FINAL REPORT

EVIDENCING THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BENEFITS AND COSTS OF MIGRATION IN SCOTLAND

A collaborative pilot research project between COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership (CSMP), Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNet) and the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies (CRCEES) at the University of Glasgow.

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The pilot study – rationale and methodology

The study was developed as a collaboration between COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership (CSMP), Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNet) and the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies (CRCEES), University of Glasgow. It stemmed from a growing awareness that in the context of current policy debates and public rhetoric relating to migration in the UK and Scotland, which incorporate many strongly held views regarding the costs or benefits of migration, the evidence base is often dominated by economic or demographic arguments and statistics (see, for instance, Migration Advisory Committee (MAC), 2012, and the individual research projects associated with this publication). On the other hand, there is growing recognition that such statistical data is not well suited to answer some of the pressing questions about the day-to-day impacts of migration on communities and neighbourhoods, and issues of integration and community cohesion (Saggar et al. 2012, Spencer, 2011). The project partners were therefore interested in exploring the extent to which more localised social and cultural impacts of migration could also be evidenced and mapped in order to contribute to policy debates at local, regional or national levels. This pilot study, undertaken in July-August 2012, was conceived as a starting point in this process and makes no claim to provide definitive answers. Rather it has sought to map out and provide an initial analysis of the areas in which evidence exists for understanding such impacts and to develop further insight into potential means and future avenues for gathering such evidence more systematically and presenting it for a policy-making audience.

The pilot study focused on Glasgow and as such is not representative of Scotland as a whole. It incorporated a series of stakeholder interviews with 'experts' representing a range of areas of policy and practice which involve regular contact with or consideration of issues relating to migration. Many of these people and the organisations or services they represent have worked closely on issues raised by the arrival of significant numbers of asylum seekers in Glasgow as a result of the dispersal policy introduced under the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, as well as with other groups of migrants such as the significant numbers who came to the city as a result of EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007. Therefore, the pilot study did not focus on one particular group of migrants, although it is acknowledged that there are important differences between groups and it may also be pertinent to study these separately in future. The focus on Glasgow also gave the study a particular 'flavour', given not only the city's unique experience of dispersal, but also its longer history of immigration and greater diversity of second and third generation migrant communities from Ireland, Italy, South Asia and elsewhere. An important aspect to consider in taking the findings of the pilot study forward will be how issues of diverse local history and geographical scale shape the impacts of migration in Scotland's communities, be they urban or rural, central or more remote.

18 interviews were conducted, involving 22 stakeholders from a range of organisations and services including: Glasgow City Council Education Services, Glasgow Housing Association, Scottish Government, Scottish Refugee Council as well as other migrant, refugee and community based organisations and initiatives. It had been hoped also to include stakeholders from Health Services and from the Police in the interviews, but this was not possible due to time constraints and busy schedules; it would be important to incorporate these perspectives into wider research in future. The interviews were semi-structured and invited respondents to offer their insights, views and experiences from their particular perspectives and areas of expertise.

This report provides a summary of the findings from the interview phase of the research and also outlines the learning from a facilitated workshop that marked the culmination of the project. The workshop involved interviewees and a number of other practitioners and policy makers who engage with migration from a variety of perspectives and was held as part of the annual ESRC Festival of Social Science. Using Ketso, a toolkit for creative engagement, collaborative thinking and problem solving, the workshop sought to provide participants with an opportunity to explore means of better informing policy and public debates, decision-making and practice regarding migration and its impacts. This was done with a view to creating opportunities for new and more substantive collaborative research opportunities going forward.

A desire for 'cultural diversity'?

Whilst at the level of UK government, migration has often been framed in policy terms as a 'problem', something in need of stricter 'control' and 'regulation' (see, for instance, Boswell, 2003 and Carey & Geddes, 2010), emerging in many of the interviews was a sense that cultural diversity and an openness to people coming from other parts of the world were inherently beneficial for Scotland and Scottish society. This reflects the somewhat different policy stance and approach taken by successive administrations at Holyrood which have sought to attract migrants as a means of growing the economy, tackling the country's acute demographic challenges and creating a more culturally diverse and cosmopolitan society. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of this approach has been the Fresh Talent Initiative (Scottish Executive, 2004), which has received broad cross-party support in the Scottish Parliament over a number of years, and also national campaigns such as *One Scotland, Many Cultures* which ran during the first half of the last decade. Local authorities, too, tend to view migration in a positive light and recognise the benefits it can bring to them on a local level. Although their focus is often primarily on its economic and demographic benefits, cultural diversity is still a welcome offshoot. It was therefore perhaps no surprise that interviewees representing both national (Scottish) and local government often articulated a broadly positive perspective on the benefits of migration. It was suggested repeatedly in interviews that migration and the arrival of people from a wider range of countries and cultures could help to give substance to otherwise somewhat abstract concepts of 'vibrancy' and 'cosmopolitanism' to which both Scotland as a nation and Glasgow as one of its major cities aspire:

> I would say that the look of the city has changed, in that the mix of people … has changed. And the claims that Glasgow is a cosmopolitan place are, there is somewhat more justification for that. So that is actually an important point. … Glasgow, the council has a council plan and I suppose it might have, for the want of a better term, a mission statement. And part of the message that the council says is that Glasgow is the most cosmopolitan part of Scotland, multicultural, multi-ethnic, and it embodies that sort of openness and welcomingness.
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> [GCC, p.1]

Building upon this perspective, migration flows were seen as an important and integral part of life in the 'modern world' (Castles and Miller 2009). Experiences of migration, including the opportunity to face up to and find ways of dealing with some of the challenges that migration might bring, were therefore seen as important ways for Scotland, and cities such as Glasgow, to demonstrate their place in the world. This, it was argued, is necessary and advantageous, not only in terms of facilitating trade links, opening markets and gaining access to the kinds of expertise, skills, talent and experience that migrants might bring, but also in order to increase qualities of tolerance, inclusiveness and openness to intercultural learning amongst Scottish citizens:

