferson, G. 1990. List construction as a task and interactional resource. In: Psathas, G. Ed., *Interactional Competence*. University Press of America, New York, pp. 63–92.
- Jefferson, G. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In: Lerner, G.H. ed. *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 13-31.
- Joint Committee on Human Rights. 2007. The Treatment of Asylum Seekers. Tenth report of session 2006-07. London: The Stationary Office
- Jones, H., Gunaratnam, Y., Bhattacharyya, G., Davies, W., Dhaliwal, S., Forkert, K., Jackson, E. and Saltus, R. 2017. *Go Home!: Immigration controversies and performative politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, P. and Krzyżanowski, M. 2008. Identity, belonging and migration: beyond constructing 'others'. In: Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P. eds. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 38-53.
- Joppke, C. 2004. The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: Theory and practice. *The British Journal of Sociology* 55(2), pp. 237-257.
- Jørgensen, M. W. and Phillips, L. J. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage.
- Jucker, A. H. 1993. The discourse marker well: A relevance-theoretical account. *Journal of pragmatics* 19(5), pp. 435-452.
- Kadianaki, I. 2014. The Transformative Effects of Stigma: Coping Strategies as Meaning Making Efforts for Immigrants Living in Greece. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 24(2), pp. 125-138.
- Keith, K.D. 2011. Introduction to cross-cultural psychology, in Keith, K. D. ed., *Cross-cultural psychology: Contemporary themes and perspectives*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.3-19.
- Kelley, H. H. 1967. Attribution Theory in Social Psychology. In: Levine, D. ed. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Vol. 15). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. Pp.192-238.
- KhosraviNik, M. 2009. The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005). *Discourse & Society* 20(4), pp. 477-498.

- Kinder, D. R. and Sears, D. O. 1981. Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of personality and social psychology* 40(3), pp. 414-431.
- Kirkwood, S. 2012. Negotiating the dilemmas of claiming asylum: A discursive analysis of interviews with refugees on life in Scotland. *esharp*, pp. 87-112.
- Kirkwood, S. 2017. The Humanisation of Refugees: A Discourse Analysis of UK Parliamentary Debates on the European Refugee 'Crisis'. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 27(2), pp. 115-125.
- Kirkwood, S., Goodman, S., McVittie, C. and McKinlay, A. 2015. *The Language of Asylum: Refugees and Discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kirkwood, S., Liu, J. H. and Weatherall, A. 2005. Challenging the standard story of indigenous rights in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 15(6), p. 493.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2013a. The Mutually Constitutive Relationship between Place and Identity: The Role of Place-Identity in Discourse on Asylum Seekers and Refugees. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 23(6), pp. 453-465.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2013b. 'They're more than animals': Refugees' accounts of racially motivated violence. *British journal of social psychology* 52(4), pp. 747-762.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2014a. 'Some People It's Very Difficult to Trust': Attributions of Agency and Accountability in Practitioners' Talk About Integration. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 24(5), pp. 376-389.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2014b. 'He's a cracking wee geezer from Pakistan': Lay accounts of refugee integration failure and success in Scotland. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 28(1), pp. 1-20.
- Kitzinger, C. 2004. Feminist approaches. In Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. and Silverman, D. eds. *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage, pp. 125-140.
- Korac, M. 2003. Integration and How We Facilitate it. A Comparative Study of the Settlement Experiences of Refugees in Italy and the Netherlands. *Sociology* 37(1), pp. 51-68.
- Kotthoff, H. 1993. Disagreement and concession in disputes: On the context sensitivity of preference structures. *Language in Society* 22, pp. 193-193.
- Krzyżanowski, M. and Wodak, R. 2008. `Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: "Voices of Migrants", in Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. and Iedema, R. eds. *Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 95-119.
- Kundnani, A. 2001. In a foreign land: the new popular racism. *Race & class* 43(2), pp. 41-60.
- Kusenbach, M. 2006. Patterns of neighboring: Practicing community in the parochial realm. *Symbolic Interaction* 29(3), pp. 279-306.

- Kushner, T. 2003. Meaning nothing but good: ethics, history and asylum-seeker phobia in Britain. *Patterns of Prejudice* 37(3), pp. 257-276.
- Kymlicka, W. 2010. The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. eds. *The Multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 32-49.
- Lea, S. and Lynn, N. 2003. "A phantom menace and the new Apartheid": the social construction of asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom. *Discourse and Society* 14(4), pp. 425-452.
- Leudar, I., Hayes, J., Nekvapil, J. and Baker, J. T. 2008. Hostility themes in media, community and refugee narratives. *Discourse & Society* 19(2), pp. 187-221.
- Lewis, H. 2007. *Interrogating community: dispersed refugees in Leeds.* University of Hull.
- Lewis, M. 2005. *Asylum: Understanding public attitudes*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Ley, D. 2010. Multiculturalism: a Canadian defence. In Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. eds. *The Multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 190-206.
- Liebling, H. Burke, S., Goodman, S., Zasada, D. and Watters, C. 2014. Understanding the experiences of asylum seekers. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* 10(4).
- Loewenstein, A. 2015. Disaster Capitalism. New York: Verso Books.
- Lofland, L. H. 1998. *The public realm: Exploring the city's quintessential social territory*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Long, K. 2013. When refugees stopped being migrants: Movement, labour and humanitarian protection. *Migration Studies* 1(1), pp. 4-26.
- Lueck, K., Due, C. and Augoustinos, M. 2015. Neoliberalism and nationalism: Representations of asylum seekers in the Australian mainstream news media. *Discourse & Society* 26(5), pp. 608-629.
- Macpherson, W. 1999. The Stephen Lawrence inquiry: report of an inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny. London: Stationary Office.
- Maegusuku Hewett, T. Dunkerley, D., Scourfield, J. and Smalley, N. 2007. Refugee children in Wales: coping and adaptation in the face of adversity. *Children & society* 21(4), pp. 309-321.
- Maley, W. 2016. What is a Refugee? Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mann, R. and Tommis, Y. 2012. *Public Sentiments Towards Immigration in Wales*. WISERD Research Report.
- Masocha, S. 2015. Construction of the 'other' in social workers' discourses of asylum seekers. *Journal of Social Work* 15(6), pp. 569-585.

- Mayblin, L. 2016. Complexity reduction and policy consensus: Asylum seekers, the right to work, and the 'pull factor'thesis in the UK context. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18(4), pp. 812-828.
- McCann-Mortimer, P. Augoustinos, M. and LeCouteur, A. 2004. 'Race' and the Human Genome Project: constructions of scientific legitimacy. *Discourse & Society* 15(4), pp. 409-432.
- McConahay, J. B. 1986. Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In: Gaertner, S.L. ed. *Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism: Theory and Research*. New York: Academic Press.
- McDonald, I. and Billings, P. 2007. The treatment of asylum seekers in the UK. *Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law* 29(1), pp. 49-65.
- McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2007. Locals, incomers and intra national migration: Place identities and a Scottish island. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46(1), pp. 171-190.
- McKinlay, A. and McVittie, C. 2008. *Social psychology and discourse*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- McPherson, M. 2010. 'I Integrate, Therefore I Am': Contesting the Normalizing Discourse of Integrationism through Conversations with Refugee Women. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4), pp. 546-570.
- Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M-Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G. and Muhamad, M. 2001. Power and positionality: Negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 20(5), pp. 405-416.
- Miles, R. 1989. Racism. London: Routledge.
- Miller, P. and Rose, N. 1990. Governing economic life. *Economy and society* 19(1), pp. 1-31.
- Morawska, E. 2014. Composite meaning, flexible ranges, and multi-level conditions of conviviality: Exploring the polymorph. *European Journal of cultural studies* 17(4), pp. 357-374.
- Moscovici, S. 1984. The phenomenon of social representations. In: Farr, R. and Moscovici, S. eds. *Social representations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-69.
- Moscovici, S. 1988. Notes towards a description of social representations. *European journal of social psychology* 18(3), pp. 211-250.
- Mulvey, G. 2010. When policy creates politics: The problematizing of immigration and the consequences for refugee integration in the UK. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4), pp. 437-462.
- Mulvey, G. 2015. Refugee integration policy: the effects of UK policy-making on refugees in Scotland. *Journal of Social Policy* 44(2), pp. 357-375.
- National Assembly for Wales. 2017. "I used to be someone": Refugees and asylum seekers in Wales. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

- Netto, G. 2011a. Identity negotiation, pathways to housing and "place": the experience of refugees in Glasgow. *Housing, Theory and Society* 28(2), pp. 123-143.
- Netto, G. 2011b. Strangers in the city: Addressing challenges to the protection, housing and settlement of refugees. *International Journal of Housing Policy* 11(3), pp. 285-303.
- Nguyen, L. and McCallum, K. 2016. Drowning in our own home: a metaphor-led discourse analysis of Australian news media reporting on maritime asylum seekers. *Communication Research and Practice* 2(2), pp. 159-176.
- Nightingale, A., Goodman, S. and Parker, S. 2017. Beyond Borders: Psychological perspectives on the current refugee crisis in Europe. The Psychologist June 2017, pp. 58-62. Available at <a href="https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-30/june-2017/beyond-borders">https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-30/june-2017/beyond-borders</a>
- Nightingale, A. Quayle, M. and Muldoon, O. 2017. "It's just heart breaking": Doing inclusive political solidarity or ambivalent paternalism through sympathetic discourse within the "refugee crisis" debate. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 27(2), pp. 137-146.
- Nikander, P. 1995. The turn to the text: The critical potential of discursive social psychology. *Nordiske Udkast* 2, pp. 3-15.
- O'Doherty, K. and Lecouteur, A. 2007. "Asylum seekers," "boat people" and "illegal immigrants": Social categorisation in the media. *Australian Journal of Psychology* 59(1), pp. 1-12.
- Parekh, B. C. 2000. The future of multi-ethnic Britain: report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. London: Profile Books.
- Parker, I. 1990. Discourse: Definitions and contradictions. *Philosophical psychology* 3(2-3), pp. 187-204.
- Parker, S. 2015. 'Unwanted invaders': The representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK and Australian print media. *eSharp* (23), pp. 1-21.
- Parker, S. 2016a. Putting integration back on the agenda: Working across disciplines, The Psychologist (Online), Available at <a href="https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/migration-crisis-psychological-perspectives">https://thepsychological-perspectives</a>
- Parker, S. 2016b. "Welcome in Wales?" A discursive analysis of reported racist incidents in asylum seeker and refugee discourses. Conference presentation at: *Frontiers and borders of superdiversity: Theory, method and practice,* IRIS University of Birmingham, 23rd–24th June 2016.
- Parker, S. 2017a. Falling Behind: The Decline of the Rights of Asylum Seekers in the UK and Its Impact on Their Day-to-day Lives. *eSharp* 25(1), pp. 83-95.
- Parker, S. 2017b. A critical discourse analysis of UK, Scottish and Welsh Government refugee integration strategies. Conference presentation at: *International Society of Political Psychology Annual Meeting*, University of Edinburgh, 29<sup>th</sup> June 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2017

- Parker, S. 2018. "It's ok if it's hidden": The discursive construction of everyday racism for refugees and asylum seekers in Wales. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, doi:10.1002/casp.2344.
- Parker, S., Aaheim Naper, A. and Goodman, S. (in press) How a photograph of a drowned refugee child turned a migrant crisis into a refugee crisis: A comparative discourse Analysis. *For(e)dialogue* Vol.2
- Parker, S. and Sanders, S. 2016. Inclusion with whom?: The construction of other migrants as problematic in the integration discourses of forced migrants in Wales. Conference presentation at: "The Current Migration Crisis in Europe" SPSSI UK Conference, Cardiff University, 30<sup>th</sup>–31<sup>st</sup> August 2016.
- Parry, G. 2010. Refugee Integration & Employment Service Annual Report 2009-2010. Cardiff: Cardiff Refugee Services.
- Payson, A. 2015. "This is the place we are calling home": Changes in Sanctuary Seeking in Wales. In: Williams, C., Evans, N. and O'Leary, P. eds. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting ethnic diversity in a devolved Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 277-304.
- Pearce, J. M. and Stockdale, J. E. 2009. UK responses to the asylum issue: A comparison of lay and expert views. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19(2), pp. 142-155.
- Perkins, K. M. 2016. The Integration of 'Bottom up' Approaches to the Analysis of Race Talk for the Future of Discourse Analytic Research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 10(6), pp. 329-336.
- Phelps, J. 2014. Integration, Overview. *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*. Springer, pp. 966-968.
- Phillimore, J. 2011. Refugees, acculturation strategies, stress and integration. *Journal of Social Policy* 40(03), pp. 575-593.
- Phillimore, J. 2012. Implementing integration in the UK: Lessons for integration theory, policy and practice. *Policy & Politics* 40(4), pp. 525-545.
- Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. 2002. Asylum seeker and refugee employability initiatives: models for implementing a super pathway in the West Midlands. Discussion paper prepared for West Midlands Executive Consortia, West Midlands Local Government Association, Birmingham.
- Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. 2006. Problem or opportunity? Asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas. *Urban Studies* 43(10), pp. 1715-1736.
- Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. 2008. Making a place in the global city: The relevance of indicators of integration. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(3), pp. 305-325.
- Phillips, D. 2006. Moving towards integration: the housing of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain. *Housing Studies* 21(4), pp. 539-553.
- Pickering, S. 2001. Common sense and original deviancy: news discourses and asylum seekers in Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 14(2), pp. 169-186.

