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Moving on? Dispersal policy, onward migration and integration of refugees in the UK

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MOVING ON? DISPERSAL POLICY, ONWARD MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES IN THE UK

Final Report

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Abbreviations

DWP   Department for Work and Pensions
DCLG   Department for Communities and Local Government
ESOL   English for Speakers of Other Languages
NASS   National Asylum Support Service
RCO   Refugee Community Organisation
RIES   Refugee Integration and Employment Service
SNR   Survey of New Refugees
UKBA   UK Border Agency

Acknowledgements

Executive summary

Since 2000, the UK has operated compulsory dispersal, a policy designed to 'spread the burden' of housing asylum seekers who require accommodation across the UK and to discourage long-term settlement in London and the South East. To enhance understanding of refugee integration in the UK, this research focuses on the onward migration decisions of those who were dispersed and later granted refugee or humanitarian protection status.

To date, much of the dispersal literature has critiqued the policy and focused on the negative outcomes for individuals removed from their networks. This project fills a knowledge gap surrounding the onward migration decisions and integration outcomes of refugees who were dispersed as asylum seekers in the UK.

The key findings of the project are:
- Dispersal policy has diversified the ethnic composition of UK cities, with evidence of growing numbers of refugees staying in the areas to which they were dispersed.
- Nevertheless, refugees who are dispersed as asylum seekers still have higher levels of onward migration than other new refugees.
- Multiple factors influence refugees' decisions to stay or move on from dispersal locations, including co-ethnic and local communities, employment, education, life course, housing, place of dispersal, racism and health; variations are evident between different nationality groups.
- Onward migration can be a positive step taken towards integration, but it is also caused by homelessness, lack of employment, limited housing options or lack of job training, all of which can lead to instability and poor integration outcomes.
- Refugees may migrate onward or decide to stay after being dispersed, but neither of the two options can be regarded as always being the best for integration.

In this two-year (2012–14), ESRC-funded project, we mapped the geography of onward migration amongst refugees dispersed across the UK as asylum seekers. We then explored the main factors that influence refugees' decisions to stay in a town or city or move on and considered how this affects the process of integration. Finally, we examined the policy implications for the different levels of government, service providers and the voluntary sector of the long-term impact of UK dispersal policy on refugee onward migration and integration.

The findings are based on quantitative and qualitative research data from four different sites across the UK: Glasgow, Cardiff, Manchester and London. The data includes 83 in-depth interviews with refugees, analysis of Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) client data (2008–11) and analysis of the Home Office Survey of New Refugees (SNR) data (2005–09). We weave together quantitative and qualitative data analysis findings to address key questions surrounding refugee onward migration and integration outcomes. A detailed discussion of the research findings is outlined below, illustrated with data results and interview quotations. This is followed by a short conclusion and an outline of the report's top policy recommendations.

Research findings

Refugee onward migration patterns

In the analysis, we distinguish between 'stayers' and 'movers' – those who migrate onward following dispersal. SNR data shows that new refugees who are dispersed are significantly more mobile in the initial eight months after being granted status and are more likely to move multiple times compared to those who never lived in dispersal housing.[1] Analysis of RIES client data between 2008–11,[2] however, shows that growing numbers of refugees are 'stayers', or those who remain in the city to which they were dispersed after being granted status:

- Two-thirds of refugees dispersed to Glasgow stayed in the city.
- Around 80 per cent of refugees dispersed to the Greater Manchester area decided to stay.

Based on analysis of the in-depth interviews, we found that refugees migrate onward to multiple and diverse locations around the UK for a range of reasons:

- Glasgow and Cardiff show evidence of growing ethnic diversity over the past decade, encouraging refugees to stay, but a lack of employment in particular can lead to onward migration.
- Manchester is seen as an attractive city in terms of size, amenities, ethnic communities and employment, which encourages refugees to stay and attracts refugees from other cities in the UK.
- Refugees onward migrate to London with high expectations in terms of opportunities and living conditions, which are not always realised.

Place

It was evident that a number of characteristics related to the dispersal location influences refugee onward migration decisions, including:

- interactions with British and other residents in neighbourhoods or the larger community;
- presence of existing ethnic communities, services and employment opportunities; and
- time spent in dispersal sites, which can either foster stability or prompt moving on in search of a 'fresh start'.

'I compared Scotland with England and it was a big difference, so I loved to be here [in Scotland]. People are different from England … [In England] they're not behaving with foreigners properly whereas in Scotland they are so friendly. We have so many Scots friends but no Iranian [friends].'[3] [Anna, F, Iran, Glasgow]

'I think we will stay in Cardiff. As you can imagine, we based something here. In case you turn to another city you have to start from the beginning, so it would be difficult.' [Abdi, M, Syria, Cardiff]

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[1] Refugees who are not dispersed as asylum seekers receive 'subsistence only' support, i.e. financial assistance, and find other accommodation, such as living with friends or family.

[2] Unfortunately, RIES data was unavailable for Cardiff (see Methods Section for more information).

[3] M and F are used to indicate the gender of interviewees.

Employment

A striking finding, which has implications for long-term refugee integration, is that new refugees who are dispersed have poorer employment outcomes, with onward migration improving the chances of employment:

- Refugees dispersed as asylum seekers are less likely to be in employment eight months after grant of status, compared to refugees choosing to live with friends or family (SNR data).
- Employment outcomes at 15 and 21 months after grant of status are better for refugee movers when compared to stayers (SNR data).
- Many refugees move towards co-ethnic communities to access employment opportunities.