> I think it is of benefit to have a more diverse and multi-cultural society, whether it's Glasgow or whether it's Scotland, I think that is always a good thing. … Socially I think it is better for people in Scotland to have more experience of people who have come from other parts of the world, and have different expectations and different cultures and so on. Because I would hope that it will make us more tolerant and inclusive in our thinking. … Integration is two way, it is not assimilation … and we have always thought of it in Scottish Government in those terms: that not only the people who come and join us in Scotland benefit from being here, but also we in Scotland benefit and can learn. And you have got real integration when you are changing things, when the host country or the host city is changing things that they do because of insights or experiences the people have brought us from other places. So yes, benefits, I think for people as individuals it is good to have more contact and experience from people with other experience of life, because it adds richness to your own understanding.
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> [SG, p.1]

Those working in the sphere of education also emphasised this aspect of migration, pointing out that important aspects of the curriculum regarding citizenship, diversity and international perspectives, as well as schools' abilities to develop international connections and links, were much enhanced by contact with pupils and parents from a wider variety of national and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, this kind of contact with diversity and awareness of, even familiarity with, other cultures and countries was felt to broaden the horizons of local pupils, 'normalising' the prospect of future travel, international perspectives or even transnational careers in their own lives. Similarly, interviewees working in the sphere of culture and the arts expressed the view that contact with other cultures, the knowledge, talent and different cultural insights that migrant artists and audiences could bring, enriched the lives of local residents, brought an attractive vibrancy and 'colour' to the city, created new opportunities and choices, attracted visitors and potentially investment:

> There's definitely new things happening here that weren't happening when I came to Glasgow 20 years ago. I mean I come from Birmingham which is very multicultural. … And it really was quite a rare sight in the streets of Glasgow to see a black man. And that's not the same any more, and there's just round the corner there's a kind of reggae café that's opened up which I think is brilliant you know. And different kinds of … I mean the Polish, all the Polish shops or you know the food if you see that as linking in with cultural [diversity].
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> [CA2, p. 2]

> I think particularly for Glasgow there's also a lot of movement in terms of the art college. So that the reputation that it has and also Glasgow as a, it's seen as a kind of centre of migration flows, so that people want to come and study here and then quite often stay. … And I think obviously more perhaps in terms of migration, you know I'm aware of artists networks and things like that, sort of the refugee artists network and things … It makes it a good place to live, it gives it vibrancy, it's seen as encouraging people to move in, because of that strength.
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> [CA4, p. 1]

However, alongside this enthusiasm for the benefits that migration can potentially bring, many interviewees sounded a note of caution about the sometimes more challenging experiences of migration in practice. Interviewees warned against complacency or overly optimistic assumptions that Scotland or Glasgow were 'naturally' open or welcoming places for new arrivals. On the contrary, they pointed out that especially when migrants or asylum seekers moved into or were placed in areas with little former experience of migration and/or where there were pre-existing issues of deprivation, social exclusion and anti-social behaviours, the challenges for both local residents and migrants themselves could be substantial. Here it was felt that whilst the vibrancy and multicultural diversity so enthusiastically envisaged at the higher levels of policy making was still an aspiration, it could be something which always felt 'slightly out of reach' and as such added to, rather than mitigated against, frustrations and tensions:

> I think people wanted, there was a real appetite for there to be a benefit. … People … spoke about a kind of vibrant area, the potential to have all this kind of, a real sense of being a very cosmopolitan, kind of very of the time area, you know, with lots of different foods and shops and the whole buzz of all that cultural mix. And people felt a sense of it almost being within reach, that really positive aspect of having all that diversity in a small area, but it just seemed slightly out of reach. And the out of reach-ness was a kind of frustration around resources and around interventions that weren't really bringing people together … so there was a sort of sense of frustration and people struggling, people struggling with their own lives and other issues.
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> [GCC2 p. 6]

Localised impacts – benefits and costs

Discussions of the practicalities and lived experiences of migration, for both migrants and host communities, emerged most strongly from those interviews involving stakeholders whose work focused in a particular locale, or in the provision of front line services and support to communities. People with experience of living and/or working in some of the areas of Glasgow most directly affected by recent increases in migration and/or dispersal of asylum seekers pointed out that whilst these processes had brought new people and new cultures to such places, this did not automatically result in positive interactions and enriched experiences for either side:

> Within one of my areas, Kennishead … we have lots of Eastern European workers … there is also a good refugee and asylum population there as well so they tended to go there and as ones came in, more came on top of it. So it's had a significant impact in there and actually when you walk down the avenue, it's like the United Nations a lot of the time, different cultures coming together. I think they have though tended to keep to themselves and they haven't really a lot of times integrated, and I think, maybe just the makeup of Kennishead, the populations tend to stay together and there hasn't been that kind of, you know, diversity of cultures and everything going on.
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> [GHA, p.1]

It was suggested by some interviewees that this tendency was particularly pronounced where a large group of migrants, perceived, externally at least, as representing a single culture, moved into an area. However, others also pointed out that in very diverse areas or where there were longer established groups of migrants, these more settled communities were not necessarily more open to or welcoming of newcomers than 'indigenous' host communities, and that assumptions about 'community' and 'solidarity' within and between migrant groups could also be misleading (Gregory 2012). As such it was perhaps less the make up and numbers of migrants entering an area than other social and economic characteristics of the area itself that led to tensions and a perception of migration as 'costly' rather than 'beneficial' in social and cultural terms. Unsurprisingly, it was felt that tensions arose most acutely where there was a perceived competition for resource and particularly where pre-existing issues of poverty and social exclusion meant local residents were already experiencing difficulties.

> We interviewed a few girls as part of … a local housing group in the East End of Glasgow … they have these projects with a lot of young homeless women with children. And … they're all looking, they're all waiting to be put on, they're on the housing list but they're all looking for a suitable property. And … they were really pissed off and really kind of anti-migration and you know, even down to Polish people and things like that, presuming Polish would get on the list before they would, which wasn't really the case. But just anti-migration in general, but they're on a front line where they're trying to get a house for themselves and their kids, and they've been homeless and they've been living in different places, so you could understand their fears and them being that way, because they were almost competing for a service. Most other people don't really have any issues with it at all – it's only with, it seems to be if there's some kind of services and, you know, that they're competing for the same thing, you get a lot of misconceptions about migration.
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> [CA3, p. 4]

Observations of this kind prompted many interviewees to raise concerns about the ways in which projects and initiatives targeting migrants specifically could have the unwanted effect of increasing resentment and tensions and to discuss instead the need for cross-cutting projects which would bring new services and opportunities to all residents in an area receiving increased numbers of migrants.