- Pomerantz, A. 1986. Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies* 9(2), pp. 219-229.
- Potter, J. 1996a. *Representing reality: discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London: Sage.
- Potter, J. 1996b. Attitudes, social representations and discursive psychology. In: Wetherell, M. ed. *Identities, groups and social issues*. London: Sage, pp. 119-173.
- Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. 2003. "I'm a Bit Concerned"--Early Actions and Psychological Constructions in a Child Protection Helpline. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 36(3), pp. 197-240.
- Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. 2005. Qualitative interviews in psychology: Problems and possibilities. *Qualitative research in Psychology* 2(4), pp. 281-307.
- Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. 2012. Eight challenges for interview researchers. In Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A., McKinney, K. Eds. *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 555-570.
- Potter, J. and Mulkay, M. 1985. Scientists' interview talk: Interviews as a technique for revealing participants' interpretative practices. IN: Brenner, M., Brown, J. and Canter, D. eds. *The research interview: Uses and approaches*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 247-271.
- Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. 1987. *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.
- Potter, J. Wetherell, M., Gill, R. and Edwards, D. 1990. Discourse: noun, verb or social practice? *Philosophical psychology* 3(2-3), pp. 205-217.
- Potter, J. Wetherell, M. and Chitty, A. 1991. Quantification rhetoric—cancer on television. *Discourse & Society* 2(3), pp. 333-365.
- Potter, J. Hepburn, A. and Tileagă, C. 2011. Inequality in action. *International Journal of Education and Psychology in the Community (IJEPC)* (I-2), pp. 43-60.
- Putnam, R. D. 2002. *Democracies in flux: The evolution of social capital in contemporary society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Race Council Cymru. 2012. A report on race equality and racism in Wales: An exploratory study. Swansea: Race Council Cymru
- Ratner, C. 1997. *Cultural psychology and qualitative methodology: Theoretical and empirical considerations*. New York: Plenum.
- Robinson, V. 1998. *Defining and measuring successful refugee integration*. Proceedings of ECRE International conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe. Antwerp, 12-14 November.
- Robinson, V. 2006. *Mapping the Field: Refugee Housing in Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Refugee Council.
- Robinson, V. and Coleman, C. 2000. Lessons learned? A critical review of the government program to resettle Bosnian quota refugees in the United Kingdom. *International Migration Review*, pp. 1217-1244.

- Robinson, V. 2003. Spreading the 'burden'?: a review of policies to disperse asylum-seekers and refugees. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Rose, N. and Miller, P. 1992. Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government. *British Journal of Sociology*, pp. 173-205.
- Rowe, L. and Goodman, S. 2014. "A stinking filthy race of people inbred with criminality" A discourse analysis of prejudicial talk about Gypsies in discussion forums. *Romani Studies* 24(1), pp. 25-42.
- Rudmin, F. W. and Ahmadzadeh, V. 2001. Psychometric critique of acculturation psychology: The case of Iranian migrants in Norway. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 42(1), pp. 41-56.
- Sales, R. 2002. The deserving and the undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain. *Critical social policy* 22(3), pp. 456-478.
- Sales, R. 2007. *Understanding immigration and refugee policy: contradictions and continuities.* Bristol: Policy Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. 1997. Whose text? Whose context? *Discourse & Society* 8(2), pp. 165-187.
- Schibel, Y. Fazel, M., Robb, R. and Garner, P. 2002. *Refugee integration: Can research synthesis inform policy?* Feasibility study report. RDS ON-line Report 13/02.
- Schiffrin, D. 1999. Oh as a Marker of Information Management. In: Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. eds. *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge, pp.275-88..
- Schuster, L. and Solomos, J. 1999. The Politics of Refugee and Asylum Policies in Britain: Historical Patterns and Contemporary Realities. In: Bloch, A. and Levy, C. eds. *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 51-75.
- Schuster, L. and Solomos, J. 2004. Race, immigration and asylum. *Ethnicities* 4(2), pp. 267-287.
- Scottish Government. 2013. *New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.
- Scuzzarello, S. 2012. Migrants' integration in Western Europe: Bridging social psychology and political science. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 22(1), pp. 1-19.
- Shotter, J. 1993. Psychology and citizenship: identity and belonging. *Citizenship and social theory*, pp. 115-138.
- Sicakkan, H. G. and Lithman, Y. 2005. Theorizing Politics of identity, Modes of Belonging and Citizenship. In: Sicakkan, H. G. and Lithman, Y. eds. *Changing the Basis of Citizenship in the Modern State. Political Theory and the Politics of Diversity*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*, 2nd edn. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. 2014. Interpreting qualitative data. 5th ed. London: Sage.

- Sivanandan, A. 2006. Race, terror and civil society. Race & Class 47(3), pp. 1-8.
- Somerville, W. 2007. Immigration under New Labour. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Space4U. 2016. Forced to Leave... to the unknown. Cardiff: Space4U.
- Speer, S. A. 2002. Natural and contrived data: a sustainable distinction? *Discourse Studies* 4(4), pp. 511-525.
- Speer, S.A. and Potter, J., 2000. The management of heterosexist talk: Conversational resources and prejudiced claims. *Discourse & Society*, 11(4), pp.543-572.
- Spencer, I. R. G. 1997. *British immigration policy since 1939: the making of multi-racial Britain*. New York: Routledge.
- Spencer, S. 2011. The migration debate. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Spencer, S. and Charsley, K. 2016. Conceptualising integration: a framework for empirical research, taking marriage migration as a case study. *Comparative Migration Studies* 4(1), p. 18.
- Spicer, N. 2008. Places of exclusion and inclusion: asylum-seeker and refugee experiences of neighbourhoods in the UK. *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 34(3), pp. 491-510.
- Stanley, L. 2010. To the letter: Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant and writing a life, sociologically. *Life Writing* 7(2), pp. 139-151.
- Stewart, E. and Mulvey, G. 2014. Seeking safety beyond refuge: the impact of immigration and citizenship policy upon refugees in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(7), pp. 1023-1039.
- Stewart, E. and Shaffer, M. 2015. Moving on? Dispersal Policy, Onward Migration and Integration of Refugees in the UK. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.
- Stewart, E. S. 2011. UK dispersal policy and onward migration: Mapping the current state of knowledge. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25(1), pp. 25-49.
- Stokoe, E. and Edwards, D. 2007. 'Black this, black that': racial insults and reported speech in neighbour complaints and police interrogations. *Discourse & Society* 18(3), pp. 337-372.
- Stokoe, E. H. and Wallwork, J. 2003. Space invaders: The moral spatial order in neighbour dispute discourse. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42(4), pp. 551-569.
- Strang, A. and Ager, A. 2010. Refugee integration: emerging trends and remaining agendas. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4), pp. 589-607.
- Strang, A. B., Baillot, H. and Mignard, E. 2017. 'I want to participate.' transition experiences of new refugees in Glasgow. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, pp. 1-18.
- Stubbe, M. Lane, C., Hilder, J., Vine, E., Vine, B., Marra, M., Holmes, J. and Weatherall, A. 2003. Multiple discourse analyses of a workplace interaction. *Discourse studies* 5(3), pp. 351-388.

- Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L. and Ferguson, M. J. 2001. Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues* 57(1), pp. 31-53.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: Austin, W.G. and Worchel, S. eds. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey: Brooks-Cole, pp. 33-47.
- Taylor, S., 2001. Evaluating and applying discourse analytic research. *in Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. J. (eds) Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis, London: Sage in association with the Open University*, pp.311-330.
- Taylor, S. E. and Crocker, J. 1981. Schematic bases of social information processing. In: Higgins, E. T., Herman, C. P. and Zanna, M. P. eds. *Social Cognition: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 1). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 89-134.
- The Economist. 2007. Bagehot: In praise of multiculturalism. 16 June [online]. Available at <a href="http://www.economist.com/node/9337695">http://www.economist.com/node/9337695</a>. [Accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2016]
- Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F. 1918. *The Polish peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an immigrant group*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tileaga, C. 2005. Accounting for extreme prejudice and legitimating blame in talk about the Romanies. *Discourse & Society* 16(5), pp. 603-624.
- Tileagă, C. 2006. Representing the 'Other': A discursive analysis of prejudice and moral exclusion in talk about Romanies. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 16(1), pp. 19-41.
- Tileagă, C. 2007. Ideologies of moral exclusion: A critical discursive reframing of depersonalization, delegitimization and dehumanization. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46(4), pp. 717-737.
- Tileagă, C. 2016. The nature of prejudice: Society, discrimination and moral exclusion. Hove, East Sussex: Routledge.
- Tonks, R. G. 2014. Cross-Cultural Psychology, Overview. *Encyclopaedia of Critical Psychology*. Springer, pp. 334-341.
- Turner, J. C. 1985. Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behaviour. *Advances in group processes* 2, pp. 77-122.
- Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- UNHCR. 2013. Global Trends 2012. Geneva: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. 2014. Global Trends 2013. Geneva: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. 2015. Global Trends 2014. Geneva: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. 2016a. Global Trends 2015. Geneva: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. 2016b. Global forced displacement hits record high. UNHCR (online). Available at: <a href="http://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html">http://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html</a> [Accessed 30th September 2017]
- UNHCR. 2017. Global Trends 2016. Geneva: UNHCR.

- Van Dijk, T. A. 1987. *Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 1992. Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society* 3(1), pp. 87-118.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2000). New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In: Cottle, S. Ed. *Ethnic minorities and the media*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 33–49
- Verkuyten, M. 2005a. Immigration discourses and their impact on multiculturalism: A discursive and experimental study. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44(2), pp. 223-240.
- Verkuyten, M. 2005b. Accounting for ethnic discrimination a discursive study among minority and majority group members. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 24(1), pp. 66-92.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and racial studies* 30(6), pp. 1024-1054.
- Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. 2010. *The Multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices.* Abingdon: Routledge.
- Villenas, S. 1996. The colonizer/colonized Chicana ethnographer: Identity, marginalization, and co-optation in the field. *Harvard educational review* 66(4), pp. 711-732.
- Virtanen, S. V. and Huddy, L. 1998. Old-fashioned racism and new forms of racial prejudice. *The Journal of Politics* 60(02), pp. 311-332.
- Wales Strategic Migration Partnership. 2015. *Statistics and other resources*. Available at <a href="http://www.wsmp.org.uk/Stats.asp?id=SXA644-A77FF2F5">http://www.wsmp.org.uk/Stats.asp?id=SXA644-A77FF2F5</a> [Accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2016]
- Wallwork, J. and Dixon, J. A. 2004. Foxes, green fields and Britishness: On the rhetorical construction of place and national identity. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 43(1), pp. 21-39.
- Weatherall, A. 2016. Interpretative repertoires, conversation analysis and being critical. In: Tileagă, C. and Stokoe, E. Eds. *Discursive Psychology: Classic and Contemporary Issues*. London: Routledge, pp. 15-28.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2008. *Refugee Inclusion Strategy*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2009. *Getting on Together A Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2014. Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014 Executive Summary. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2014. *Refugee Inclusion Strategy Action Plan June 2014 update*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2014. *Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents: A Framework for Action*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

- Welsh Assembly Government. 2015. *Refugee and Asylum Seeker Delivery Plan (Consultation document)*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Government Cabinet Secretary for Communities and Children. 2017. Written Response by the Welsh Government to the report of the Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee entitled "I used to be someone": Refugees and asylum seekers in Wales. Available at <a href="http://www.assembly.wales/laid%20documents/gen-ld11074/gen-ld11074-e.pdf">http://www.assembly.wales/laid%20documents/gen-ld11074-e.pdf</a>. [Accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2017].
- Welsh Refugee Coalition. 2016. Seven Steps to Sanctuary: Welsh Refugee Coalition Manifesto. Cardiff: Welsh Refugee Council.
- Weltman, D. 2003. The pragmatics of peremptory assertion: An ideological analysis of the use of the word 'just'in local politicians' denials of politics. *Discourse & Society* 14(3), pp. 349-373.
- Wessendorf, S. 2013. Commonplace diversity and the 'ethos of mixing': perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood. *Identities* 20(4), pp. 407-422.
- Wetherell, M. 1998. Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse & society* 9(3), pp. 387-412.
- Wetherell, M. 2003. Racism and the analysis of cultural resources in interviews. In: van den berg, H., Wetherell, M. and Houtkoop-Steenstra, H. Eds., *Analysing interviews on racial issues*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 11-30.
- Wetherell, M. and Edley, N. 1999. Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism & psychology* 9(3), pp. 335-356.
- Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. 1992. *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. Columbia University Press.
- Wieviorka, M. 1995. The arena of racism, London: Sage.
- Williams, C. 2015. Claiming the National: Nation, National Identity and ethnic Minorities. In: Williams, C., Evans, N. and O'Leary, P. eds. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting ethnic diversity in a devolved Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 331-352.
- Wodak, R. 2008. 'Us and 'them': Inclusion and exclusion–Discrimination via discourse. In: Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P. eds. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 54-77.
- Zerubavel, E. 2006. *The Elephant in the Room: Silence and Denial in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zetter, R. 2007. More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2), pp. 172-192.
- Zetter, R., Griffiths, D. and Sigona, N. 2002. Survey of Policy and Practice Related to Refugee Integration in the EU. Oxford: Oxford Brookes University.
- Zetter, R. Griffiths, D. and Sigona, N. 2005. Social capital or social exclusion? The impact of asylum-seeker dispersal on UK refugee community organizations. *Community Development Journal* 40(2), pp. 169-181.