'There are no jobs here. All the people that are leaving, they couldn't find a job. It's true. Because there were friends here, they looked for a job and couldn't find and they left. Three, four months [they searched] … [There are jobs in] Sheffield, Newcastle, Manchester. If I find job, I'm going to stay here. If I not find, what can I do? They say Glasgow is beautiful and nice place, but just there is no job.' [Sara, F, Eritrea, Glasgow]

Social networks and co-ethnic communities

Although refugees do move towards existing co-ethnic communities, we also spoke to a significant number who did not wish to do so. We found evidence of:

- moves towards co-ethnic communities to access employment opportunities and/or for help with English language;
- good English language skills decreasing the tendency of refugees to migrate towards co-ethnic communities;
- closeness to co-ethnic communities being viewed as potentially hampering integration in UK society, which prevents onward moves; and
- refugees not moving toward a pre-existing co-ethnic community due to a lack of trust, a desire for privacy or internal community divisions.

'If I can speak the language, it's not important to live with my community. Once I speak English I can live anywhere.' [Birhane, M, Eritrea, Glasgow]

Community organisations

An important finding is that connections developed by refugees in dispersal sites and shared activities that transcend ethnicity, such as those provided through religious institutions or volunteering, cultivate positive feelings about place and foster stability.

'When I joined [this RCO], I learned so many things, how to talk to people and get experience. Community has been really important for me … I don't want to be like people who stay here a long time just in their community and can't speak English. It's really important to meet different people and get to know other communities better.' [Moon, M, Eritrea, Manchester]

Life course

Similarly to the position for other migrant groups, we found that significant life course events can trigger refugees' decision to migrate onward, including marriage, the birth of a child, family reunification and relationship break-ups, and adults' educational career changes such as moving to access courses.

'[After my partner and I broke up], I got a new private flat [in Birmingham] … I was there, she was there and I didn't want to go back to her. I was thinking that this is it, I have to leave Birmingham, I have to move on. Now I have no problem. I have my status, I can move wherever I want – Glasgow, Newcastle, wherever, London. I choose London.' [Hakim, M, Iraq, London]

Education

Access to education and time spent studying while seeking asylum strongly influences decisions about moving or staying, as well as impacting upon integration. We found:

- **Access to adult and children's education, including English language classes, influences onward migration decisions.**
- **Children's education can lead to refugees remaining in or moving to locations with little or no existing co-ethnic community.**
- **Education enables refugees to gain knowledge and skills as well as forging the social networks and connections which are important for integration.**

'I can live without [the Somali] community, but my children is very important, that's why I'm here. My children they like this school. My daughter, they say me, 'You never leave here. Mama, I love here, I want it.'' [Amira, F, Somalia, Manchester]

Housing

We found significant and widespread experiences of homelessness amongst refugees after grant of status, which can lead to high levels of onward migration. This also negatively impacts upon access to adult and children's education, health and employment. We also discovered that:

- **the local connection rule may prevent onward migration only in the short-term; and**
- **the local connection rule can prevent a subsequent desired return to the original dispersal site.**

'When I came here [to London] and I went to the housing, they refused to give me any accommodation because they told me I'm intentionally homeless and they refused to help me. Then I went and lived with a friend for six months and after six months I have access to local housing. The problem now if I go to [Wales], the housing will consider me as intentionally homeless [again] so I must get my permanent accommodation in London and then I can swap and go there [to Wales].' [Omar, M, Iran, London]

Discrimination and racism

We found that refugees reported widespread experiences of racism in dispersal sites, including discrimination on local buses, from service providers and in the job market. Muslims, and women in particular because of their headscarves, described overt racism in post-9/11 Britain. The impact of such experiences includes:

- **negative effects on refugees' mental health and exacerbated feelings of insecurity, anxiety and not belonging;**
- **refugees feeling unwelcome and considering moves to cities perceived as more diverse and multicultural; and**
- **negative impacts upon long-term integration, even in cities where refugees are content to live.**

'Sometimes there's people calling you the names when you walk in the street, 'Oh, go back to your country'. But the most racist is the bus drivers. I believe that for myself. When you are standing the bus stop, if you are alone and you have headscarf and you're a black woman, they left for you even with my hand up.' [Dunia, F, Somalia, Glasgow]

'There've been issues with a lot of hate crime and we've had eggs thrown and sometimes you cannot walk in the street. Things got worse after September Eleven. As a Muslim and as a refugee, you know, that's two pressures you have to deal with … I just felt very vulnerable.' [Faduma, F, Somalia, London]

Health

We found that stress caused by the asylum process, the process of being dispersed and the inability to onward migrate (due to the local connection rule) can trigger or contribute to poor mental health amongst refugees. Physical and mental health conditions influence onward migration decisions in different ways:

- Refugees may decide to move on due to negative experiences in dispersal sites or in search of suitable medical facilities.
- Refugees with mental health problems, such as depression, may decide to stay in dispersal sites for the sake of familiarity and stability.