> In Sighthill for instance there were lots of community groups … going round, making sure people were integrated and went to schools and English wasn't their first language. I don't see so much of that now and it's probably because we've just got so used to it, and we

accept it as the norm, and I think that's probably right – we should accept it as the norm as opposed to when, you know, early 2000 or 2001 when we had the influx it was seen as something entirely different. And what we then did was we targeted those people as being something different, and what you got was a lot of resentment from the indigenous population.

[GHA, p. 7]

I think you need to have, you need additional resources, you need the resources to be very much promoted as being for the whole community.

[GCC2, p. 9)

It was pointed out that targeted services could evolve into wider projects focusing on and seeking to involve diverse groups within an area, and this was generally discussed in positive terms. Local integration networks, despite having been initially established to work specifically with refugees and asylum seekers in the city, were seen as an excellent example of this in many areas[1]:

The integration network was certainly set up for the asylum seekers more, but as that has dwindled over the last couple of years they have moved in and again not just within the Eastern Europeans and the migrants but the greater Kennishead area and dealing with everybody regardless of where they come from, because it was meant to be an integration [network] and not just dealing with one group of people. And certainly over the last year they have tried to widen their appeal more so they're seen as being for the whole of that area, not just one group of people.

[GHA, p. 3]

Through the integration networks, but also in collaborations between these and other areas such as housing and education, particular efforts were being made to ensure that initiatives and projects were open to all. In schools it was suggested that an increase in the number of children from different backgrounds could both lead schools themselves to develop new initiatives, perhaps initially focusing on the additional support required by children for whom English is not a first language, and even change a culture of non-participation in extracurricular activities and learning to the benefit of the school as a whole:

If you think back maybe about, to about ten years ago when asylum seekers started coming, and we had a lot of schools … who didn't have a history of taking bilingual children but suddenly were getting lots of asylum seeker children … they found that, when they were thinking of things that they could do that would be useful and helpful for their asylum seeker cohort they were involving other children as well. And a lot of things, very often things around culture and sporting activities, artistic things, you know people doing film making activities and playing basketball or something, but a lot activities that by thinking about what can you do for this group, it brought a lot of other activities to the school. And what these schools found was that a lot of the asylum seeker children, were very keen to take part in activities like that. So, whereas the children previously, you know, if you'd said there's a drama club starting up, you know, come along at four o'clock to room such and such, and kids would go, "Ah'm no goin at four o'clock" or "can't be bothered" or "I'll go if my pals are going, but my pals arenae goin so ah'm not goin" and then suddenly asylum seeker kids, "oh great, I'll do that, yeah I'll do drama – you come with me" and suddenly it became a viable option and things were happening. So, by having enough young people involved, it got other people involved.

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[1] Integration networks are groups of local agencies, community groups and volunteers that plan and deliver services for asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow. The services they provide include information and advice, English classes, drop-in services, activities for children and adults, cultural programmes, and emotional and practical support.

Those working with adults also noted that it was sometimes hard to begin with to get members of the host community to take part in initiatives. However, once they did, it was felt that there was a notable positive effect in combating stereotypes and reducing tensions and fears on both sides:

> [The integration network] does a women's group now, and … there are a number of people who, a couple of years ago you would have said would never have spoken to a migrant or asylum seeker and actually they're sitting down now having a cup of coffee and a cake talking to each other, as opposed to standing on the street corner calling them names, you know. … And again, I think for the migrants, because they have stayed very much to themselves and they're now realising that everybody isn't a junkie, you know, there is a good deal of nice, normal people who keep themselves to themselves there.
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> [GHA, p. 10]

This might indeed be a first step towards achieving the aspired to benefits of cultural diversity discussed at the start of the paper, since as others pointed out, a lack of 'integration' or even interaction between different groups might not have anything to do with a lack of desire on the side of new migrants to interact with host communities, but rather that mutual fears, misunderstandings and suspicion could lead to a vicious circle of separation and real or imagined hostility:

> I think all those little incidents stopped us from mixing with the community. Because of not knowing if we are welcome or not. Not knowing if this person likes us or not. So this is why you tend to maybe step back and keep yourself from the community, because you feel you are not being welcomed, and there is a risk that people don't want you. Although it's a small number of incidents, but they will influence the way you react in the community. So for these reasons we tried to keep to ourselves.
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> [MV, p. 5]

Nonetheless, it was clear that in some areas of Glasgow, migration has been seen to be at least as challenging as it is beneficial, and particularly so in areas where pre-existing issues of poverty and deprivation have been added to due to the socio-economic vulnerabilities and forms of exclusion often faced by migrants themselves.

The arrival of significant numbers of East European Roma to Govanhill in particular was discussed in some detail in this regard by a number of interviewees. This particular example of migration had put a considerable strain on statutory and voluntary services in the area including schools, healthcare, policing and social work, as it had brought new levels of poverty and deprivation, particularly relating to child poverty, housing and other support needs. Services had struggled to cope, especially in the first years, and it was felt that there had been a lack of adequate preparation or resource at least initially (Bynner, 2010). Subsequently, there was a flow of both money and resource into the area, as well as an upsurge in third sector activity. However, this had in some ways added to tensions because local residents felt that longstanding needs for regeneration and development in the area were being overlooked in favour of 'troublesome' newcomers:

> The challenge, and I wouldn't like to make a judgement about whether it was successful or not, was how to make those benefits spread across the community, across everyone. … [There was a] need for better and more responsive public services for everyone, so dealing with cleansing, but dealing with safety and dealing with all those issues for everyone in the community to sort of take the tension out of dealing with a difficult set of circumstances. Regardless of new migrants, you would have an area which would be struggling a bit and you would need, you would want better public services in that area. But my observation was that what was tending to happen was that everyone wanted to talk about Roma,

everyone wanted to talk about Eastern European migrants and where they were coming from and what they were doing, and providing services for them, and that was important, very much important because they needed legal support, welfare was a nightmare – we had all sorts of contradictory information about entitlements and there was a whole lot of confusion about that – but, in my view, there wasn't enough about supporting the whole community and ensuring that these benefits were spread across, so that people felt that new migrants coming would actually bring something to them. Instead they very much felt it was a threat and that everything was going to be diverted towards the new problem if you like.