Zetter, R. and Pearl, M. 2000. The minority within the minority: refugee community-based organisations in the UK and the impact of restrictionism on asylum-seekers. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26(4), pp. 675-697.

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix 1 – Glossary of terms

Appendix 2 – List of legislation relating to forced migration (1999-2017)

Appendix 3 – Participant Information Sheet in English and Arabic

Appendix 4 – Participant Consent Form in English and Arabic

Appendix 5 – Interview schedule

Appendix 6 – Transcription symbols

Appendix 7 – Policy briefing

Appendix 8 – Table summarising the main differences between the refugee integration strategies of the Welsh, Scottish and Westminster governments.

#### **Glossary of terms**

**Acculturation** - The dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between 2 or more groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005, p.698).

**Adaptation** – Refers to the relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands which may or may not improve the "fit" between individuals and their environments (Berry, 2005, p.709).

**Assimilation** – Refers to the belief that immigrants should be incorporated into society through a one-sided process of adaptation. Immigrants are asked to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.247).

**Biometric Residence Permit (BRP)** - The biometric residence permit is a card which shows a migrant's immigration status and entitlements whilst they are in the UK. The card shows the migrant's biographic details but also holds biometric information such as facial image and fingerprints.

Concessions - Kotthoff (1993, p. 193) has defined concessions simply as "a participant's agreeing to the central issue after his or her prior disagreement". However, Antaki and Wetherell (1999) suggest that when participants make a show of conceding it gives greater rhetorical effect by bolstering the speaker's case and weakening the counter argument. They suggest this may be closely related to issues of stake and interest, discussed above.

**Continuers** - something that speakers do that acknowledges that they have heard what another speaker has said, and encourages them to continue speaking (Kirkwood et al., 2015). Examples include 'hmm' or 'yeah'.

**Disclaimers** - feature of talk first discussed by Hewitt and Stokes (1975) who showed how certain phrases are used by people to disassociate themselves from potentially negative connotations of what follows.

**Discourse** – All forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p.7).

**Discursive psychology** – The use of discursive techniques by psychologists to analyse talk of psychological states and the application of those analyses to real world settings (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, p.13).

Dispreferred responses – A term which has its origins in the early work of Ethnomethodology, Membership Categorisation Analysis and Conversation Analysis which demonstrated the ways in which conversations are systematically ordered. When a question is asked the speaker is typically expecting this to be answered appropriately (a preferred response), and where it is not Atkinson and Heritage (1984) term this a "dispreferred response" to signal that what is said is taken to be potentially problematic for the recipient, such as turning down a request (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008).

**Extreme case formulations** – Drawing on the work of Pomerantz (1986) extreme case formulations are discursive constructions which use the strongest forms (or extremes) of relevant dimensions of judgement. Such formulations may function to make the speaker's behaviour appear less exceptional or to increase the rhetorical effect of a particular argument.

**Hedging** – McKinlay and McVittie (2008, p.156) state that a hedge is "an aspect of talk in which the speaker displays that what is to be said is potentially problematic" and

Holmes (1990, p.186) has described hedges as "attenuators or mitigators of the strength of a speech act".

**Ideology –** An organised set of ideas which typifies the thinking of a group or society (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, p.276).

**Ideological dilemma -** The concept of ideological dilemmas stems from Billig et al.'s (1988) notion of 'lived ideologies' which they referred to as the beliefs, values and practices of a particular society. As these ideologies are many and varied they can also be thought of as contradictory and inconsistent thus making the study of how these resources are employed during social interaction more interesting in terms of their wider cultural significance.

**Inclusion** – An alternative to the use of the term 'integration', favoured by the Welsh Assembly Government (2008, p.7) who state that "Refugee inclusion involves removing barriers which prevent refugees from becoming fully active members of society, who participate in, and contribute to, the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country".

Incorporation – A second term used in the literature as an alternative to 'integration'. Castles and Miller (2009, p.246) prefer this term as it is more neutral and does not imply an outcome of where the process should lead. They see the key question as being whether "immigrants should be incorporated as individuals – that is, without taking account of cultural difference or group belonging – or as communities – that is. Ethnic groups which tend to cluster together and maintain their own cultures, languages and religions".

**Integration** – A highly contested concept, discussed fully in sections 2.6 and 2.7, but defined by Phelps (2014, p.966) as "a multifaceted process for establishing better

intergroup relations in multicultural societies that ideally involves adaptation by both immigrant minority and dominant majority groups".

**Interpretative repertoire** – Forms of talk or text in which the content of what is said is organised via specific styles of speaking or writing (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, p.276).

**Multiculturalism** – Where immigrants should be able to participate as equals in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their own culture, religion and language, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.247).

NASS – The National Asylum Support Service was created in 2000 following the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act and is part of the Home Office, responsible for supporting and accommodating asylum seekers who are waiting for their cases to be heard.

**Nominalisation and passivisation** – Two features of spoken and written discourse of particular interest to Critical Discourse Analysts which function to remove agency and responsibility.

**Quantification rhetoric** – talk which relies on references to numbers to give a rhetorical effect.

**Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs)** – Organisations, often led by refugees, which seek to help, inform and advocate on behalf of refugee communities.

**Repairs** – Schriffin (1999, p.276) describes a repair as "a speech activity during which speakers locate and replace a prior information unit". Thus, this may relate to either problems of mis-hearing, mis-speaking or misunderstanding and means that almost any spoken discourse is open to being repaired by the speaker (self-repair) or by the listener.

**Rhetoric** – The way talk is designed, e.g., through lexical choices, to perform actions within local contexts of talk (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008, p.94).

Stake inoculation – At its simplest level stake can be considered as a concern with how what is said by a participant is interpreted by the listener. However, Edwards and Potter (1992) and Potter (1996a) propose that participant's stake and interest is a pervasive feature of everyday life and is also a feature of the content and organization of discourse. They therefore suggest that a dilemma exists for participants in which their version or report of something may be discounted if deemed to show too much stake or interest. This points to a need to closely examine accounts for the ways in which dilemmas of stake and interest may be managed through factual reporting, accomplishing blaming and mitigations.

**Xeno-racism** – A form of 'racism' defined by Sivanandan (in Fekete, 2009, p.19) as "... a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism. It is racism in substance, but 'xeno' in form. It is a racism that is meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white".

Appendix 2

UK government Asylum and Immigration legislation (1998 onwards)

Policy/Legislation	Type	Year
Fairer, Faster and Firmer: A Modern Approach to	White Paper	1998
Immigration and Asylum		
Human Rights Act	Parliamentary	1998
	Act	
Immigration and Asylum Act	Parliamentary	1999
	Act	
Full and Equal Citizens: A Strategy for the integration	Policy Strategy	2000
of refugees into the United Kingdom		
Race Relations (Amendment) Act	Parliamentary	2000
	Act	
Secure Borders, Safe Havens: Integration with	White Paper	2002
Diversity in Modern Britain		
The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act	Parliamentary	2002
	Act	
Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants,	Parliamentary	2004
etc.) Act	Act	
Controlling our Borders: Making Migration Work for	Five-Year	2005
Britain	Departmental	
	Plan	
Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The	Policy Strategy	2005
Government's Strategy to Increase Race Equality		
and Community Cohesion		

Integration Matters: The National Integration Strategy	Policy Strategy	2005
for Refugees		
Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality (IAN) Act	Parliamentary	2006
	Act	
Fair, Effective, Transparent and Trusted: Rebuilding	Reform	2006
Confidence in Our Immigration System	Strategy	
Enforcing the Rules: A Strategy to Ensure and	Policy Strategy	2007
Enforce Compliance with Our Immigration Laws		
Moving on together: Government's recommitment to	Policy Strategy	2009
supporting refugees.		
Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009	Parliamentary	2009
	Act	
Creating the Conditions for Integration	Policy Strategy	2012
Immigration Act	Parliamentary	2014
	Act	
Immigration Act	Parliamentary	2016
	Act	

#### **Experiences of Integration Research study**

#### **Participant Information Sheet**

You are invited to take part in a research study. Before you take part it is important that you read this information sheet carefully so that you understand why the research is being carried out. If you would prefer to have this information sheet in an alternative language please let the researcher know. It is important that you understand this information before agreeing to take part in this study. You can talk to the researcher or others about the study if you wish before agreeing to take part.

#### What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to look at how refugees and asylum seekers experience integration when they settle in Wales. To do this I am interested in both positive and negative experiences that refugees and asylum seekers have had whilst living in Wales. The aim of the study is to look at how these experiences may influence future policies and improve integration for refugees and asylum seekers in Wales.

#### Who is the research funded by and who is the researcher?

My name is Sam Parker and I am a doctoral research student at Cardiff University School of Social Sciences. This research is being undertaken by myself and supervised by Senior Researchers at the University.

This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and in no way relates to research being conducted by the Home Office.

#### If I choose to take part in the research what will I need to do?

If you choose to take part you will be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher that should last for about 1 hour. In the interview we will discuss both the positive and negative experiences of integration that you have experienced since living in Wales.

#### Can I give my answers in my first language?

No, all interviews will take place in English. However, if this presents a problem for you please discuss this with the researcher in advance.

#### What will happen to the information I give?

The interview will be recorded and then transcribed. Transcripts will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisors and will be kept securely in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). Data will be retained for up to five years following the interview. Your answers will not be shared with any other organisation and will not affect your status in the country. An analysis of the information given will form part of the final report and the results of the study may also be used in published journal articles. You are welcome to see a copy of the final report or a summary of the findings.

#### Will information remain confidential?

Yes, your name will not be used in the thesis or in any other reports relating to the research. If any information you give in the interview is used in the thesis your name will be changed and any details that may identify you (or any other person) will be changed.

#### What if I wish to withdraw from the study?

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any point. You do not need to give a reason for withdrawing from the study.

#### Who can I contact if I have any questions about the research?

If you have any questions about the research please do not hesitate to contact the researcher in the first instance-

Sam Parker 07708 577882 or email <a href="mailto:ParkerS16@cardiff.ac.uk">ParkerS16@cardiff.ac.uk</a>

Alternatively, the academic supervisors for this study can be contacted as follows-

Dr Nick Johns (JohnsNR@cardiff.ac.uk), Dr Steven Stanley (StanleyS1@cardiff.ac.uk).