'When I came here everything changed, maybe because I moved from other country. I had like depression, a lost trust … Once I get here, I got health problems. Day after day, my health is destroyed, day by day.' [Fathia, F, Kuwait, Cardiff]

Conclusion

Overall, in this report we highlight the complexity of intersecting factors that influence refugee onward migration decisions and shape integration outcomes. We do this by drawing upon quantitative and qualitative data, providing specific examples and case studies from the in-depth interview sample. Rather than viewing onward migration as a failure of dispersal policy, we demonstrate how such choices can facilitate integration processes, an outcome that should be celebrated. We also reveal how urban landscapes have changed over time through dispersal policy, thereby creating increasingly diverse, multicultural cities that have become appealing settlement sites for many of the UK's new refugees. We use a mixed methods framework to present the positive and negative outcomes of dispersal policy, while offering suggestions that policy makers and service providers can use to promote successful refugee integration.

Recommendations

We examined policy implications of the findings in the key areas of employment, local communities, education, housing, racism and health. We have made several suggestions for specific policy makers, local authorities and service providers who work with refugees across the UK. A number of recommendations are discussed in the report conclusion, as well as our six separate policy briefings, but below we identify our top five recommendations:

The UK Government should allow asylum seekers to choose their dispersal location, subject to availability of adequate housing.

Asylum seekers should be placed in appropriate accommodation immediately upon dispersal and with a minimum amount of time spent in initial accommodation. Where moving to different accommodation is necessary, asylum seekers should be given

the choice to remain in the same area. Stability is key. Specifically, asylum seekers with healthcare needs should be allowed to choose their dispersal location, subject to availability of adequate housing and care services provision.

The UK Government, local authorities and the Department for Work and Pensions should ensure refugees are fully supported until they are in receipt of mainstream benefits and have access to housing after grant of status.

The current 28 days policy does not provide refugees with sufficient time to make informed decisions regarding housing and leads to high levels of onward migration and homelessness. There is a need to consider contracting the provision of asylum seeker accommodation to devolved governments and/or local authorities. By granting more powers to local authorities to oversee the provision of asylum accommodation, refugees should be enabled to stay temporarily in asylum accommodation until they find suitable, permanent housing, thereby limiting multiple moves during and after the asylum process. Devolved powers in relation to Universal Credit should be used to prevent homelessness and support refugees in accessing stable and appropriate housing.

Local authorities should develop clear guidance on the application of the 'local connection rule' to refugees and consider introducing flexibility for refugees who move to a city to seek employment or access training.

As in Scotland, refugees who have been dispersed should be exempt from the local connection rule, because they have been provided with asylum accommodation on a 'no choice' basis. This would allow refugees to move on to find employment or training, as well as enable refugees to return to dispersal sites in the future if desired. Local authorities should develop housing information packages for refugees specific to their circumstances and the local context, including the local connection rule, and ensure staff have the capacity to provide advice and assistance tailored to refugees' needs.

Local authorities should develop, coordinate and monitor a local refugee integration strategy, promoting a multi-agency approach.

All asylum seekers should be eligible to access free ESOL courses immediately after claiming asylum. The DWP should ensure Jobcentre Plus and Work Programme providers have sufficient knowledge of refugees' employment barriers as well as sufficient skills to address them, such as by providing training through partnership with specialist refugee providers. Refugees should be included as early access participants in employment programmes and be provided with appropriate job training and advice on how to find employment.

Local authorities should initiate multi-agency partnerships to tackle racism.

Partnerships should be linked to initiatives run by organisations such as Runnymede or the Migrants Rights Network as well as refugee organisations. Asylum seekers and refugees should provide input into and benefit from initiatives for tackling racism and hate crime. Police officers should receive training on issues affecting refugees and the barriers they face to reporting harassment. Bus operators should establish a mechanism to report racial harassment, encouraging passengers to make use of it and providing training and guidance to staff on identifying and handling racial harassment.

Introduction

One of the key reforms introduced in the UK's Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 was compulsory dispersal, a policy implemented from 2000 onward that was designed to 'spread the burden' of housing asylum seekers across the UK on a no-choice basis and to discourage long-term settlement in London and South East England. While there are several different studies that have explored factors which influence the secondary or onward migration of refugees in different geographical contexts, there is limited knowledge of the spatial mobility outcomes of refugees who are distributed as the result of UK dispersal policy. Indeed, little research has explored the abiding outcomes of a policy regime that determines the geography of refugees' movements. Instead, much literature has critiqued the policy as part of the restrictive, deterrent UK asylum apparatus and focused on the negative consequences for individuals removed from kin, social networks and community organisations. This project fills the knowledge gap surrounding the onward migration of refugees by focusing on the migration decisions of those dispersed across the UK as asylum seekers who were subsequently granted refugee status or humanitarian protection status.

Aims and objectives

The aim of this research project was to further understanding of refugee integration in the UK by focusing on onward migration after dispersal. The research explored connections to refugee integration by examining the structural and individual agency factors that influence migration decisions. The key research objectives were:

1. to map the geography of onward migration among refugees dispersed across the UK as asylum seekers;
2. to explore the main factors that influence individuals and/or households to migrate (or not) and how this impacts upon the process of refugee integration; and
3. to consider the policy implications for the different levels of government, service providers and the voluntary sector of the impact of UK dispersal on refugee migration and integration.

This two-year (2012–14), ESRC-funded project involved the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative research data from four different sites across the UK: Glasgow, Cardiff, Manchester and London. The data includes 83 in-depth interviews with refugees, analysis of Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) client data (2008–11) and analysis of the Home Office Survey of New Refugees (SNR) data (2005–09).

About the report

The report is structured as follows:

Section 1: Background

This section presents the policy context and examines the relevant academic literature.

Section 2: Methodology

This section explains the methods employed, including data sets and data analysis techniques.