[GCC2, p.3]

A number of interviewees pointed out that the Roma are a very particular subgroup of migrants, experiencing multiple deprivation and social exclusion in their countries of origin (Grill 2012, p. 4; McGarry 2011; Poole and Adamson 2008) and therefore bringing particular challenges that are not necessarily representative of other migrant groups. Nonetheless, some of the challenges raised in relation to Govanhill, for example regarding perceived competition for resources, the need for interventions to facilitate and support positive interactions and linkages between groups, and the risk that tensions and frustrations once established can be particularly challenging to overcome, did resonate with other experiences and comments.

Wider impacts and knock-on effects
Despite the practical challenges and tensions discussed in the previous section there were a range of areas where interviewees felt that migration did bring wider positive impacts and knock-on effects to the benefit of others in an area, community or institution. As noted above schools were a setting where this was felt to be particularly noticeable: as well as the development of international links, opportunities for intercultural learning and extracurricular activities, there were felt to be advantages and benefits relating more broadly to teaching practice and schools' openness to learning from one another and from the expertise developed in specialist support units:

If you talk about what would be good practice in teaching bilingual children and how to develop them, support them acquiring English, it's almost like … the Curriculum for Excellence has now caught up with us and is seeing very similar things, so it's all about active learning, it's about discussion, it's about collaborative work, all these sort of things. So … if I was to give a talk to a group of staff and say, you know, here are some techniques that you could be using, I'd be saying to them "and they will benefit all of the children in your class, not just that one".

[Ed2, p.13]

In a city like Glasgow, with its own historical divisions and intercommunity tensions, it was also felt that the addition of new and different cultures to the playground and classroom might have a beneficial impact:

I think perhaps one of the areas that, one of the issues that's been softened perhaps by migration, and I'm speculating, we don't have the evidence, is the whole issue of sectarianism … it's kind of … [there is] just a sheer diversity so that there isn't sort of … it's not like the sort of two-tribe-syndrome any more, you know, it's mini tribes.

[Ed1, p. 4]

In a similar vein a number of interviewees mentioned that increased cultural diversity in certain areas of the city had changed the 'feel' of the area, softening a tendency for outsiders of any kind to feel vulnerable to attack or harassment and increasing the range of retail and leisure outlets, thus turning rather grim and forbidding streets into much more welcoming places:

Walking up Maryhill Road now is a totally different experience to what it was 20 years ago. For the better! I mean I used to be scared within two blocks of St Georges Cross. You didn't really want to be further up than that. And then there's that sort of terrible waste-land strip which is still there … it was just like oh my God I wouldn't go there. But I don't feel that now, at all. It's really, I really like that bit of Maryhill now. I feel comfortable. It's got great shops. I mean it's been completely, I would say the migrant population have been [a] really massive part of the regeneration of that area.

[CA2, p.7]

There's something there though in an area, arguably Govan's a poor area, not very multicultural or mixed, certainly that's changed in the last ten years, it's … you do see minorities there now. I remember ten years ago, you really didn't … but also I found that area intimidating as a white male going, when I first visited Glasgow … and I don't now … and it's happened now twice, you see somebody being harassed or something on the street or something … white people harassing other white people and other people stepping in and saying: "what are you doing?" and there's a different … there is a community that's being built in a different way, not just because of migrants, there's other things that are happening there and … other community stuff, but I think there is, some of that kind of change.

[MV2, p. 13-14]

Whilst these interviewees reflected on such change in very personal terms and in some ways found it hard to define either the roots or the exact nature of the transformations they experienced, others who had perhaps been more directly involved in instigating change from the perspective of community engagement and grassroots activism offered further insight:

This is actually, was a threatening place when I started working in Maryhill, I couldn't believe the territorial boundaries as well, you know. Sectarianism was very present and actually … you have to think how you will bring people together… one of our targets was working with schools. And we were trying … always to work actually in spontaneous ways for people to have joy and to think less about harassment and, you know, territorial things. … It is just in a way how you can make a place less actually threatening. … I have to say the impact of Maryhill Integration Network was huge actually in all this kind of things, because for example, we had a music project a while ago, and we brought more than two-hundred children from six different schools together to perform, and it was just in a way treating [them all the] same no matter where they come from. … We're actually trying to achieve more … than just, if you say you have to respect each other that doesn't work, but you have to find a way to open their love for others as well and to respect others.

[IN2, p.7]

As suggested in this example, cultural and artistic engagements were often viewed as particularly fruitful ways of working across divisions, be they between new migrants and host communities, or older and often deeper divides that migrants by their very presence might help to soften or dilute. Whilst such interventions might not deal directly with the issues of poverty, vulnerability and deprivation that are certainly very pressing, that does not negate the important role that they can still play. As another interviewee pointed out:

There's an urgent need around for the migrant and BME population around basic needs around housing rights and access to legal services and access to justice and destitution are like the big, big needs. But I think you shouldn't neglect the cultural side of it, because that is actually one of the best ways of bringing people together is around food, it's around art. It has a lot of indirect benefits. And also just because you're skint and poor, doesn't mean that you might not want to enjoy yourself or have access to those things.

[WCG, p.7]

Moreover, other interviewees provided examples of the ways in which, at least in some areas, migrants might through their presence, their use of services and occupation of housing contribute directly to the physical and social regeneration of areas:

> There was a whole row of flats owned by a housing association in Govan where Scottish people just didn't want to live because it had got that bad, but then the Polish community moved in and took the flats and kind of turned the area around. … They were willing to stay in the flats for a start, so you weren't having derelict flats. … But also just a community built up and they did start having like Polish shops and Polish community groups and just the kids getting involved in the local schools and that kind of thing. And I think it just became a safer area than it had been.
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> [GHA, p. 6]

The regulation of housing in the social sector protects tenants, whether migrant or local residents, from many of the problems of overcrowding and substandard accommodation which have been found in some areas of the private sector. The security of tenure and relatively low rents in social housing mean that many migrants prefer this to private renting even if it means moving into properties which Scottish residents would consider to be less desirable. However, elsewhere, questions have been raised about why migrants are housed in accommodation which longer term residents would consider substandard or unacceptable, and many issues have been raised in Glasgow linked to overcrowding of accommodation and exploitation of migrant tenants by slum landlords (Bynner 2010). Nonetheless, the sense that services might be revitalised or even saved due to their use by migrant communities is an interesting counterbalance to the more frequently expressed concern that migrants overburden services and take away resources from local residents (see, for instance, various briefings and articles prepared by 'Migration Watch', which can be accessed at http://www.migrationwatchuk.com/).