### وي لز في الد تكامل عن بحث ية درا سة (Wales)

#### الم شارك معلومات ورقة

ورقة تقرأ أن المهم من مشارك تك وقبل بحث ية دراسة في للمشاركة مدعو أنت مع تتحدث أن ويمكنك البحث هذا إجراء أسباب تفهم لكي بدقة هذه المعلومات على موافق تك قبل ذلك، في ترغب كنت إذا الدراسة عن آخرين أو الباحث المشاركة

#### الدرا سة؟ من الغرض ما

عند اللجوء وملتمسي اللجئين لدى التكامل تجربة في النظر هو الدراسة هذه من الغرض اللجئين بها مرقد التي معاوالسلبية الإيجابية بالتجارب وأهتم ويلز في استقرارهم أن يمكن كيف في النظر هو الدراسة هذه من الهدف إن ويلز في إقامتهم أثناء اللجوء وملتمسي ويلز في التحارب هذه تؤثر وللمستقلل المال نية حسم المستقلل ا

#### ال باحث؟ هو ومن اله بحث يه مول من

) باركر سام اسميSam Parker بجامعة التجاتج تماعية الفعلوم بكلية الأبحاث في دكت توراه طالب وأنا ( كارديف(Cardiff University School of Social Sciences) إشراف تحت البحث هذا بإجراء وأقوم . بالجامعة كابار باحثون

﴾ □ ج تماء يه القارة تصادية البحوث مجلس يمول ESRC الإطلاق على له علاقه البحث هذا ( ) البريطانية الداخلية وزارة تجريه الذي بالبحث الله المنافقة البحث المنافقة البحث المنافقة المنا

## أف عله؟ أن ال ضروري من الذي ما اله بحث، هذا في المشاركة اخترت إذا

## الأولى؛ لغتي في إجاباتي تقديم يمكذني هي

يمكنك لك، مشكلة سيسبب ذلك كان إذا ولكن، الإنجليزية اللغة في المقابلات كافة ستجرى□، مسبقا الباحث مع مناقشتها

## سأعط يها؟ الدتى لا لمعلومات سديحدث ماذا

## سرية؟ المعلومات سدتبقى هل

حالة وفي به الدبحث تتعلق أخرى تقارير أية في أو الددك توراه رسالة في اسمك يستخدم لمان نعم، اسمك تعم، اسمك تعم، ا اسمك تغيير سديتم الدكتوراة، رسالة في المقابالة في هلت عطياً قد كونت معلومات أية استخدام . (غيرك هوية أو) هويتك تحدد أن يمكن تفاصديل وأية

## الدرا سة؟ من الان سحاب في رغ بت إذا سد يحدث ماذا

. الأوق ات من وقت أي في الدراسة من التنات سحاب ويد كنك تد ماما إرادية الدراسة هذه في مشارك تك إن الدراسة من النات سحابك سدبات عطي أن الضروري من ولد يس

## ال بحث؟ حول اسد دلة أية لدي كانت إذا به الات صال يمكنني من

ب الد باحث الت صال في تترد أن أرجو اسدًاة، أية لديك كانت إذا

ع لى الإل ك تروذي به ال بريد أو 577882 07708 ع لى به اركر سام<u>ParkerS16@cardiff.ac.uk</u>

-كالآتى البحث لهذا الأكاديميين بالمشرفين ا□تصاليمكن أو

جودز دك .د<u>JohnsNR@cardiff.ac.uk</u>) ((Nick Johns)) س تاد لي سد دي فين .د ، . ). <u>StanleyS1@cardiff.ac.uk</u> ((Stanley

# Experiences of Integration Research study

#### **Consent Form**

Researcher: Sam Parker

				Please sign or initial
1.		rticipant Information Sheet urpose of the study and wha participate.	•	
2.	• •	ortunity to discuss the study questions I had satisfactoril		
3.	I understand that point without givi	I am able to withdraw from ng a reason.	the study at any	
4.	treated confidenti	anything I say during the int ally and that information w ne research report.		
5.	I agree to take par	t in the study		
Nan	ne of Participant	Signature		 Date
	ne of Researcher	Signature		

# ) وي لز في الد تكامل عن بحث ية درا سة Wales (

# الموافقة استمارة

## ) Sam Parker) ب اركر سام :ال باحث

ال باحث ا سم

أو الم توق يع المرجاء الأحرف ك تابة الأحرف عالمة	
الا سم من الأول ي	<ol> <li>وما الدرا سة من الدخرض وفهمت بالكم لها المشارك معلومات ورقة قرأت لدقد</li> <li>المشاركة اخترت إذا منى سدت تطلبه</li> </ol>
	<ol> <li>الإجابة وت مت ال باحث مع الدراسة لمناقشة الفرصة لي سنحت لقد مرضي نحو على لدي كانت أسد ئلة أية على</li> </ol>
	3. دون الأوق ات من وقت أي ف ي الدرا سة من∏ند سحاب يه كذني أنه أفهم . سد بب إعطاء
	4. سدي تم وأنه بالسرية سديحاط المقابلة أثناء أقوله شيء أي أن أفهم السيدة مجهولة وهي السعلومات استخدام السوية مجهولة وهي السعلومات استخدام
	5. الدراسة في ا شد تراك على أوافق
	لمشارك اسم المتوقيع المتاريخ

ال توق يع

ال تاريخ

#### **Interview Schedule**

Indicator of Integration	Interview Questions
1) Housing	Tell me about where you are living now: what do you like/not like about it?
2) Social connections	What are the people like where you live?
3) Language and cultural knowledge	What has been your experience of learning English and about British culture?
4) Education	Tell me about your education: have you done any courses whilst living in Wales?
5) Employment	Can you tell me about any experience you have of working in the UK?
6) Health	What has your experience of the UK health system been like?
7) Safety and stability	Tell me about how safe you feel in Cardiff: what makes you feel safe and secure?
8) Rights and Citizenship	What does integration mean to you?

#### Note on transcription conventions (Potter et al. 2011)

(.) Short untimed pauses

(1.0) A timed pause (in seconds)

heh heh Voiced laughter

.hhh in-breath

Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted

utterance.

> < Speech noticeably quicker than preceding talk

CAPS Speech noticeably louder than preceding talk

\_\_\_\_ Stressed or emphasized speech

°° Audibly quieter speech

(?) Indicates that the speech was inaudible

# Policy briefing





Sam Parker October 2017

#### 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the past 20 years, Wales has seen growing "super-diversity" because of migration from EU countries and, since 2001, due to four Welsh towns and cities becoming dispersal locations for asylum seekers. Despite their growing numbers, there has been little research into the integration experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in Wales which this study seeks to address.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 refugees and asylum seekers who were living in Wales at the time of interview. The interviews were structured around Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework, which has influenced both Westminster and devolved refugee integration strategies, and therefore gave interviewees the opportunity to reflect on their experiences in areas such as social connections, safety and stability, education, housing, health and employment.

The main findings from the interviews were:

- 95% of interviewees were positive about living in Wales and planned to remain in Wales for the near future.
- 63% of participants had experienced problems with their accommodation in Wales and the current 28-day 'move-on' period was identified as a crucial time that can result in newly recognised refugees becoming homeless.
- 50% of those interviewed had not had good experiences of the health system in Wales. This was mainly due to long waiting times and a feeling that GPs were not prescribing appropriate medication.
- Only 1 of the 19 interviewees had undertaken paid employment since being in Wales, however, 14 had undertaken voluntary work. Health and childcare issues remain a barrier to undertaking paid or voluntary work.
- Many participants saw employment as the key to successful integration.
- Interviewees arrived in Wales with a variety of prior English language learning experience and a variety of prior qualifications and 15 of the 19 interviewees had attended formal or informal education classes since arriving in Wales.
- Four asylum seekers interviewed expressed frustrations at being unable to attend
  university because of costs, despite having the necessary qualifications for entry and
  lack of childcare and long waiting lists were the most common problems cited by
  participants as barriers to accessing further and higher education in Wales.
- 37% of participants described one or more incidents of discrimination they had experienced in Wales.
- Each of the interviewees had accessed support from at least one charity or refugee community organisation during their time living in Wales.
- Most participants saw English language and access to employment as barriers to integration in Wales.

## 2. SUMMARY OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The UK Government should:

1. Make changes to the current immigration rules to allow asylum seekers who have been waiting for a decision on their claim for more than six months to undertake paid employment.

This would support their integration and allow them to feel that they are contributing to both the economic life of the country and to their family. This would also see a fundamental shift in feelings of belonging away from "just getting by" to achieving aspirations and avoid the asylum period becoming one of inactivity and loss of skills.

2. Extend the 28-day move-on period to a minimum of 56 days following a successful grant of refugee status

This should enable newly recognised refugees to have more time to find appropriate housing, receive their National Insurance number and look for paid employment or register for welfare benefits. It should also reduce pressures on homelessness services in Wales and help to ensure that refugees are less likely to suffer from destitution during this period.

Additionally, The Welsh Government should:

1. Explore with the UK Government the possibility of asylum support and accommodation becoming a devolved matter.

This would allow the Welsh Government to provide more tailored welfare and reception procedures for asylum seekers

2. Encourage all universities in Wales to offer a number of scholarships to asylum seekers to undertake undergraduate and postgraduate courses.

This should ensure that those asylum seekers who have the necessary qualifications to study in Higher Education are able to do so, without having to move from Wales and without having to worry about how they will fund their studies.

3. Develop a Wales-wide integration service for newly recognised refugees following the example of Scotland's *Holistic Integration service*.

This would support their continued integration from the point at which they receive refugee status, offering assistance during the move-on period and providing on-going support in finding paid employment and developing skills.

4. Increase funding for ESOL courses to support asylum seekers and refugees to learn English.

This should allow all asylum seekers and refugees to a minimum of 8 hours per week of free ESOL classes. Provision should be available for those with little English skills but also needs to be accessible to those who arrive with already developed skills.

5. Continue to fund charities and refugee community organisations

This should ensure that asylum seekers and refugees arriving in Wales continue to be welcomed and supported by experienced professionals. It should also ensure that those who are unable to access mainstream English language classes have a form of provision whilst they wait for a college place.

### 3. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Refugees and asylum seekers arrive in Wales having fled persecution, war and terror in their home countries and often having made long and difficult journeys to reach the UK. They hope to re-build their lives in a safe country and become part of their new community, but for many this can be very challenging. There is currently a lack of research into the integration experiences of forced migrants in Wales. This study aimed to address this gap and to understand the integration experiences of those who have been dispersed to Wales and who may now call Wales 'home'.

Wales has a long, but often overlooked, history of migration. Evans (2015) draws attention to Irish and Jewish migrants settling in Wales in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, black seamen settling in Cardiff Bay in the early 20th century and to a wave of migration from Italy following World War 2. However, despite a rush of immigration from the Commonwealth prior to the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962). which effectively ended black immigration from the Commonwealth, Evans (2015) says that Wales can be characterized by substantial immigration prior to World War One and then relatively little thereafter. Indeed, Payson (2015) has noted that when the UK as a whole has accepted large quotas of refugees in response to humanitarian crises, such as Bosnians or Rwandans in the 1990s, Wales was largely unaffected by such immigration. Similarly, only a few of the thousands of Vietnamese

resettled in the UK in the 1970s were located in Wales. However, in the past 20 years the picture has started to change.

Race Council Cymru (2012) report that the population of Wales grew by 5.3% between 2001 and 2011 and that migration to Wales made up 90% of this increase. They further highlight that the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population of Wales rose from 2.1% in 2001 to 4.1% in 2009. They identify two explanations for this increase. Firstly, to migrant workers arriving from the EU following accession in 2004 when individuals from countries such as Poland, Czech Republic, Latvia and Lithuania gained access to the UK labour market. Secondly, to a change in policy from the Westminster Government which saw some asylum seekers dispersed to Wales whilst their claims for refugee status were assessed. Dispersal of asylum seekers to Wales began in 2001 following the 1999 Immigration and Asylum act in an attempt to relieve pressure on housing in areas of London and the South East which had traditionally been the areas in which asylum seekers settled. In order to receive subsistence and accommodation support under Section 95 of the Act asylum seekers are required to accept accommodation wherever this is available. As such, Cardiff, Swansea, Newport and Wrexham became 'dispersal' areas in 2001, which became the first time there were any significant arrivals of asylum seekers in Wales.

# 4. CURRENT DEMOGRAPHICS: REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS LIVING IN WALES

The UNHCR (2017) estimate that there were 118,995 refugees living in the UK at the end of 2016, however, it is difficult to know how many of those are currently living in Wales, although estimates suggest it may be between 6,000 and 10,000 people (Crawley, 2013). This is considerably higher than the 3,500-3,600 estimates from research conducted 15 years previously by Robinson (1999).

A difficulty in accurate reporting arises for two reasons; firstly, because, once refugee status has been granted, individuals have the option to move away from the area in which their asylum accommodation was provided and, secondly, because the decennial census does not specifically record if the respondents are refugees.

The Home Office do, however, keep records of the numbers of asylum seekers receiving Section 95 support under the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act who have been dispersed to Wales and other parts of the UK, meaning that we have a better idea of how many asylum seekers may be currently living in Wales.