Section 3: Geography of onward migration

This first data section provides initial results on the geography of onward migration and variations between the four case study cities.

Section 4: Onward migration and refugee integration

This second data section explores key trends in onward migration before turning attention to the factors influencing migration decisions. The section then examines linkages between onward migration and integration outcomes, with discussion of the role played by:

- employment
- ethnic communities
- education
- housing
- discrimination and racism
- health

In order to help the reader navigate the themes, short summaries are provided at the end of each section.

Section 5: Conclusion

This section concludes the report by summarising the key findings and examining policy implications from the findings at different levels and for different groups.

Overall, in this report we uncover whether refugees move on from dispersal sites after being granted status, provide evidence of where refugees migrate to as well as examining what factors encourage refugees either to stay or to move on from dispersal sites. We also consider the implications of the decision to stay or onward migrate for the long-term integration outcomes of refugees.

1. Background

In this section, we provide policy and academic background information relevant to the project. This includes an explanation of pertinent UK immigration and asylum legislation as well as UK refugee integration policy. We then turn our attention to the academic literature on refugee onward migration and refugee integration. This section frames the report by summarising key policy developments and existing academic knowledge in the field, in order to identify gaps in knowledge and ways forward for the empirical research.

Policy context

UK dispersal policy

UK dispersal policy began in 2000, a result of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, with the rationale of 'spreading the burden' of housing asylum seekers across the UK and discouraging long-term settlement in the South East. Asylum applicants can opt to be 'fully supported' (i.e. receive housing and subsistence) or 'subsistence only'. If individuals require housing while awaiting their asylum decision (fully supported), they are dispersed across the country on a no-choice basis. Alternatively, individuals can choose to live with friends or family in any location (subsistence only).

The focus in this report is on asylum seekers who were dispersed on a 'no choice' basis and fully supported during their asylum claim. No exact data exists on the total number of refugees within UK cities (Stewart, 2004), but estimated numbers are 20,000 in Glasgow (Shisheva *et al.*, 2013); 6–10,000 in Wales (Crawley, 2013); 20,000 in Manchester (Refugee Action in Employability Forum 2005); and 600,000 in London (Greater London Authority 2009). Refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland and Wales are more concentrated in a limited number of cities and towns. The largest single concentration of total numbers of asylum seekers in the UK over time has been Glasgow (Stewart, 2012), and over half of total asylum seekers in Wales live in Cardiff (Crawley and Crimes, 2009).

Once an individual is granted asylum and gains refugee status, those fully supported must leave their dispersal accommodation within 28 days. Section 11 of the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants etc.) Act 2004 provides that asylum seekers establish a local connection to the dispersal site where they were provided accommodation. This means that refugees who require local authority housing must apply in the same area to which they were dispersed and is known as the 'local connection rule'.[4] Local authorities can therefore refer individuals to the original dispersal area for housing claims. As an example, the local connection rule requires an asylum seeker who is dispersed to Cardiff to apply for local authority housing only in Cardiff at the end of the 28 days after being granted refugee status. If the individual decides to migrate onwards to London or Manchester, they are regarded as being 'intentionally homeless' and cannot apply for local authority housing for the first six months because their 'local connection' is with Cardiff.[5]

UK refugee integration policy

During the past 15 years, the UK Home Office has published several documents on refugee integration including *Full and Equal Citizens* (2000), *Integration Matters* (2005) and the Department for Work and Pensions employment strategy *Working to Rebuild Lives* (2005).

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[4] This legislation applies to everyone applying for local authority housing in the UK.
[5] Different rules apply in Scotland, where asylum seekers are not deemed to have established a local connection as a result of being provided with dispersal accommodation there.

These strategies demonstrate the Government's desire for refugees to fully integrate and participate in UK society. From October 2005, SUNRISE (Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration Services) was piloted in London, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield and Glasgow, and introduced personal caseworkers for refugees and the Personal Integration Plan (PIP). The SUNRISE pilot led to the development of the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) in 2008, a service that provided assistance with housing, education and welfare benefits to refugees in the early stages of integration. Refugee employment was regarded as the key driver to successful integration. RIES consisted of three components, namely an advice and support service, an employment service and a mentoring service. The service was provided for a maximum of 12 months for each refugee granted status. RIES was delivered throughout the UK via 12 regional contracts and awarded to a range of bodies including voluntary sector and local authority organisations. The most recent integration strategy, *Moving on Together* re-emphasised the Government's commitment to refugee integration through RIES and the Gateway Protection Programme (UK Border Agency, 2009), arguing that integration occurs when refugees are empowered to 'meet their responsibilities and achieve their full potential as members of British society, contribute to the community and access the services to which they are entitled' (p. 8). In this document, the UKBA committed to the RIES service for three years but unfortunately this ended in 2011, with no dedicated funding to support refugee integration since then.

Moving on Together indicated that refugee integration is a devolved matter, with the strategy applying only to England. Nevertheless, the RIES service and Gateway were delivered throughout the UK by means of an agreement with the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland administrations. The UK Government takes the view that integration strategies and policies should only apply to refugees and not asylum seekers, which is a perspective that differs across the countries of the UK. In 2003, the *Scottish Refugee Integration Forum Action Plan* was published, setting out commitments to refugee integration and setting specific goals in relation to employment, access to services and language support. The Scottish Government then published a *Race Equality Statement* in 2008 and included specific strands to help asylum seekers and refugees. The most recent *Scottish Refugee Integration Strategy* recognises integration as starting on day one of an asylum claim (Scottish Government, 2013). In 2008, the Welsh Assembly Government launched its *Refugee Inclusion Strategy*, which included a strategic framework for working towards refugee inclusion. Despite positive steps in some parts of the UK, overall there has been an observed de-prioritisation of refugee integration in the UK (Mulvey, 2015; Strang *et al.*, 2014).