In another interview, the example was given of a local library which had been refurbished and reopened thanks to increased usage and an investment of public funds due to migration to that area. As this interviewee pointed out however, the reasons for the maintenance of this important local resource were not widely recognised:

> I don't think people saw it that way … I don't think people would have had that awareness that this resource, I don't think there's been that awareness of putting that message out, that this is what we've got from this extra funding that we can all share, that you've got this resource and now this new [library], you know.
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> [GCC2, p. 8]

Here and elsewhere interviewees frequently turned to discuss policy lessons and the ways in which, whether at the level of local or national government, or within institutions and organisations working directly with migrants and their host communities, new ways of thinking and talking about migration might interact with new approaches to dealing with challenges and capturing benefits in the areas where migrants come to live and work.

Policy lessons

A number of interviewees, when asked to discuss particular aspects of policy debates on migration that they would wish to change, highlighted their desire for less negative rhetoric regarding its perceived impacts. In particular, interviewees talked about the need for politicians and the media to discuss migration in a more balanced manner:

> I think for me it's just the constant negative publicity in the media [that I'd like to change].
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> [GHA, p. 16]

> I think that people maybe need to think about, think less about … using migration as a tool to kind of fight politics and more as a tool to bring benefits to the country.
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> [Ed1, p. 9]

> At a national level … I would like it if there was just a bit more of a positive debate about immigration and this constant thing about it being a problem and it has to be clamped down on. … So, you know, just accept and get on with it. I think that would, I think that would be better, just generally, and it would be better certainly for people who are migrants and for children who are migrants to not have to listen to that kind of rhetoric.
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> [Ed2, p. 13-14]

There was therefore a general sense that a more positive discourse which recognised the contribution that migrants made, as well as highlighting positive outcomes and impacts at the local level, was required as a means of countering rhetoric which focussed on the negative impacts and problems associated with migration. It was also suggested that this could help minimise tensions within communities, whether between various migrant groups and the 'indigenous' population, or even between 'old' and 'new' migrants.

As well as issues regarding the ways in which migration was portrayed, and the impact of such portrayals, interviewees also highlighted issues regarding the manner of the interventions designed in response to migration. In particular, service providers had, in the past at least, introduced initiatives that seemed to be for the benefit of new migrants only, thus causing resentment from 'host' communities which often felt undervalued and neglected as a result. As such, a number of interviewees mentioned the need for interventions that would create benefits for the widest possible range of groups within a particular area or community. There were examples of resources being deployed effectively for the whole community – for instance, interviewees pointed to the role played by integration networks and specific initiatives such as the Welfare Benefits Officers employed by Glasgow Housing Association to provide advice and support to all of their tenants – as well as a sense that such approaches were now commonly viewed as the most appropriate means of engaging with communities and delivering services. Such approaches may be a useful start in confronting the challenge of changing 'narratives of place' (Hickman et al. 2008) in a particular neighbourhood so as to shift local perceptions from those of a neighbourhood that views itself as 'beleaguered', to one where local residents from a range of backgrounds can openly debate and discuss community interests in the context of more nuanced understandings of local histories and trajectories of diversity. More effective communication of the potential positive impacts of migration in resource terms and building a consciousness of the lived experience of migration would be important aspects of policy to support such a development. It would also require careful consideration of effective means for building collective capacity to deal with (rather than avoid) conflicts and tensions and for this to be seen as healthy for local democracy.

There was a sense of frustration amongst several respondents that some of the lessons to be learned from Glasgow's experience of managing asylum dispersal had not been effectively put into practice in the face of new forms of migration following EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007. In particular this was mentioned in relation to the importance of preparing host communities and putting structures and programmes in place to facilitate integration and the building of new mixed communities. Whilst respondents acknowledged that the new EU migration was governed by different legal and political frameworks and that this had made it much harder to plan for or 'manage' once in progress, they nonetheless felt that earlier experiences could have been pooled and shared to greater effect, while lessons could also have been learned from other parts of the UK:

> Having been involved with the whole asylum dispersal programme, and now being involved very much in the Govanhill area and what's happening with Roma, it's almost like déjà vu – it's like all the same things are happening again … you know, in all sorts of different areas.

So I think it's, it's slightly frustrating that I feel that people haven't learned from the asylum experience … because people when they're talking about Roma, it's very much as if we're going back to the very beginning and this is something brand new and it's never happened before. There are a lot of people around who are saying, well no, we have dealt with issues like this before, so, you know, we can learn from what we've done.

[Ed2, p. 6-7]

I just feel public services were completely ill prepared, I mean absolutely ill prepared for population rise… I felt also there was a little bit of lack of learning from other places within the UK. I mean anyone would think, you know, that only in Glasgow … but actually loads of other parts of the UK – Bradford, Birmingham, Manchester – have had experience of having to adjust.

[GCC2, p. 9]

Similarly, they also commented on the unhelpful scramble for resources that took place in instances where there was a lack of strategic coordination between partners:

the other problem we had is there was a lot of infighting and competition between … different community leaders … although they were trying to work for the same thing, they saw themselves slightly in competition with each other in terms of funding and in terms of getting the credit. And the other problem, the big problem is with lots of migrants arriving in the area, there was this idea of lots of funding coming and then there had been an influx of all these new organisations and people all looking for opportunities to do poverty work, so we had this poverty industry in the area that was completely uncoordinated. And so a lot of the big players were complaining that there were all these other people now who were trying to basically do what we were already doing. So, so there was a whole issue almost around the industry of trying to help that was, you know, kind of seeming a little bit not to get anywhere.