Table 1, right, shows that at the end of 2016 there were 3,009 asylum seekers (main applicants, supported under Section 95 of the Immigration and Asylum Act, 1999) living in Wales. Of these, 98% were receiving both subsistence and accommodation with only 2% receiving subsistence only support, meaning that 98%

of asylum seekers in Wales at the end of 2016 had been dispersed there on a nochoice basis. Of the four dispersal locations in Wales, Cardiff has traditionally hosted the largest proportion of asylum seekers (46.8% at end of 2016), followed by Swansea (30.7%), Newport (17.2%) and Wrexham (4.9%) (Home Office 2017). This represents a change from Robinson's (1999) findings which found that 67% of refugees and asylum seekers in Wales lived in Cardiff and only 16% in Newport and 12% in Swansea. A small number of subsistence only supported asylum seekers were also living. in very small numbers, in these areas as well as in Neath Port Talbot (1), Bridgend (4), Gwynedd (3), Merthyr Tydfil (2), Monmouthshire (1) and Conwy (1). These asylum seekers will not have been dispersed to these locations and it is therefore likely that

Table 2 Number of asylum seekers in Wales supported under Section 95 (Home Office, 2017)

Year ending	Number of Asylum Seekers in Wales
2005	2,348
2006	2,601
2007	2,270
2008	1,692
2009	1,780
2010	1,437
2011	1,436
2012	1,471
2013	1,777
2014	2,090
2015	2,856
2016	3,009

they had chosen themselves to live in these areas, perhaps because of existing family connections. Indeed, as early as 1998, Robinson (1999) found that there were similarly small numbers of refugees living in these areas.

Table 2, below, shows that Wales (at the end of 2016) was hosting 7.6% of the UK's total number of asylum seekers supported under Section 95. This was a lower number than had been dispersed to many individual regions of England: North West (9,491), West Midlands (5,207), Yorkshire and Humberside (4,920) and the North East (3,411) (Home Office, 2017). However it also shows that there has been an increasing trend since 2003 for a greater proportion of asylum seekers to be housed in Wales (despite overall numbers of asylum applications in the UK declining from 2002 to 2012).

Table 3- Percentage of UK S95 supported asylum seekers living in Wales

Year	% of Section 95 supported asylum seekers living in Wales
2003	3.3
2004	3.9
2005	4.7
2006	5.4
2007	5.3
2008	5.4
2009	6.2
2010	6.5
2011	6.9
2012	7.3
2013	7.6
2014	7
2015	8.3
2016	7.6

A complication does exist however with using 3,009 as a reliable figure for the number of asylum seekers in Wales as it does not include those receiving Section 98 support (initial support before application for Section 95 support), nor does it take account of failed asylum seekers who may either be destitute or receiving Section 4 support. The Home Office do not release figures by region for those receiving Section 98 and Section 4 support, however, for the whole of the UK at the end of 2016 there were 1,990 applicants supported under Section 98 and 2,424 (excluding dependants) receiving Section 4 support (Home Office, 2017). This would suggest that the actual total number of asylum seekers living in Wales may be considerably higher than 3,009.

Despite increasing numbers of asylum seekers being housed in Wales it is not clear how many of those who are given refugee status choose to remain in Wales and there may be many reasons why refugees choose to remain or move from Wales. Firstly, the government introduced the dispersal policy in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act as a means of reducing the pressure faced by local councils in London and the South East as these had been the areas that asylum seekers had typically settled in during the 1990s. For many there may be a hope to return to London or other parts of the UK due to family or community connections or the perception of better job prospects. Similarly, dispersal may have meant that family members or friends had been dispersed to other areas of the UK that the refugee may wish to re-join once given status. Likewise, it may be that specific communities have formed in areas, outside of Wales, that the refugee may then perceive as being more attractive to live in. Table 3, below, shows the numbers of asylum seekers in Wales by nationality (10 largest nationalities only). This suggests that for many of those dispersed to Wales there may be existing communities for new arrivals to be a part of who may be able to offer support during the initial weeks and months of living in Wales. However, this may not be the case for all dispersal locations in Wales, most notably Wrexham which receives less than 5% of Wales' asylum seekers. Table 3 shows the nationalities of the ten largest groups of asylum seekers in Wales at the end of 2016. However, Home Office (2017) data reveals that at the end of 2016 there were individuals applying for asylum, supported under Section 95, from 75 different countries. This contrasts sharply with Robinson's (1999) findings of refugee and asylum seeker settlement in Wales which identified only 15 different nationality groups and, of which, Somali refugees made up 70% of this population. This may suggest that Wales can now be considered as a 'super-diverse' nation (Vertovec, 2006).

Table 4 - S95 supported asylum seekers living in Wales by Nationality at end of 2016 (Home Office, 2017)

Country	Number on Section 95 support in Wales at year-
	ending 2016
China	370
Iran	330
Pakistan	323
Nigeria	228
Afghanistan	204
Iraq	192
Albania	171
Eritrea	160
Sri Lanka	133
Sudan	70



# 5. FACTORS IMPACTING ON ASYLUM SEEKER AND REFUGEE INTEGRATION IN WALES

Ager and Strang (2004) were commissioned by the UK Home Office to carry out research that would influence their refugee integration strategies. They developed a model, known as the Indicators of Integration Framework (Figure 1), which has become the dominant framework for refugee integration in the UK, and is used by the Home Office, Scottish Government and Welsh Assembly Government. The framework consists of ten domains organised into four levels: firstly, the 'means and markers' of Employment, Housing, Health and Education; secondly, 'social connections' of bridges, bonds and links; the third level consists of two 'facilitators': language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability; and finally the 'foundation' domain of rights and citizenship.

Whilst there has been a large amount of research looking into refugee integration in many of these areas (Phillimore, 2012, McDonald and Billings, 2007; Dwyer and Brown, 2008; Allsopp et al., 2014; Stewart and Mulvey, 2014), there have been comparatively few research studies focusing specifically on the integration of asylum seekers and refugees in Wales.

The largest study into refugee inclusion in Wales was commissioned by the Welsh Assembly Government and conducted by Crawley and Crimes (2009). This study looked at a number of the 'means and markers', identified by Ager and Strang (2004) in their Indicators of Integration framework, in the Welsh context. Analysing responses to 123

questionnaires Crawley and Crimes (2009) found that most of the refugee respondents were living in rented accommodation and that very few owned their own homes. Over 80% of the respondents reported problems with their accommodation including lack of permanency, cost, condition and problems with their neighbours. Homelessness was also an enduring issue reported. In terms of education, 75% of respondents had arrived in the UK with at least secondary education from their home country, 25% with an undergraduate degree and 9% with a postgraduate qualification. Since living in Wales 1/3 of respondents had completed an English language course and just over 10% an undergraduate or postgraduate degree. However, vocational training in areas such as ICT, catering, fork lift truck training and health and safety were more commonly reported, reflecting the types of employment roles that refugees may be most likely to enter. However, for many respondents a number of barriers to education were identified such as illness, childcare responsibilities and funding.

Despite over 2/3 of Crawley and Crimes' (2009) respondents having been employed in their home countries, only 1/3 were employed in Wales at the time of completing the questionnaire. Cleaning, factory work and administration were the most common jobs of those employed, suggesting a significant deskilling. A number of respondents reported that they found it difficult to find out about opportunities for both paid and voluntary work and those who were working said that

incidences of racism and discrimination were common in their workplace. Indeed, overall 50% of respondents reported experiencing some form of racism whilst living in Wales including verbal and physical abuse by youths and damage to property, although respondents did not have faith in the police when such incidents were reported. Despite this the results showed that over 60% felt they belonged in their neighbourhoods and that 75% wanted to remain in Wales.

The incidents of racism reported in Crawley and Crimes' (2009) study may be indicative of attitudes towards immigration in Wales, although this may be in opposition to the often cited idea of Wales being the 'tolerant nation' (Williams, 2015). Indeed, Lewis (2005) has suggested that attitudes towards asylum seekers in Wales are more favourable than in other parts of the UK. To investigate this further, more recently, Mann and Tommis (2012) analysed responses from the 2008 and 2010 European Social Survey. They found an increasingly less positive attitude towards immigrants between the 2008 and 2010 surveys. Attitudes in Wales were found to be less favourable towards immigrants than in Scotland and the South East of England and more in line with patterns found in the North of England and the Midlands. However, when analysing responses to the Citizenship Survey of 2007/8 and 2008/9 they found that there appeared to be no less opposition to immigration in Wales than in other areas of England. However, their results point more to opposition to immigration being linked to how respondents identified with nationhood. For those who identified as either Welsh or English only, opposition to immigration was higher than for those who identified as British.

Further, the Equality and Human Rights
Commission (2010) found that most of the
asylum seekers and refugees they interviewed
described Wales as a very welcoming place.
However, this study also found instances of
racially motivated hate crime which made
some asylum seekers and refugees feel
unwanted in Wales.

This suggests that "community cohesion" is a key factor in determining both forced migrants' and the wider public's attitudes towards increased immigration to Wales. Crawley (2013) suggests that there are a number of factors which may impact on community cohesion in Wales. These include competition over resources, additional housing pressures, perceptions of increased competition for employment and services and the sustainability of predominantly Welsh-speaking communities (2013, p.1). A number of these issues are addressed in the Welsh Government Community Cohesion Strategy Getting on Together (2009).

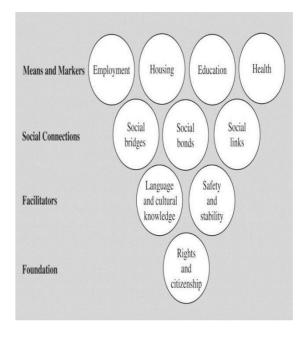


Figure 2 - Indicators of Integration Framework (Ager and Strang, 2004)

### 6. WELSH ASSEMBLY GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Whilst immigration and asylum are not devolved matters the Welsh Government do have responsibilities to forced migrants under its education, health, housing, community cohesion and social services agendas. Interestingly, and in contrast to England, in terms of integration, the Welsh Government also recognises its responsibilities to asylum seekers and not just refugees stating that

"Refugee inclusion begins on day one of arrival in the UK and successful inclusion is closely related to the standard of reception procedures and people's experiences as asylum seekers". (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008)

This statement, from the Welsh Government's Refugee Inclusion Strategy (2008), is different in tone to that of the UK Government's Integration Matters (2005) strategy, particularly in its use of the term inclusion, as opposed to integration, and its focus on inclusion being from day one of arrival in the UK, not the day that refugee status is granted. The strategy also explicitly states that inclusion does not imply assimilation and that:

"Refugee inclusion involves removing barriers which prevent refugees from becoming fully active members of society, who participate in, and contribute to, the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country. The objective of refugee inclusion is the establishment of mutual and responsible relationships between refugees and their communities, civil society and government. Refugees will make individual choices about the degree to which they wish to integrate into Welsh society. Refugee integration takes place when individual refugees become active members of society". (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008)

This can be directly compared with the definition used by the UK Government in Integration Matters (2005), and it is clear that the Welsh definition implies that inclusion must be in all forms of social life and that it is a two-way process as opposed to the Home Office definition which has a distinctly assimilationist feel. The Welsh definition also recognises the fact that refugees may want to take their own time and make choices about the degree to which they integrate whereas this is not recognised in the Home Office conception which seems to place all of the emphasis upon the refugee, rather than seeing this as a 2-way process.

However, because the Welsh Government do not have devolved powers relating to immigration and asylum, defining refugee integration in this way may prove problematic when attempting to devise policy solutions. Similarly, the reason for the Westminster Government to only include refugees in their definition may relate to the ideology held by Tony Blair and New Labour that asylum applications needed to be curtailed.

In contrast to the current UK government, which currently has no up-to-date strategy or action plan for refugee integration, the Welsh Assembly Government issued updated action plan between 2013 and 2015, monitoring progress, reporting on results and making clear where further actions are needed in order to meet the aims of the strategy. In September 2015 a new, 'Refugee and asylum seeker delivery plan' was published for consultation, showing a further commitment to inclusion going forwards. It seems too that the Welsh strategy has followed more closely the framework employed by Ager and Strang (2004) as its Strategy Action Plan Update (June 2014) reiterates its priorities and bases 2 of the 3 around indicators of integration included in the framework. While the first priority (Supporting the most vulnerable separated children and families) does not make reference to the framework and is very much targeted at specific groups, priority 2 (Access to Services) includes a goal for each of the 'Means and Markers' included in Ager and Strang's Framework, including a recommitment to funding English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision in Wales. The third priority identified (Building community and empowering asylum seekers and refugees to live active and fulfilling lives) reflects the 'social connection' aspect of Ager and Strang's framework.

While it is positive that the Welsh Assembly Government still have an 'active' strategy for refugee integration it is clear that there have been changes since its first issue in 2008, when many UK-wide initiatives, such as the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) had been introduced following the publication of Integration Matters (2005).

Looking at the June 2014 update it would appear that emphasis is now very much on third sector organisations playing the leading role in providing services in Wales that promote refugee integration. Particularly so given that UK-wide initiatives such as RIES were scrapped as part of the austerity measures introduced by the Coalition UK government in 2010.