Background literature

In this subsection we examine literature on historic dispersal policies in the UK, internal migration literature and studies of refugee onward migration in different geographical contexts. We identify key findings and define what we mean by refugee onward migration for this project. We also identify the key literature on refugee integration in order to frame the report's analysis and discussion. Important findings include:

- evidence of different terminologies employed to describe refugee onward migration;
- growing evidence of refugee settlement in UK dispersal sites, with a reduction in onward mobility;
- suggestions that refugees both may and may not wish to migrate towards co-ethnic communities;

- the importance of examining inter-ethnic relationships between new refugee populations and already established ethnic communities in the UK;
- the importance of considering the inter-relationship between indicators of integration when studying refugee settlement, such as between health outcomes and housing; and
- the need to explore the inter-connections between onward migration decisions and refugee integration outcomes.

Refugee onward migration

There is a growing body of work within refugee and migration studies that considers the mobility dynamics of refugee populations (Black and Koser, 1999; Jeffery and Murison, 2010). Linked to understanding integration outcomes in resettlement sites, research has examined the secondary or onward migration of refugees in the UK, the EU, Australasia, Canada and the US (Aherns *et al.*, 2014; Huisman, 2011; Simich, 2003; Stewart, 2012; van Liempt, 2011a). The movement of refugees within a country's borders has been conceptualised in a number of different ways. Terminologies include secondary migration, which refers to the internal migration of refugees after third country resettlement (Newbold, 2007; Weine *et al.*, 2011) and the intra-EU movement of refugees (Kelly, 2013; van Liempt, 2011b). The sedentary bias of the refugee protection framework, which assumes that refugee 'solutions' require halting movement (Ott, 2011), means that refugees' secondary migration is often portrayed negatively, as this contradicts policy makers' intentions. Accordingly, we employ the term 'onward migration' in this project to describe the movements of refugees within the UK after dispersal (Sim, 2015; Stewart, 2012) in order to move away from such negative connotations and to acknowledge there can be repeated movements over time and space. The term onward migration is useful as it leaves 'open the possibility that after settling in one place, migrants may later decide to migrate to another place – or even a number of other places – they had not considered at the start of their journey' (Aherns *et al.*, 2014, p2).

There are a limited number of studies that have examined UK dispersal schemes in relation to onward movement (Robinson, 2003b). Beyond the UK, studies have evaluated the implementation of dispersal policies and the regional settlement of refugees in Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark (Arnoldus *et al.*, 2003; Boswell, 2003; Hammar, 1993; van Liempt, 2011b; Wren, 2003). In a similar way to those in the UK, these systems have been primarily housing-led with less focus on long-term integration issues (Correa-Velez *et al.*, 2013). There has been some examination of onward migration flows beyond evaluating the operationalisation of dispersal policies (Andersson and Solid, 2003). Research in the Netherlands found evidence of Somali refugees re-grouping and moving internally to large Dutch cities, as well as regrouping within Europe (van Liempt, 2011b).

A number of studies have also examined secondary migration flows of resettled refugees in the US, Canada and Australia (Glavac and Waldorf, 1998; Hardwick and Meacham, 2008; Simich, 2003; Weine *et al.*, 2011), including research examining the experiences of refugees attracted to rural locations for employment and quality of life reasons (Huisman, 2011; Schech, 2014; Shandy and Fennelly, 2006). Research in Canada and the US has identified reasons for moving, including attraction to larger cities (Krahn *et al.*, 2005), social and emotional support (Simich *et al.*, 2002), the interplay between economic and social forces (Harte *et al.*, 2011) and migration as being evidence of refugees' adjustment strategy (Mortland and Ledgerwood, 1987). In sum, there are complex and varied reasons for refugee onward migration, but several key motives consistently emerge: moving for employment opportunities, joining family members and moving towards pre-existing co-ethnic communities. These findings

resonate with existing knowledge on the internal migration of immigrants and ethnic minority populations (Gurak and Kritz, 2000; Kritz and Nogle, 1994; Zavodny, 1999), with migration decisions influenced by economic and non-economic motivations such as the nuclear and extended family (Mulder and Cooke, 2009; Mulder and Van Der Meer, 2009) and family life course events such as marriage, death or the birth of a child (Bailey, 2008; Finney, 2011).

UK dispersal policy and onward migration

With the exception of the Bosnian resettlement programme, historical dispersal policies in the UK are said to have failed, in the sense that individuals have not settled in dispersal sites long-term (Robinson, 2003b). There has been limited documentation of onward migration flows since current dispersal began in 2000. Robinson (2003a) found average secondary migration rates of 18–20 per cent (56,000 asylum seekers were tracked over 21 months), with most individuals migrating to London, Birmingham and Manchester from dispersal locations. Reasons for leaving dispersal sites included racism, harassment, isolation and the absence of key infrastructure (such as religious institutions and legal advice) as well as a sense of vulnerability. Since 2000, UK dispersal policy has been largely housing-led, which has resulted in asylum seekers being accommodated in relatively small communities where they face social isolation, loneliness, racism and exclusion (Anie *et al.*, 2005; Buck, 2001; Phillimore, 2010; Phillimore and Goodson, 2006; Spicer, 2008). Consequently, Hynes (2011) argues that UK dispersal provides the impetus for individuals to onward migrate by separating refugees from family members and community connections.