[GCC2, p. 3]

There was therefore a call for strategic leadership and coordination that would allow the different spheres of government (local, Scottish and UK) to engage and interact with each other and with the third sector and the communities concerned in a coordinated manner that would allow for effective planning for, and responses to, migration (see Collett and Gidley 2012 for a report on a recent UK/EU wide study on related issues). It was argued that this had worked best when senior officers from key organisations, together with senior politicians, had taken ownership of issues and provided oversight on an ongoing basis. While this had been the case when Glasgow became a hub for asylum dispersal, it seems that this was not as effective when issues began to emerge in Govanhill more recently for example.

The most frustrating thing is when asylum seeker dispersal started in Glasgow … there was a very clear lead taken by the council, and … there were groups of senior directors who all met to talk about what they would do ... With the Roma community in Govanhill, that's not happened. So, there isn't a senior person in any of the services, there isn't a kind of council strategy on it. We went to, did a visit to Manchester because they have similar Roma communities and the biggest difference that we all saw was 'cause they had a Roma Group that was chaired by the Depute Chief Executive or the Depute Leader of the council I think. And they had senior people from all the services and they had sub groups that dealt with all the different particular areas, and so it was all kind of, at a political and at a senior level within the council it was all clearly managed. And that happened in Glasgow with asylum seekers, but it's not happening with Roma. And what we're seeing is, in very practical terms, there are people, people like me who are not at that senior level, you know, who are all kind of trying to work together, but there isn't, there isn't a [senior] figure there to kind of oversee it, and I think we could really do with that.

[Ed2, p. 8]

The different stance of the Scottish Government as opposed to the Westminster Government in actively promoting integration and viewing this as a two-way process was praised as providing a political basis for strategic leadership, whilst at the local level the role of COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership was also seen as important in providing a degree of coherence and a forum for exchanging experience and sharing concerns and issues:

> Regarding local authorities, initially Glasgow City Council wasn't part of COSLA during [asylum] dispersal and I think that was to the detriment of dispersal and integration. When Glasgow rejoined COSLA I think it was more effective. And I think what you've been able to see is COSLA being very good at looking at integration, migration issues and what it means to local authorities from different angles and they look at stakeholders to work [with]. The local authorities themselves I'd say, again, it's really important that things are tied together.
>
> [SRC1, p.6]

Nonetheless, it was felt that more could be done to ensure that examples of best practice were shared and experiences learned from effectively both within Scotland and by linking to and learning from examples elsewhere in the UK and beyond.

Workshop findings

Further to the completion of the interview phase of the research and the subsequent analysis in summer 2012, a facilitated workshop was organised to consider means of developing the research further and filling the various gaps in the evidence base that currently exist. Funding was awarded by the ESRC to host this workshop as part of their annual Festival of Social Science and it took place on Friday 9 November 2012 at the COSLA Conference Centre in Edinburgh. It involved approximately 50 people comprising a number of the interviewees as well as practitioners and policy makers with a particular interest in this subject area.

The workshop utilised a facilitation tool known as Ketso (www.ketso.com) which was developed as a spin-off from ESRC-funded research at the University of Manchester and allows for creative discussion and engagement and for the recording of ideas in a systematic manner. The workshop was led by Dr Joanne Tippett of University of Manchester, who invented KETSO and now runs the social enterprise that produces the kits and supports their use. Delegates at the workshop were split into seven groups with approximately seven members each. They had been provided with a draft version of the research report in advance of the workshop and were also provided with a presentation on the day in order to contextualise the discussions that would follow. Thereafter, the groups were asked to consider four key questions in relation to the research, namely:

- What do we already know about the social and cultural impacts of migration?
- What do we want to find out about the social and cultural impacts of migration?
- What are the challenges to evidencing these impacts?
- What are the solutions to these challenges?

In answering these questions, delegates were also asked to prioritise the issues that they felt were most pressing and were asked to come up with research proposals which they felt might address the gaps in the evidence base that they had identified.

Delegates reinforced many of the themes uncovered in the interviews when considering what is already known about the social and cultural impacts of migration; namely that migration presents a diverse range of challenges, both for host communities and the migrants themselves, and that these are often accentuated by a lack of resources, a failure to respond to issues in a coordinated manner and the peddling of myths and rhetoric that often fuel tensions and misunderstanding both at a local and national level. On the other hand, delegates also recognised the positive aspects of migration and the social and cultural benefits that it can bring, although these can

sometimes be more difficult to articulate and quantify. As such, a key area where delegates wished to learn more was in respect of the methodologies that might be adopted to account for social and cultural impacts in a meaningful way. And in seeking to achieve this they recognised that the richest and often largely untapped source of information is the migrants themselves, together with the residents of the 'host' communities where they settle. Uncovering such perspectives was therefore listed as the single most important theme identified by delegates in this regard.

In terms of the challenges to evidencing impacts, a number of key issues were identified. In particular, it was recognised that while they are likely to be a significant source of information, there are often difficulties to be overcome in accessing and speaking to migrants. Migrants are far from being a homogenous group – indeed, there is often a lack of understanding as to who can or cannot be defined as a migrant – and careful consideration of which migrants and communities any research is going to focus on is therefore crucial. Nor are all migrant groups visible; rather many remain hidden, whether through choice or because they are not easily categorised as migrants. Again, this requires researchers to think carefully about which migrants they wish to speak to and how they would wish to make contact with them. Other challenges that were identified included issues associated with funding and resources, the will (or lack of it) of government to engage with research in a meaningful way and difficulties associated with overcoming the weight of supposedly negative public and press opinion that exists in relation to the impacts of migration (albeit that delegates also recognised the more positive perspectives that seem to exist in Scotland as compared with the rest of the UK).

With regard to the solutions to such challenges, these suggestions are perhaps best encapsulated in the proposals for further research that emerged from the workshop discussions. These are highlighted below, as are suggestions for delivering on them or linking them to research projects that are already underway or under development.

Further research
Due to constraints of time and funding, this project focused primarily on gathering the views of policy makers and service providers. However, as the workshop participants recognised, a significant area where further research is required is in exploring the everyday experiences, interactions and views of migrants and people in host communities.[2] Participants identified the need for multimethod longitudinal research projects which seek to identify the particular social and cultural impacts of migration in and on particular communities, including both migrant and 'host' communities. These might incorporate a number of research methods to map out and measure changing impacts of, and attitudes towards, migration over time. For instance, longitudinal research utilising qualitative methods such as interviews, longer term engagement and observation, oral histories and peer research could allow for the consideration of the social and cultural impacts of migration in particular settings including, for instance, particular communities, housing blocks, schools, or integration networks.