It also appears that, as with the UK as a whole, refugee integration initiatives may be becoming part of a broader equality and diversity framework as the Action Plan Update includes numerous references to other Welsh Assembly Government documents, such as 'Getting on Together – a Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales' (2009) and 'Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents – A Framework for Action' (2014).

### 7. METHODOLOGY

To find out about integration experiences, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 refugees and asylum seekers who were living in Wales at the time of the interview. Participants were recruited with the help of a number of charities and organisation supporting refugees and asylum seekers in Cardiff, Swansea and Newport. Each of the interviews were structured around questions relating to Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework.

A total of 11 male and eight female participants took part in this study as shown in Table 4, below. In terms of the national average, over the past eight years, 72% of asylum applications have been from males (Home Office, 2017), thus females may be over-represented in this sample. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 58, with an average age of 34.

Participants had been living in the UK for between one month and 12 years at the time of interview. All but one of the participants had been initially sent to Wales on a no-choice basis by the UK Home Office in order to claim Section 95 support under the 1999 Immigration and Asylum act and those with refugee status had chosen to remain in Wales following their grant of status. With an average time in the UK of 40 months, the majority of this time being spent in Wales, participants had been living in Wales for a sufficient period of time to talk about their experiences in Wales. Participants were from 13 different countries of origin: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, Pakistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Uganda and Chechnya.

Four of the participants were asylum seekers who had made an initial application for protection to the UK Government and seven were asylum seekers whose case had been refused by the UK Government and who were appealing the decision at the time of interview. Seven participants had been recognised as refugees and granted five years leave to remain in the UK and one participant had been granted British Citizenship. Eight of the participants had completed a Higher Education course before coming to the UK, nine had completed secondary school in their home country and two had basic or no education in their home country.

Interviews lasted for between 25 and 70 minutes and were subsequently transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). In the extracts that follow, pseudonyms are used for each of the participants in order to protect their identities.

### 8. FINDINGS

In this section I discuss the main findings from the interviews conducted. This section is split into a number of thematic areas, broadly in keeping with Ager and Strang's Indicators of Integration Framework (2004). A number of quotes are used to provide further details of the findings.

### HOUSING AND THE LOCAL AREA

Of the 19 participants in this study, one was living in initial asylum accommodation (Lynx House) and a further 9 in accommodation provided through the asylum support system. 8 participants lived in their own rented homes, mostly social rented homes. One participant was living with a British family whilst awaiting for a decision on his asylum claim as his application for asylum support was refused leaving him homeless:

yeah they are very kind actually they make me feel that **I'm a part** of the family and really I'm very surprised - **Munir** 

During the interviews, 12 out of 19 participants (63%) discussed problems that they had encountered regarding their accommodation whilst living in Wales. The majority of such complaints related to the shared nature of asylum accommodation and the lack of privacy that this allows. Such problems were particularly emphasised by two single parent female participants:

I have two girls and the other family has a boy so maybe two parents in a four bedroom house (.) But we have our differences individual differences and it's not really good enough for the children because you cannot teach your children the way you want you can't give them-just you can't caution them the way you want because basically it's shared house - Layla

A number of participants also commented on the poor condition of the asylum accommodation provided to them and noted difficulties in resolving issues with their housing providers. This was a particular problem for one participant who had long-term mobility difficulties:

I ask for the manager, I can't go up the steps- no I don't have any room downstairs for you. Yeah you can go up and come down but please I can't I'm crying - Aminata

### Housing

### **Key points**

- 1) Participants viewed Wales as a good place to live and 95% wanted to remain in Wales in the future.
- 2) 63% of participants had experienced problems with their accommodation in Wales.
- 3) The 28 day 'move-on' period was identified as a crucial time and can result in newly recognised refugees becoming homeless.
- 4) The majority of participants had minimal contact with their neighbours but only a few had had specific problems with their neighbours.

- Newly recognised refugees should be given a longer period of time to move on from their asylum accommodation. 28 days is not a sufficient amount of time to find permanent housing in addition to the other pressures faced during the move-on period.
- 2) Newly recognised refugees should be able to access a specific service during the move-on period with tailored help that will ensure refugees make the transition to permanent housing more quickly.
- 3) The use of shared accommodation for families in the asylum process should be reviewed.
- 4) Universities in Wales should be encouraged to accept a greater number of refugees and asylum seekers so that those who wish to stay in Wales can do so.
- 5) Knowledge of UK systems and structures needs to be developed during the time when individuals are waiting for a decision on their asylum claim to ensure that if they are granted refugee status they have a full understanding of what they will be required to do in order to avoid becoming destitute.

For participants who had been granted refugee status, securing permanent accommodation following the end of the 28 day 'move-on' period was identified as a particular difficulty and in two cases led to a period of homelessness for the participant:

after that I move- I started my homeless journey er in er er er in hostels in night shelters (.) you know? - Samir

In both of these cases, participants felt that 28 days did not give them enough time to make arrangements for securing permanent housing in addition to the other requirements placed upon them when receiving their refugee status, such as applying for a national insurance number and mainstream welfare benefits. Both suggested that they had not built up enough knowledge of UK systems and structures whilst they were awaiting a decision on their asylum claim and that they lacked support at this crucial time of transition to know what they needed to do in order to access housing and welfare benefits.

Despite these problems with their housing 11 out of 19 participants (58%) were positive about the area where they were living at the time of the interview. For those who were not positive the most common reasons given for unhappiness were a lack of halal food shops in the local area, being far from the city centre and other refugee communities, few opportunities to meet British locals and, in one case, problems with co-nationals in the local area. However, 18 out of 19 participants (95%) stated that they would plan to stay in Wales in the future, with only one participant expressing a desire to move to other parts of the UK. For four of these participants, plans for remaining in Wales in the future were contingent upon them securing a place at university, with a recognition that this may mean a move away from Wales in order to continue their education:

I just feel that I **love Wales** and I don't actually want to- I don't really want to move to London because like it's a nicer area or like bigger city it's just because I told you it's my university - **Aysha** 

18 out of 19 participants reported either not knowing their neighbours or having very minimal contact with them. Typically this included "just saying hi" but nothing more. Despite this only 5 out of 19 participants reported specific problems that they had had with their neighbours. The reasons for these problems included misunderstandings over property, anti-social behaviour and bullying by co-nationals. The following example illustrates a more complex description of not belonging in the local area that is based on a feeling that asylum seekers are different:

no no we don't know we don't er we don't have good relations with our neighbours we are different you know we are the only one who is from another place and most of them are er local people so we are different in terms of colour in terms of identity even so it's difficult for us to have relations with our neighbours - Emanuel

The findings of these interviews therefore point to a mixed picture regarding housing and living in Wales. Participants were generally positive about Wales and showed a desire to remain in Wales in the future. However, despite this participants did not have extensive relationships with local residents in the areas in which they live and noted a number of problems with the housing that they had been provided as asylum seekers. The 28 day move-on period for newly recognised refugees was also noted to be a particularly difficult period which had resulted in a period of homelessness for several participants. This policy is determined by the UK Home Office as is the provision of accommodation for asylum seekers. Therefore, whilst housing is an area that is devolved to the Welsh Government, housing for asylum seekers is managed by a Home Office contract (COMPASS) with three private contractors responsible for this across the UK. The Welsh Government do have responsibility for housing for refugees so there therefore exists a tension between policies which are devolved and those which are not. The Welsh Refugee Coalition (2016) have called for asylum accommodation and dispersal to be devolved to the Welsh Government as part of a process of establishing Wales as a 'Nation of Sanctuary'.

### **HEALTH**

Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration framework also identifies health as a key means and marker of refugee integration. Unlike housing, the Welsh Government do have full responsibility for providing health services to both asylum seekers and refugees.

During the interviews participants were asked about their experiences of the health system in Wales. Responses to these questions elicited mixed responses, with nine participants saying that their experiences had been good and nine that they had not been good. One participant had no experience of accessing the UK health system because he had been a doctor in his home country prior to claiming asylum in the UK.

### Health

### **Key Points**

- Half of those interviewed had not had good experiences of the health system in Wales.
- For those who reported good experiences this was largely due to a feeling that the doctor was supportive and listened to them.
- 3) The health system in Wales was described as significantly different from that in many of the interviewees home countries which often led to misunderstandings and frustrations.
- 4) Several of those interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the health service in Wales, mainly due to long waiting times and a feeling that GPs were not prescribing them appropriate medication.

- Newly-arrived asylum seekers in Wales should continue to be automatically registered with health services whilst in initial asylum accommodation.
- 2) Information should be provided to newly-arrived asylum seekers and refugees, in their first language, which explains the health system in Wales and outlines the service and waiting times which they can expect to receive.

For those who spoke positively about the health system in Wales, this was largely due to the perception that medical professionals were treating them fairly and responding to the problems they described:

Yeah the GP they are good. The surgery I am now oh the the doctor I see she is very good cos **she can listen to you, you know? - Barbara** 

One participant noted that the current system of registering asylum seekers with a doctor whilst in initial asylum accommodation was successful and helped him to understand processes and ensure that he had the necessary support:

when we come in at Lynx House they do that automatically when you get there. They book you an appointment with the hospital so when you go to the hospital like you get registered with them so **any time you can want to see a doctor you can**, you just need to book an appointment -**Kris** 

For those participants who reported negative experiences of the health system in Wales, the primary complaint related to the amount of time they had had to wait to get appointments with their GP or a specialist. In the quote below Aminata jokes about the length of time that she had been waiting for an appointment with a specialist regarding a long-term physical disability she had:

yeah one time was sent for me the letter. "Aminata so sorry because I know your problem but you're in the short waiting list". [Laughter] **short waiting list seven months** [laughter] - **Aminata** 

In addition to complaints about waiting times, a number of participants also raised concerns about the treatment they had been offered by their GP, feeling that it was not suitable for the condition with which they were suffering. For example, Bhaija, in the quote below, describes the impact of these difficulties and how they had been caused by living in the initial asylum accommodation:

Health system is really terrible. it's like if you're- if a person is surviving from a disease then they will give you an appointment for 6 months and GOD KNOWS that after 6 months if the person is alive or the person is dead or the person the cure the person is already in a good condition. It's like I have a skin problem from the Lynx house from the initial accommodation and I was just going to the doctor again and again. It's like give me some medicine and they are just giving me a normal lotion, apply that apply that apply that, and after 8 months like I got an appointment from the hospital from the doctor, not from the GP, from the doctor and he's like you're fine now and I was like yeah I complete my terrible time I used a homemade medicine and now I'm fine - Bhaija

Interestingly, many of those who did raise concerns about the health system in Wales did so by comparing it unfavourably to the system in their home countries. In most cases these were private health systems, for example, in the extract below Hayat describes a system in which they could be seen by a specialist straight away:

difficult because in some times I don't understand how it works really. I don't know if system is errm we have always to deal with nurses till now I think I didn't see doctor that is strange for me because we are used to all direct the contact with the doctor - Hayat

### EMPLOYMENT AND VOLUNTEERING

Employment is identified by Ager and Strang (2004) as a key means and marker of integration. In this study each of the interview participants were asked about their experiences of paid and voluntary work undertaken since being in Wales and their aspirations for future work. Discussion also took place regarding the support needed by interviewees to gain skills and to understand the UK jobs market.

Asylum seekers are not currently permitted to undertake paid employment, unless they have been waiting for a decision on their asylum claim for more than 12 months and are able to undertake work that is on the Shortage Occupation List. As of August 2017 this list included highly-skilled jobs such as chemical and nuclear engineers and classically trained ballet dancers.

Analysis of the interviews revealed that employment and being able to contribute to the economic life of the host country was seen as the key to successful integration in Wales.

yeah sometimes **I feel that I'm a part here when I did volunteer jobs**. I feel happy that I'm doing something **not just waiting and doing nothing** yeah - **Munir** 

However, only one of the 19 participants (5.3%) interviewed for this study had undertaken paid employment since being in the UK. This was despite 17 out of 19 (89%) having worked previously in their home countries (only 2 interviewees had not worked in their

### **Employment**

### **Key Points**

- Only 1 of the 19 interviewees had undertaken paid employment since being in Wales.
- However, 14 interviewees had undertaken voluntary work in Wales.
- 3) Employment seen by many participants as the key to successful integration.
- Health and childcare issues remain a barrier to undertaking paid or voluntary work.

- Asylum seekers should be allowed to work whilst they are awaiting a decision on their claim to avoid this period becoming one of inactivity.
- A specific service is needed to help refugees into their first paid employment opportunity and to assist those who want to continue prior careers in Wales.
- 3) Free childcare should be offered to female refugees and asylum seekers in order to allow them to undertake voluntary or paid work so that they are also able to gain valuable work experience.

home country but both had come to the UK to claim asylum as a child). In contrast, 14 of the 19 (74%) interviewees had undertaken some form of voluntary work since arriving in Wales. For the 4 participants who had no paid or voluntary work experience in Wales, this was due to health reasons or difficulties in accessing childcare to allow them time to work.