In the absence of co-ethnic communities, there can be a shared sense of identity and experience of being ethnically diverse in the UK (Rainbird, 2012). Researchers predicted that, over time, UK dispersal policy would lead to the growth of new multicultural communities (Carter and El-Hassan, 2003), which may impact upon the mobility intentions of refugees. Despite initial challenges, there is growing evidence of refugee settlement in dispersal sites, with a reduction in onward mobility (Netto, 2011; Sim, 2012; Stewart, 2012). Given the operation of dispersal policy for well over a decade, we explore whether changes in dispersal sites can account for patterns of refugee onward migration. Information and perceptions about dispersal locations circulate amongst communities and networks and can be crucial to refugees' mobility decision-making (Aden *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, whilst social networks and connections in place may motivate migrants or refugees to move or stay, there is evidence that roots established over time can prevent further movement (Hjalm, 2014; Krahn *et al.*, 2005; Trevena *et al.*, 2013). Finally, experiences of place are shaped by socio-demographic factors such as age and gender (Sim, 2015; Spicer, 2008) which can affect mobility decisions.

Pre-existing ethnic communities and onward migration

UK dispersal policy has largely resulted in refugee groups being settled in locations with no pre-existing ethnic minority communities (Anie *et al.*, 2005; Audit Commission, 2000; Phillimore and Goodson, 2006), an important consideration when explaining refugee onward migration. The classic UK study of Vietnamese resettlement in the 1980s found that dispersal of refugees in small clusters succeeded in only half of cases, with secondary migration to London, Birmingham and Manchester primarily to join existing Vietnamese communities (Robinson and Hale, 1989). Research with Vietnamese refugees in Finland, the US and Australia similarly found evidence of secondary movement to join existing co-ethnic communities, described as 'gravitation' group migration (Burnley, 1989; Desbartes, 1985; Valtonen, 2004). Conversely, the relative geographic immobility of Bosnians in the 1990s was attributed to the lack of a pre-existing community in the UK towards which new

refugees could move [Robinson and Coleman, 2000]. Evidence from current UK dispersal policy research suggests that being settled in locations with no pre-existing co-ethnic community causes refugees to feel isolated, lonely and facing racist harassment, which provides the impetus to onward migrate towards kin and co-ethnic communities [Buck, 2001; Hynes, 2011; Robinson *et al.*, 2003]. Likewise, research in the EU and Canada has found evidence of re-grouping and movement of refugees to join existing communities in order to overcome isolation and language barriers, as well as to reconstitute family and social support networks to ensure emotional and material stability [Simich *et al.*, 2002; van Liempt, 2011a].

While refugees do move to join existing co-ethnic communities, social networks and community connections cannot always explain refugees' mobility dynamics [Collyer, 2005; Gilbert and Koser, 2006; Koser, 1997]. Onward movement of refugees within the EU has been linked to refugees' desire to live in locations perceived as more tolerant and multicultural [Kelly, 2013; van Liempt, 2011b]. During the asylum-seeking process, refugees are often given information about 'good places to live or the relative merits of one town over another' [Williams, 2006, p872] from 'weak ties' that do not always share a co-ethnic group. Finally, refugees may prefer not to live with others from the same country, either to avoid those of opposing political factions or to increase opportunities for interaction with the majority population [Netto, 2011]. We therefore consider reasons why refugees may not wish to migrate towards co-ethnic communities. We also examine inter-ethnic relationships between new refugee populations and already established ethnic communities in the UK [Finney and Simpson, 2009; Putnam, 2007].

Research providing further insight into why refugees migrate to pre-existing co-ethnic communities reveals its close connection to integration. A study of Ugandan Asian refugees in the UK found that pre-existing co-ethnic communities were critical to successful long-term settlement in providing new refugees with material, financial and emotional assistance [Robinson, 1993b]. Refugees locate in ethnic clusters in order to provide mutual support and integration assistance [Aden *et al.*, 2007]. Religious institutions can also play important bonding and bridging roles for resettled refugees and can influence internal migration flows [Allen, 2010; Hardwick and Meacham, 2008]. Social networks and community connections therefore play a key role in the settlement and integration of refugees [Robinson and Coleman, 2000; Robinson and Hale, 1989]. The connection between migration towards co-ethnic communities and positive integration outcomes has led Simich *et al.,* [2002, p604] to argue: 'If refugees migrate to certain urban centres for social support from family and an ethnic community as well as for employment opportunities, they actually have the same priorities that the resettlement program is supposed to have – they are seeking to rebuild self-sufficiency rather than rely on government support.'

Refugee integration

There is much debate in the literature about what is meant by integration and how this relates to refugees [Ager and Strang, 2010; Castles *et al.*, 2002; Smyth *et al.*, 2010]. In his seminal paper, Berry [1997] discusses the psychological dimensions of integration and adaptation that involve one's psychological and physical well-being as well as sociocultural adaptation. The notion of integration being a two-way process is further explained: 'Integration can only be 'freely' chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity … thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained' [Berry, 2005, p705]. Research has conceptualised refugee integration in this way, with the process said

to be heavily influenced by the institutional environment of the receiving society, as well as by the personal capacities of the settling populations (Bakker *et al.*, 2014; Valtonen, 2004).