While it is recognised that there is scope for a number of such research projects to be developed across the country, there is research already underway which is worth highlighting in this regard. Researchers at the University of Glasgow and the University of Swansea have received funding from the ESRC for a four year project focussing on the particular experiences of migrants from Central Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in eight diverse locations across Scotland. The project, which will begin in November 2013 aims to study perspectives and experiences of 'social security' amongst these migrant groups in two cities (Glasgow and Aberdeen) two medium-sized towns (Peterhead and Arbroath) and four more remote rural locations in Aberdeenshire and Angus. Using participatory action research, the project will explore the different kinds of resources,

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[2] In a similar vein, social research undertaken for the Scottish Government in 2009 also identified a gap in the evidence base in relation to migrants' perspectives and experiences of living in different parts of the country (Rolfe and Metcalfe, 2009).

networks, structures and services which migrants draw on in order to make themselves materially and emotionally secure within the places where they live and work. It will also tease out which aspects and perceptions of security (economic, personal, cultural, social) are deemed particularly important by migrants and the extent to which these influence migrants' decisions to settle in a particular location, to move on, or to return to their countries of origin[3]. A similar smaller scale project focusing on negotiations of social security and experiences of risks amongst Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants living in Glasgow is currently being undertaken as a PhD within the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow and in collaboration with Glasgow City Council. The project is now in its third year. 12 months of extensive qualitative and ethnographic fieldwork has been completed with Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants in the city. The ways in which migrants use, interact with and relate to statutory services, support and assistance provided by NGO's and charities, as well as personal networks and more informal forms of support have been a key focus of enquiry. Interim reports and presentations have been made to Glasgow City Council and may on request be made available to other policy making or service providing audiences.[4]

Another project that is likely to provide interesting insights into localised impacts of migration is a PhD currently being undertaken in the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow. This investigates the idea of a new type of 'problem' neighbourhood in European countries where long-settled black minority ethnic and white communities live alongside new migrants escaping persecution and extreme poverty. This new form of 'super-diversity' is characterised by population instability and the proliferation of small, fragmented and diverse ethnic groups and the research explores the implications of super-diversity on public policy. The research will involve interviews with migrants with different migration pathways, legal statuses and settlement intentions as well as long-term residents from different ethnic communities and front-line staff. A key focus of the research is on the nature of social contact and trust in a 'super-diverse' neighbourhood[5].

Notwithstanding the utility of projects focusing on larger groups of migrants in central urban contexts, participants at the Ketso workshop also highlighted the need for research with a specific focus on rural and more remote areas. Perhaps unsurprisingly, research on the impacts of migration often tends to focus, either partially or completely, on urban environments because that is where most migrants are to be found. However, it could be that small numbers of migrants are having a considerable impact on rural areas and that this is being overlooked. One example of a project that may have scope for development in this regard is for an in-depth and long-term study of a particular island community in Orkney, where residents have recently decided to tackle demographic change and a potential care deficit for the ageing local population by adopting a specific strategy of attracting migrants to the island through investing community funds in accommodation and developing a targeted recruitment strategy. Detailed qualitative research into such a case study could produce important insights into the realities, challenges and benefits of migration in such contexts for both migrant and host communities. We therefore highlight this as an opportunity for targeted PhD scholarship funding under the ESRC/Scottish Government Collaborative Studentships Scheme.

Clearly large scale longitudinal research projects and PhDs, such as those highlighted and proposed above require significant resources and can involve a relatively long time lag before detailed findings emerge, although interim findings and data can often be discussed at an earlier stage. There may also be opportunities for interested parties to commission shorter term studies which might piggy-back on ongoing projects, reducing costs and set-up times and mutually

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[3] For further details regarding the development of this project please contact Rebecca.Kay@glasgow.ac.uk or Moya.Flynn@glasgow.ac.uk.
[4] For further details of this study see:
http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/research/currentpgrs/taulantguma/ or contact t.guma.1@research.gla.ac.uk.
[5] For further details of this study see:
http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/research/currentpgrs/urbanstudies-clairebynner

enhancing both pieces of research. In such cases funding would be required for additional human resource and direct costs of additional fieldwork, but the existing institutional, administrative and academic support structures of the larger projects might be utilised and smaller projects could draw on existing conceptual frameworks and, where appropriate, access to field sites, communities etc.

Opportunities for wider dissemination of both interim and final research findings amongst policy-makers and practitioners might also emerge out of current discussions between the research partners and within GRAMNet regarding the possibility of developing a series of 'working breakfasts' and briefings focussing on different aspects of the migration debate. Further to GRAMNet's successful hosting of a Migration Dinner involving MSPs from across the political spectrum in October 2012, there would also seem to be an appetite amongst our politicians for such initiatives to be developed, while initial discussions have taken place regarding the possibility of organising a migration conference in 2013. Developments such as these are likely to be particularly beneficial in the light of the forthcoming referendum on Scottish independence in 2014 and could provide an opportunity for informed debate and discussion on the role that migration is likely to play in the country's future.

Returning to the final workshop from this study, delegates also proposed developing some 'quicker win' projects which would allow for meaningful outputs in the short term. Such projects could focus on impacts that are perhaps more easy to quantify or at least analyse through the consideration of existing reports and documentation. A number of possibilities were identified by participants in this regard. For instance, one suggestion was to analyse various secondary data sources in order to obtain a more coherent understanding of the impacts of migration on our communities. There is a wealth of data that points to the impacts of migration in and across particular communities and localities, much of it having been collected by small third sector organisations. However, due to financial constraints and / or a lack of expertise this data is often not subject to anything more than the most rudimentary analysis. There is also often a lack of awareness regarding research that has already been undertaken in relation to the impacts of migration, whether that is undertaken by academics, think tanks, public, private or third sector organisations. Again, it would be useful if some mapping of this research is undertaken so that a useful baseline is established.