I only volunteered with Oxfam for about three months. I could not go on because of the childcare. Oasis paid my childcare for three months after that I was asked to stop because I got the money exhausted because of the childcare so I couldn't go on - Layla

For those with refugee status, and therefore able to undertake paid employment, a number of difficulties were expressed around understanding the processes of securing work in the UK and in particular how to have their previous experience and qualifications recognised in the UK.

Pressure from the Job Centre to undertake work that was viewed as being unsuitable for the interviewee or that would not help them to re-start careers they had in their home country was also viewed as problematic. In the example below, Samir expresses his concern that many refugees who are highly qualified are working in jobs that do not reflect their skills or experience:

Because it's very bad and sad idea to see a refugee who has a very high qualified and working in a restaurant. I believe all jobs has it's value, every job is good itself but you know you have to do you have to put the suitable person in the suitable situation - Samir

Many of those who had undertaken voluntary work had done so with charities who support refugees and asylum seekers. However, others had sought out opportunities to volunteer that would help them to re-start careers they had had in their home country. For asylum seekers, unable to undertake paid employment, there was a sense that volunteering was also about making use of time and contributing to the civic and social life of the communities in which they lived. In the example below Emanuel also talks about using his experiences of volunteering as a way of inspiring other asylum seekers to also improve their lives:

Now even I got many other around six seven others who want to volunteer there. This week we will go like six of us will go to help others. So because many others who are- who are watching this thing, who observe this thing they will come as they asking me if you bring your friends for volunteer you welcome they say to me. So my friends also volunteer to go there. So this what we are doing - Emanuel

Making use of time and seeing the need to contribute because of the support they receive as asylum seekers was expressed by several participants. Because of the importance that these

participants placed on work as the key to integration it seems important that the rules on allowing asylum seekers to undertake paid work are changed:

The efficiency and the effectiveness of resource you paying someone five pound a day but just to sleep. If he have abilities to do something it's best to let us do both of them instead of just hiding somewhere because you know it's leaving sometimes it creates kind of criminal issues - Aziz

### **EDUCATION**

The final domain of Ager and Strang's (2004) 'means and markers' level of their Indicators of Integration Framework is education. In the interviews, participants were asked about the education they received in their home countries, courses they had undertaken in Wales and any difficulties they had encountered in accessing education opportunities in Wales. Discussions about learning the English language played a key role here, although each of the participants arrived in Wales with varying experience of having learnt English. Whilst one participant was a first language English speaker and three others had been jointly educated in English (as a second language), the remaining 15 participants had arrived in Wales with little or no English language skills.

I never no [laughter] no I never up til now but **I'm waiting lis**t. It's just like I learn from the children and I keep picking up watching tv - **Barbara** 

Before arriving in Wales, eight of the participants had completed a Higher Education course, nine had completed secondary school in their home country and two had received basic or no education in their home country. Whilst this may be higher than the average level of qualifications held by refugees and asylum seekers in Wales, it is still indicative of many forced migrants in Wales holding high levels of prior qualifications and thus supports the findings above that refugees should be given greater support in being able to continue careers started I their home country. Indeed, as the quote below from Ahmed, a doctor in his home country, shows, forced migrants have a desire to undertake

### Education

### **Key Points**

- Interviewees had arrived in Wales with a variety of prior English language learning experience and a variety of prior qualifications, including eight who held a university degree.
- 15 of the 19 interviewees had attended formal or informal education classes since arriving in Wales.
- Four asylum seekers interviewed expressed frustrations at being unable to attend university because of costs, despite having the necessary qualifications for entry.
- Lack of childcare and long waiting lists were the most common problems cited by participants as barriers to accessing education in Wales.

- Universities in Wales should be encouraged to offer a number of scholarships for asylum seekers at both undergraduate and postgraduate level.
- The level of funding for ESOL classes at colleges in Wales should be increased to reflect demand and reduce waiting times.
- Colleges should be given greater funding to provide childcare places to allow female forced migrants greater opportunity to engage in educational opportunities.

educational opportunities that will assist in achieving this aspiration, but also need assistance in understanding how this can be realised in practice:

I will try and get the same work but if I cannot pass the exam of course have to found another work. Yes but similar to my job I want if I cannot get the same my job in my country I want to get similar my job here yes - Ahmed

13 of the 19 interviewees (68%) had attended college courses in Wales and a further two had accessed English language classes through community organisations because there were no places available at their (higher) level at college.

For the remaining four participants, one had only been in Wales for one month at the time of interview, whilst the other three were all single-mothers who had faced a number of barriers to accessing education because of the unavailability of childcare places:

Because **the education is a bit difficult down here in Cardiff** basically **they don't have childcare** it's not approved for asylum seekers I think they cancelled it so it's a bit of struggle to get into the college. I haven't done any education here though I've gone later to put down my name to see if they ask me to come in if some of my asylum seekers friends that will look after each other's children if we have appointment if they can help me out - **Layla** 

English languages (ESOL) was the most common subject studied by participants who had accessed formal education in Wales. Two participants, who had come to Wales as teenagers, had completed A levels at a school, one was enrolled on a degree programme and a further two had completed Access courses at college. Despite this, the most common complaints amongst participants were about waiting times for places on college courses and nine of the nineteen interviewees said that there were insufficient opportunities for them to learn English in Wales:

There is a big problem in this field because there is a very long waiting list but I was very lucky because I registered before entering college. Two months when I went to the reception and asked them to register they told me there are lots of people before you waiting two years. I tried and tried lots of times and finally I asked to speak with the manager and I explained my needs I need I need to learn English and I asked seriously. So they [laughter] put me in the college just to [laughter] yeah - Samir

For four participants a further difficulty related specifically to gaining access to Higher Education courses. Currently asylum seekers are treated as international students for fee paying purposes in higher education and are not eligible for student finance funding. Whilst some universities

currently offer a limited number of scholarships for asylum seekers, these participants felt that they were insufficient and were restricting them from progressing their education or future employment prospects because of this:

because I don't know whenever I got status whenever I am able to go to uni. it's I don't know what will the future bring for me - Bhaija

In general there was a mixed picture in relation to education. Whilst the majority of the interviewees indicated that they had been able to access some formal education courses in Wales, particularly for higher-level learners their remain barriers to furthering education and achieving aspirations of attending university. This suggests that ensuring those with good English skills as have equal opportunities for progressing their education as those who have little or no English language when they arrive in Wales. Access to childcare and long waiting times to access college courses however were found to be a problem for interviewees of all levels and also needs addressing to ensure that they can also fulfil their aspirations.

## SUPPORT FROM THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY AND RCOS

A theme which came across strongly in analysis of the interviews was the support interviewees had received from other members of the refugee community and from charities and other refugee community organisations. Each of the 19 interviewees had accessed support from a charity or community organisation, but this is perhaps not surprising as each interviewee was recruited with the help of a number of charities.

Several participants described feeling a sense of belonging in such community organisations that they did not feel in the areas in which they lived. In the example below Emanuel describes this difference:

When we come to community group, we get chance to talk with others and people from in community are volunteer so they are easy they welcome us. so it's easy to communicate that-them instead of communicating in neighbourhood - Emanuel

# Community Support

### **Key Points**

- Each of the interviewees had accessed support from at least one charity or refugee community organisation during their time living in Wales.
- 2) Interviewees emphasised the importance of such organisations for allowing them to feel part of a community and to develop a sense of belonging that was in contrast to their feelings about the neighbourhoods in which they were living.

- The continuation of funding for organisations which support asylum seekers and refugees is crucial to ensure a sense of belonging continues to develop.
- Integration strategies should consider that hostilities may develop between co-nationals so there is a need to recognise forced migrants as individuals and not as a homogenous group.

Attending such community groups had benefits in terms of making connections in the community but also in developing skills such as English and learning about the culture in Wales:

Because I'm still asylum I should stay here and around this place so I keep in touch with the refugee people, staff and sometimes in the Oasis also in the Trinity tthey know me very well and some people in the Migrant Help also. In addition I met some other people. I met with a gentlewoman and sometimes she call us she invites us to her home, sometimes invite us to cinema and sometimes she meet us with the other British people to make more contacts - Munir

Whilst most participants spoke positively about their relationships with other members of the refugee community, others talked about hostilities that had developed with other nationals from the same country:

No no no no **British are not racist at all**. No it was just like all with the Iraqis [laughter] - **Aysha** 

The analysis points to the continued importance of refugee community organisations and the work that charities do to create a sense of community for those newly arrived in Wales and also the need to recognise forced migrants as individuals rather than a homogenous group.

# SAFETY AND INCIDENTS OF DISCRIMINATION

Ager and Strang's (2004) Indicators of Integration Framework includes a domain for safety and stability that includes the importance of the absence of racism as a key indicator of integration.

In analysing the interviews it became clear that safety and stability were highly valued by participants and there was a sense that this was prioritised by many of those interviewed. At the same time, the interviewees also presented themselves as having aspirations for more than "just getting by", where their identities also depended upon them being able to contribute to the economic life of the country.

# Safety and discrimination

### **Key Points**

- All of the participants described Wales as a safe place to live.
- Despite this, seven of the nineteen participants described one or more incidents of discrimination they had experienced in Wales.
- 3) The incidents of discrimination described by interviewees ranged from explicit cases of racism on public transport to more banal forms which led interviewees to question whether they had been discriminated against.

- Further work is needed to ensure local residents understand why forced migrants are living in Wales.
- The Welsh Government should ensure that there are specific measures relating to forced migrants in its future strategies for tackling racism in Wales.

Seven of the nineteen interviewees (37%) discussed feelings of being discriminated against since arriving in the UK. Some described incidents of explicit racism that they had faced in Wales. For example, below, Aysha describes an incident that occurred on a bus in Cardiff:

I actually faced this problem once before. I was going on the bus and some white lady she seen me because I was wearing the scarf and I was talking on the phone in Arabic. She looked at me and she gave me the dirtiest look ever she goes like oh "dirty lady" something like that. I didn't like it you know if someone says you are a dirty person or stuff you don't actually like it and I knew it's because I was wearing a scarf I was talking in Arabic not in English I think that's why she gave me the dirtiest look ever - Aysha

Three interviewees mentioned incidents of racism that had been perpetrated by children, although the seriousness of such incidents appeared to be played down:

I am a foreigner it's not honestly that's what it is but some years ago **they tried to just throw stones at me**. I tried just to ignore it it's not easy it's not easy honestly but I try especially I was very angry because not of them they are **they were teenagers** ok they were teenagers but they mum were with them - **Amna** 

Others, however, also talked about more banal incidents which led them to question whether they had experienced discrimination whist living in Wales.

I can feel it but **nobody say something bad for me** you know? no it's ok if he ignore it so or for he hidden it. So it's ok for me but if he show it to me I will be a different person - **Mustafa** 

Whilst each of the interviewees described feeling safe in Wales, there is clearly evidence here of incidents of racism continuing to be a feature of life in Wales for refugees and asylum seekers which the Welsh Government should continue to challenge.

## BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

At the end of each of the interviews, participants were asked to reflect on what they saw as the greatest barriers to integration that they currently faced in Wales. 16 participants (84%) said that there were some barriers to integration whereas three participants (16%) felt that they did not face any barriers to integrating in Wales. Of those who said that there were barriers to integration, access to employment and education were frequently mentioned but most participants cited English language ability as the biggest barrier:

it's **only the language barrier** because there is this language barrier and er everywhere because there's people are from different countries some of them **they don't know English** some they do so the only thing which is here is language barrier yeah nothing else - **Gloria** 

For some of the participants who were still waiting for a decision on their asylum claim or were appealing a negative decision, their status itself was seen as a barrier to integration. As Ghirmay explains below, his status comes with limited rights and a number of restrictions which impact his ability to integrate:

unless I get my Visa nothing gonna get improved nothing gonna get changed. you have got your visa you are- erm to be honest I am like a moving dead. I can't do nothing, I can't do study, I can't work, I can't do anything nothing and it's quite suffering and just it's getting my nerves and it's nerve wracking and it's very bad - Ghirmay

When asked about their future, whilst 95% of interviewees expressed a desire to remain in Wales, only 68% said that they were hopeful about their future. Again, it was those who were waiting for a decision on their asylum application, or who were appealing a refusal, that said they were not hopeful about their future. This finding demonstrates the dilemma the Welsh Government faces in trying to integrate asylum seekers and refugees in Wales: what is the biggest concern for many (immigration status) is a matter over which the Welsh Government have no direct control.