Another key differentiation has been drawn between structural integration – that is, participation in society's main institutions such as the housing and labour markets – and acculturation, which relates to culture and identity (Korac, 2003). Research on refugee integration has focused upon a number of these areas, including how to tackle obstacles to refugee integration (Kearns and Whitley, 2015; Mestheneos and Ioannidi, 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Phillips, 2006), how to facilitate full participation in the labour market (Bloch, 2000; Bloch, 2004), examination of community relations at the local level (Daley, 2007; Kirkwood *et al.*, 2015), the role of refugee community organisations (Griffiths *et al.*, 2006) and the role of culture (Lewis, 2010; 2015). Drawing together the structural and acculturation strands of thought, Ager and Strang (2008) highlight the key integration domains for refugees and relate these to access and achievement within housing, employment, education and health. These structural factors are related to and mediated by the processes of social connections including social bonds, social bridges and social links, which connect to the process of acculturation. Underpinning all of these issues are the fundamental issues of citizenship and rights (Bloch, 2000; Stewart and Mulvey, 2014).

Analysis of the Home Office longitudinal Survey of New Refugees (SNR), which surveyed all new refugees in the UK from 2005–09, provides useful baseline information on refugee integration. A number of factors are said to influence the integration of refugees, including country of origin, time in the UK, English language, age and sex, health, previous education and employment, and family and friends (Daniel and Zurawan, 2010). Refugees from countries such as Eritrea and Somalia who have no qualifications and lower levels of English language ability are doubly disadvantaged when seeking employment (Daniel et al., 2010). Poor integration outcomes have also been found for women, with labour market penalties for Muslims and Africans (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). By contrast, good English language skills are strongly associated with refugees' entry into employment and can be key to refugees becoming independent and socially mobile (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2011; Robinson, 1993a). Analysis of the SNR further reveals the role of social networks and social capital in relation to refugee integration. For example, the absence of social networks appears to have a detrimental impact on access to work (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013), thereby linking integration at the structural level to social connections. It is therefore vital to consider the inter-relationship between indicators of integration when studying refugee settlement (Atfield et al., 2007; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). For example, an absence of secure housing can prevent refugees from partaking in education, training, employment, health care and social groups. Moreover, post-migration stressors can affect refugees' mental health, which in turn hampers socio-economic integration (Bakker et al., 2014).

Refugee integration and onward migration

Despite the growing body of work examining refugee integration, there has been little consideration of the inter-relationship with refugee onward migration. Research that touches on integration and onward migration tends to comment on how mobility positively impacts upon integration outcomes, and particularly employment (Andersson and Solid, 2003). Research in the UK has also found that refugees who are able to move around the country can improve their chances of finding work and/or their social circumstances (Williams, 2006). Onward migration has therefore been theorised as a means to address dissatisfaction with the initial migration process and a way to rectify what is perceived to be unsatisfactory integration outcomes (Aherns *et al.*, 2014).

In this report, the functional or structural factors of refugee integration are considered, including employment, education, housing and health (Ager and Strang, 2008). Housing is a key strategy for refugee integration, shaping a sense of security and belonging, influencing access to services such as healthcare, education and employment and impacting on community relations (Forrest *et al.*, 2013; Phillips, 2006). Housing experiences are likely to be strongly connected to refugees' onward migration decisions as they face homelessness, racist harassment and housing insecurity (Aden *et al.*, 2007). Repeated relocations and multiple housing career trajectories are likely to not only impact upon future mobility decisions but also long-term integration (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). For example, relocation not only disrupts the education of both children and adults, but having several addresses in areas with 'bad' postcodes impacts on applications for employment and obtaining credit (Hynes, 2006). Secure housing can therefore be the first key step to refugee settlement and integration, but beyond this the process also involves other less tangible factors such as a sense of security, quality of life and emotional well-being (Carter and El-Hassan, 2003).

The health of refugees is important for explaining refugee integration (Daniel and Zurawan, 2010) and may be connected to mobility. In the UK, refugees tend to have poorer health than the general population, with emotional health problems being more prevalent than issues with physical health. Whilst pre-flight experiences can 'haunt' the resettlement environment (Valtonen, 1998), it has been found that refugees' mental health issues largely stem from experiences in exile (Bakker *et al.*, 2014; Fozdar, 2009). For example, depression can be linked to employment issues (e.g. underemployment, lack of social status, welfare dependence and rejection), mobility and culture shock (e.g. isolation, racism and lack of social interaction). The detention of refugees is also a major contributing factor to mental deterioration, despondency, suicidality, frustration and mental health-related disability (Newman *et al.*, 2008; Silove *et al.*, 2007; Stee *et al.*, 2006). It is important to explore how health issues not only influence mobility decisions but how the outcomes of such moves impact upon the health and integration of refugees.

In terms of acculturation, Ager and Strang (2008) highlight how structural factors are related to and mediated by the processes of social connections including social bonds, social bridges and social links. Research in the West Midlands, UK concluded that refugee integration should not be viewed in isolation but rather addressed together with the integration of other groups and shifting community composition (Daley, 2007). Dispersal areas have changed over time and may have impacted upon the onward migration decisions of refugees (Sim, 2015). Another project that evaluated integration initiatives in the UK found that participation in community projects had a positive impact on refugees' self-esteem and empowerment (Phillimore, 2012). Additionally, when attitudes to refugees were transformed at the local level, refugees felt more accepted and ready to settle, illustrating that areas with previously high levels of population turnover had the potential to become more stable. The reception of host communities and levels of interaction with new arrivals can therefore determine the success of refugee integration (Danso, 2001; Dwyer, 2008), which in turn may influence individual decisions to stay or move on (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008).