It is therefore proposed that one or more small scale research projects, perhaps undertaken by Masters students under the GRAMNet Collaborative Masters Dissertation initiative, or by a GRAMNet intern, are developed which seek to consider the secondary data sources that could inform research into the impacts of migration. GRAMNet is fortunate to receive regular requests for the hosting of interns several of whom have until now been able to finance their internships via resources accessed externally. As such a framework for hosting and supervising interns has been developed within the network and other internships could, if desired, be commissioned by external bodies such as the Scottish Government or the Migration Advisory Commission and supported and supervised from within the network. This would obviously involve collaborative work with the organisation or organisations which hold the data. A useful source for the student / intern to consider could be the Research Councils UK repository of research that has been funded by the UK Research Councils since 2006. As this publicly accessible database lists all funded research, from small scale projects receiving funding of a few thousand pounds, to ones receiving millions of pounds and lasting a number of years, it is likely to be a rich source of information on research from across the UK that could inform research in a Scottish context but that might not otherwise have been uncovered.

Collation of such research might also feed into another proposal that the workshop participants posited; namely to gather more robust evidence on the impacts of migration, both at a local and national level, as a means of challenging the myths that abound in relation to the (seemingly negative) impacts of migration. The challenging of such myths and rhetoric was a recurring theme across the groups in the workshop and it may be that a research project could also be undertaken

in this regard. While past research has identified myth-busting tools such as brochures and some web materials as being problematic in terms of potentially reinforcing myths (Crawley 2009; Collett and Gidley 2012), there is currently research being undertaken as an AHRC Collaborative Studentship with Oxfam that is considering public attitudes and the role of the media, with a particular focus on the relationship between public attitudes to poverty and migration in Scotland. Pro-active and longstanding communication work of organisations such as the Scottish Refugee Council, grassroots work around meaningful contact at the community level such as that done by the integration networks, as well as new initiatives like that of Migrant Voice (building the capacity of migrants to speak for themselves in media and communications work), may also be areas where further research could be commissioned that would dovetail with this PhD and other participatory and collaborative work.

As a direct outcome of the pilot research which forms the basis for this report, the research partners have also developed a relatively small scale project which will analyse data collected by Glasgow City Council. This has been developed as part of the 2012/13 GRAMNet Collaborative Masters Dissertation initiative and will allow a Masters student from the University of Glasgow to undertake research in conjunction with Glasgow City Council on the impact of migrant children in Glasgow schools. As this research has highlighted, there is evidence that the presence of migrant children has influenced the approach of teachers and students alike with regard to issues of tolerance and cultural diversity, while it has also been suggested that there has been a direct impact on school attainment levels. This research to be undertaken will therefore consider such assertions and analyse school attainment data to seek to build a picture of the actual impact that migrant children and families have had in the city's schools. This research will take place during summer 2013 and an internship with CSMP following completion of the dissertation in September 2013 will lead to policy-relevant outputs and forms of dissemination.

In a similar vein, research has also been undertaken on the impact of migration on children who have moved to Scotland in recent years. The ESRC-funded At Home Abroad project, undertaken at the University of Strathclyde, considered the particular life experiences of Eastern European migrant children in Scotland and explored their experiences, adaptation and coping strategies in their new country of residence. The research also looked at their experiences of service use and the barriers that they faced in this regard and made particular recommendations for improving policy and practice going forward. With this in mind, a toolkit for service providers working with migrant children and their families has recently been published by the researchers and will be augmented by training events, while a multi-lingual guide for migrant children and their families is also planned.[6]

The issue of how migrant communities access information and services and how this affects their interaction with the communities in which they reside was a theme that was also picked up by participants at the research workshop. There are of course many ways in which further research on this theme could be framed, but it may be that there is scope to work with various service providers - integration networks for instance - to consider the services that exist for different migrant groups and the impact that access to such services has on both the migrants themselves and the 'host' communities. There is also potential here to dovetail with a project, currently underway, that has a particular focus on the provision and uptake of interpreting services by different migrant populations in health care settings. This small scale qualitative research project brings together the experiences of health care practitioners, (health visitors, midwives and sexual health specialists), migrant services users (A8 & A2 nationals, asylum seekers and refugees and BME populations) and interpreters with an aim to develop an innovative training tool to improve practice by identifying underlying communication issues in a range of settings. Preliminary findings from this project suggest that diversity in terms of immigration status tends to be neglected in both academic research and practical training programmes that explore and address health inequalities, despite increasing evidence and increasingly voiced concerns around the extent to

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[6] More information on this project can be found on its website at http://www.migrantchildren.net.

which immigration status and length of stay in the UK affects health status and access to care. This project could provide a useful case study into diverse migrant groups and their needs, and the manner in which they interact with different services and with other communities.[7]

Conclusion

It is recognised that this research has only begun to consider means of analysing the range of social and cultural impacts of migration to Scotland. Indeed, the project was viewed, from the outset, as providing a stepping stone to further research that the research partners hoped would inform future policy approaches and interventions at a local, national and UK level. That said, the research has considered the ways in which Glasgow has been affected by the presence of growing numbers of migrants in the city, particularly over the last decade as it has witnessed the arrival of significant numbers of asylum seekers and EU migrants in particular. It is clear that the impacts of migration in the city cannot be easily pigeonholed into overarching narratives which might otherwise seek to portray it as having either largely negative or largely positive impacts. Instead, the research uncovered both benefits and costs associated with migration and explored these from the perspectives of the policy makers and practitioners who had been interviewed.

This report has also sought to tease out some of the policy lessons which the interviewees uncovered, as well as possibilities for future research in this area. As the feedback of participants at the research workshop showed, many options for further research exist, from small scale projects conducted by students or interns through to much larger multimethod, longitudinal studies requiring significant funding and resources. Gladly, there is much research already underway and it is hoped that the gaps identified in this research can both inform these existing projects and build momentum which will lead to the commissioning of further research projects in future. A number of possibilities have been suggested in this regard and, in developing these further, it is hoped that research into the social and cultural impacts of migration will play an increasingly important role in informing policy interventions on migration going forward.

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[7] For further details of the study as it progresses please see:
http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/getinvolvedactiveprojects/towardsatrainingmodelforeffectiveethical translationinhealthcare/.

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