# Barriers to integration

### **Key Points**

- English language and access to employment were seen by most participants as barriers to integration in Wales.
- Immigration status, particularly for asylum seekers was seen as restrictive and as a barrier to integration.
- Despite this, the majority of participants expressed a desire to remain in Wales and would only consider moving to other parts of the UK if this became necessary because of university or their children wanted to move elsewhere.

- The UK government should make changes to the current immigration rules to allow asylum seekers to work if they have been waiting for a decision on their asylum claim for more than six months.
- 2) The Welsh Government should ensure that all asylum seekers and refugees have access to free ESOL classes for a minimum of 8 hours per week.
- The Welsh Government should continue taking positive steps to make Wales a welcoming place for asylum seekers and refugees.

### 9. CONCLUSION

Refugees and asylum seekers arrive in Wales having fled persecution, war and terror in their home countries and often having made long and difficult journeys to reach the UK. They hope to re-build their lives in a safe country and become part of their new community, but for many this can be very challenging as this research has highlighted. Whilst the interviewees were generally positive about living in Wales, Welsh people and Welsh culture, a number of barriers to integration were identified that need to be addressed if Wales is to continue being a welcoming place for those seeking protection.

For most participants learning the English language and access to ESOL classes was given as the most prominent barrier to integration, which included long waiting lists, insufficient learning hours and lack of childcare facilities. Importantly, even those with good English skills had found it difficult to access ESOL classes at higher levels, showing that the lack of provision is impacting on learners of all levels. Worryingly, only one of the 19 participants had experience of paid employment in Wales, despite the majority having undertaken voluntary work. For many of the participants, working and contributing to the economic life of the country was constructed as being key to integration and thus it is important for the Welsh Government to consider ways of helping refugees into paid employment more quickly.

Many of the participants in this study reported feelings of not belonging in their local areas but this was mitigated by feelings of safety and security taking precedence over this. Several participants reported incidents of racism that they had experienced in Wales, some of these explicit and some which were more banal forms of everyday racism. Whilst played down, it still suggests that work is needed on tackling racism in Wales and ensuring that host communities are aware that their new neighbours may have fled war, torture or persecution in their home countries to seek safety in Wales.

The barriers to integration identified by participants highlight a fundamental dilemma for the Welsh Government between devolved and reserved matters. Although the language of the Welsh Government is inclusive, for those participants who were not hopeful about their future it was their status that they saw as the main barrier to integration, something which remains a reserved matter for the UK Government. Whilst I have set out a number of recommendations for future Welsh Government policy in this document, due to the current nature of devolved and reserved matters, it is not possible to do this without also making some policy recommendations for the UK government as well. Refugee and asylum seeker integration is a matter which requires dialogue between the Welsh and UK governments if, those like Ghirmay quoted in this document, are to feel that they are more than "the moving dead".

# 10. APPENDIX – TABLE OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

**Table 5 - Interview Participants** 

Name	Age	Gender	Length of time in UK	Status
Ahmed	45	M	12 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Ali	33	M	11 years	Refugee
Aminata	45	F	9 months	Refugee
Amna	58	F	12 years	British Citizen
Awet	28	M	3 years 6 months	Refused asylum seeker
Aysha	19	F	4 years	Refugee
Aziz	40	M	1 month	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Bahija	20	F	12 months	Refused asylum seeker
Barbara	36	F	8 years	Refused asylum seeker
Emanuel	26	M	6 months	Refused asylum seeker
Ghirmay	33	M	3 years 4 months	Refused asylum seeker
Gloria	50	F	7 years	Refugee
Hayat	36	F	6 months	Refugee
Kris	26	M	8 months	Refugee
Layla	33	F	4 years	Refused asylum seeker
Munir	36	M	2 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application
Mustafa	24	M	12 months	Refused asylum seeker
Samir	35	M	9 months	Refugee
Viktor	26	M	1 year 7 months	Asylum Seeker - initial application

#### References

- Ager, A. and Strang, A. 2004. Indicators of integration. London: Home Office.
- Allsopp, J. et al. 2014. Poverty among refugees and asylum seekers in the UK: An evidence and policy review. IRiS Working Papers Series.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology* 3(2), pp. 77-101.
- Crawley, H. 2013. Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Wales. Cardiff: Wales Strategic Migration Partnership.
- Crawley, H. et al. 2009. *Refugees living in Wales: a survey of skills, experiences and barriers to inclusion: executive summary.* Swansea University.
- Dwyer, P. and Brown, D. 2008. Accommodating 'others'?: housing dispersed, forced migrants in the UK. *Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law* 30(3), pp. 203-218.
- Evans, N. 2015. Immigrants and minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: a comparative perspective. In: Williams, C. et al. eds. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting ethnic diversity in a devolved Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Home Office. 2005. *Integration Matters: A National Strategy for Refugee Integration*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. 2017. Immigration Statistics October to December 2016. Available at: <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum">https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum</a>
- Lewis, M. 2005. Asylum: Understanding public attitudes. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Mann, R. and Tommis, Y. 2012. *Public Sentiments Towards Immigration in Wales*. WISERD Research Report.
- McDonald, I. and Billings, P. 2007. The treatment of asylum seekers in the UK. *Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law* 29(1), pp. 49-65.
- Payson, A. 2015. "This is the place we are calling home": Changes in Sanctuary Seeking in Wales. In: Williams, C. et al. eds. *A Tolerant Nation*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 277-304.
- Phillimore, J. 2012. Implementing integration in the UK: Lessons for integration theory, policy and practice. *Policy & Politics* 40(4), pp. 525-545.
- Race Council Cymru. 2012. A report on race equality and racism in Wales: An exploratory study. Swansea: Race Council Cymru
- Robinson, V. 1999. Cultures of ignorance, disbelief and denial: refugees in Wales. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12(1), pp. 78-87.
- Stewart, E. and Mulvey, G. 2014. Seeking safety beyond refuge: the impact of immigration and citizenship policy upon refugees in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(7), pp. 1023-1039.
- UNHCR. 2017. Global Trends 2016. Geneva: UNHCR.

Welsh Assembly Government. 2008. *Refugee Inclusion Strategy*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

Welsh Assembly Government. 2009. *Getting on Together - A Community Cohesion Strategy for Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

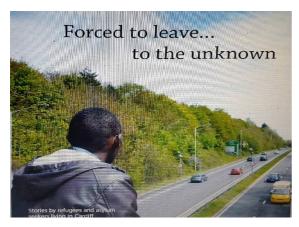
Welsh Assembly Government. 2014. *Refugee Inclusion Strategy Action Plan June 2014 update*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

Welsh Assembly Government. 2014. *Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents: A Framework for Action*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

Williams, C. et al. 2015. A Tolerant Nation?: Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales. University of Wales Press.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to all 19 interviewees who spoke with me about their experiences of living and integrating in Wales. Thanks also go to Welsh Refugee Council, Space4U Cardiff and Unity in Diversity Swansea for their assistance in helping to organise and facilitate a number of the interviews that were conducted for this study.



The images that appear in this document were taken by refugees and asylum seekers at Space4U Cardiff as part of a project to create a book of stories about how and why they came to Cardiff. Copies of the book, called *Forced to leave... to the unknown*, are freely available by contacting Space4U Cardiff.

## Appendix 8

Comparison of key features in refugee integration strategy documents

	UK Government	Welsh Government	Scottish Government
	<ul> <li>Full and Equal Citizens (2000)</li> <li>Integration Matters (2005)</li> <li>Moving on Together (2009)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Refugee Inclusion Strategy (2008)</li> <li>Refugee Inclusion Strategy Action Plan June 2014 Update (2014)</li> <li>Refugee and Asylum Seeker Delivery</li> </ul>	New Scots (2013)
How is integration defined?	"Integration takes place when refugees are empowered to: achieve their full potential as members of British society; contribute fully to the community; and access the public services to which they are entitled" (Home Office 2005, p.11)	Plan (Consultation document) (2015)  "Refugee inclusion takes place when a refugee becomes a fully active member of society, participating in and contributing to the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country". (Welsh Government, 2008, p.1)	"We see integration as being a two- way process that involves positive change in both the individuals and the host communities and which leads to cohesive, multi-cultural communities".(Scottish Government, 2013, p.9)
Who is integration for?	Refugees only	Refugees and asylum seekers	Refugees and asylum seekers
When does integration begin?	On the day that refugee status is awarded to the individual.	On day one of arrival in Wales (whether as asylum seeker or refugee)	On day one of arrival in Scotland (whether as asylum seeker or refugee)
Draws on "proud tradition/history" repertoire?	Yes — in line with definition of integration and who integration is: "I am proud of this country's tradition of providing a safe haven for refugees" — (Full and Equal Citizens, 2000, Ministerial Foreword) "The UK has a heritage of welcoming refugees in which it can take pride" (Integration Matters, 2005, p.6)	Yes – in line with definition of integration and who integration is for, but uses the more open and emotive 'people fleeing persecution': "Wales has a proud history of providing refuge to people fleeing persecution" (Welsh Government, 2008, Ministerial Foreword)	Yes - in line with definition of integration and who integration is for:  "Scotland has had a long history of welcoming refugees and asylum seekers from all over the world, which we celebrate" (New Scots, 2013, p.1)

How is the "proud tradition" repertoire used?	Works to present integration as being about protection only, repressing any economic aspirations forced migrants may have. As such it also works to reinforce ideology around integration being for refugees only and not asylum seekers.	Works to reinforce the notion of Wales as the "tolerant nation" (Williams, 2015), despite, historically, Wales not hosting large numbers of refugees. Positions Wales as different to, and more welcoming than, England.	Works to position Scotland as more welcoming and inclusive than England.
Who is the "we" in the document?	Some clear examples of an "inclusive" we but other sentences that are ambiguous, where "we" could refer to government exclusively or the more inclusive British people.	Exclusive "we" – "we" the Welsh Government. Used generally to show what "we" (the Welsh Government) have done or will do to tackle the problem.	An inclusive "we", but used less frequently than in Westminster strategies. Creates a discourse of an "inclusive" Scotland.
Refugee voices heard in the strategy?	No, only in Moving on Together (2009) where voices are limited to success stories reporting on previous integration initiatives.	No, voice is only of Welsh Government.	Yes (to some extent) – strategy developed as a partnership between Scottish and local government, third sector organizations and forced migrants themselves.
Who is responsible for integration?	Refugees – limited role given to government or receiving communities to play in integration. Integration constructed as a one-way process in which it is the responsibility of refugees to adapt.	Integration constructed as a clear- cut process which the Welsh Government has control over. Although some focus on receiving communities, integration generally constructed as a one-way process.	Government, refugees and asylum seekers, receiving communities and third sector. (As per definition of integration above – integration constructed as a two-way process).
Examples of specific solutions to tackling the problem.	<ul> <li>Refugee Integration and Employment Service and Personal Integration Plan (withdrawn in 2011).</li> <li>Integration loan scheme</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Welcome to Wales pack.</li> <li>Promoting positive images of refugees.</li> <li>ESOL policy for Wales.</li> <li>Refugee Well Housing project.</li> </ul>	Holistic Integration     Service (main form of     provision through which     other services offered).

	<ul> <li>National Refugee Integration         Forum (no longer in operation)</li> <li>Funding for Refugee         Community Organisations         (RCOs)</li> <li>Refugee Community         Development Fund (RCDF)         (no longer in operation)</li> <li>Challenge Fund (no longer in operation)</li> <li>New ESOL qualifications.</li> <li>Promoting positive images of refugees.</li> <li>Access to interpretation.</li> <li>Improved information about accessing services.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Equality and Inclusion grant to fund RCOs.</li> <li>Facilitate training about working with refugees and asylum seekers.</li> <li>Wales migration briefings</li> <li>Funding for Refugee Week Wales.</li> <li>Refugee and Asylum Seeker advocacy forum.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Funding accessible community ESOL classes.</li> <li>Provision of information to new refugees.</li> <li>Specialist housing advice for refugees.</li> <li>Promotion of ESOL qualifications.</li> <li>Funding for Refugee Week activities.</li> <li>Provision of information relating to health.</li> </ul>
Government's role in solving the "problem"	Ambiguous – constructed using hedges, passive sentences and nominalisations. Refugees lack agency within these documents.	Clear – solutions to tackling the problem are constructed using modal verbs in the form "The Welsh Government will". As such refugees lack agency in this construction.	Partnership approach – constructed in such a way that refugees are afforded agency through sections which detail what they should be able to do if the strategy is successful.
Has a current strategy?	No – no new strategies issued since <i>Moving on Together</i> (2009).	Yes – new refugee and asylum seeker plan consulted on in 2018.	Yes – updated version of New Scots issued in 2018.