2. Methods

The findings presented in this report are based upon a two-year, ESRC-funded project. Unfortunately, the Home Office ceases to collect data on refugees granted status, as they acquire broadly the same rights as UK citizens. This means that it is not possible to map the geography of refugee populations in the same way as ethnic minority populations from national censuses. To fill this knowledge gap, the project combined quantitative data analysis from the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) and the Home Office Survey of New Refugees (SNR) (Home Office, 2010), as well as in-depth interviews with 83 refugees conducted in four locations across the UK: Glasgow, Cardiff, Manchester and London. London and Manchester were selected as two metropolitan areas that are attractive to refugees (Robinson *et al.*, 2003), whilst Glasgow and Cardiff were chosen as two cities within relatively peripheral areas of the UK.

Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) client data

As discussed earlier, the RIES programme ran from 2008–11 across the UK and provided integration support to new refugees. All refugees granted status during this period were invited to attend the RIES service and receive assistance with housing, education and welfare benefits for up to 12 months post-status. The organisations that provided the RIES service kept individual client records for all new refugees during the three year period. For this project, access was granted to RIES client records held by voluntary organisations in Glasgow, Manchester and London. Unfortunately, despite access being granted to the Cardiff data, this could not be usefully employed for analysis for technical reasons, including the inaccessible data format. Individual client records for each city totalled 1,263 in Glasgow, 2,469 in Manchester and 2,066 in London. In all three databases, each client record details the first local authority location of an individual refugee as well as the most current local authority location recorded by caseworkers, making this variable comparable across the sites.

Analysis of the RIES databases was carried out to determine whether dispersed asylum seekers had subsequently moved town or city after being granted refugee status. The mobility variable was derived by comparing the first recorded local authority with the current local authority location of refugees. Those refugees who remained in the same area to which they were dispersed or moved within the same local authority are referred to as 'stayers', while those who moved local authority are referred to as 'movers'. Data was incomplete for some client records, so these 'unknown' cases were removed from the analysis. There are also 'unknown-migrant' cases where mobility has been recorded by caseworkers, but there is no indication of location. These cases have not been included in the mapping analysis. Finally, in a small number of cases, refugees were located in another local authority at the time of referral to RIES but subsequently moved to one of the case study cities. These cases have been included in the analysis and defined as 'movers'. After data cleaning and the exclusion of cases where locational data is unknown, the total sample for each city is 1,163 in Glasgow, 2,050 in Manchester and 1,885 in London.

By defining refugee 'movers' as those individuals who changed local authority, it does exclude refugee onward migration at smaller geographical scales, such as within cities. Nevertheless, the impact of refugees deciding to move on or not is likely to be greatest at this scale of analysis, as recorded by all of the RIES databases. For example, the onward migration decisions of refugees are likely to impact on local authorities who are responsible

for providing services, appropriate infrastructure and access to housing. Whether refugee populations decide to stay or move on from their local authority after UK dispersal, therefore, has important implications for government structures. And although not recorded by the RIES databases (or the SNR), issues surrounding the local moves of refugees, which tend to be housing-driven (Clark and Maas, 2015), are explored further in the in-depth interview sample.

It is difficult to comment on the representativeness of the RIES samples given that there is no data published on the stock of refugees within UK cities. Data on asylum seekers is produced only for specific points in time, i.e. each quarter, which also prevents calculations of total numbers over time (Stewart, 2004). Asylum statistics for 2013 (Table 1) indicate the numbers of asylum seekers in the four chosen case study cities. This suggests that the majority of refugee clients on the Glasgow and Manchester RIES databases were part of the dispersal process, whereas those living in London were not (i.e. subsistence-only support).

Table 1: Asylum seekers in receipt of Section 95 support, by local authority (quarter one, 2013)

City	In dispersal accommodation	Subsistence only	Total
Cardiff	877	7	884
Glasgow	1,809	15	1,824
London	931	1,838	2,769
Manchester	630	55	685

Source: UK Asylum Statistics

There are several data issues surrounding the RIES client records, including the reliance upon data input by caseworkers, variations in data variables recorded across the three sites and the discontinuation of the RIES service in 2011, which may have limited updates to client records. Nevertheless, given the lack of data on new refugees across the UK and the detailed information on geography contained within the RIES databases, it was considered important to explore and analyse this further. Indeed, the SNR, discussed below, only records data on 'region' with no further geographical information provided. This means RIES data is unique and extremely valuable in the examination of refugee onward migration patterns across the UK.

Survey of New Refugees (SNR) data

Data taken from the Survey of New Refugees (SNR), a longitudinal survey conducted by the UK Home Office from 2005 until 2009, was also analysed for this project. The baseline survey included over 5,000 refugees who were surveyed at the point at which they were granted refugee status. The survey then included three follow-up postal surveys of the population at 8 months, 15 months and 21 months after the baseline survey (see Daniel *et al.*, 2010 for more detailed information). The initial response rate to the SNR was 70 per cent, although there was significant attrition in the following waves of the survey, a challenge facing all longitudinal studies. The total sample at 21 months was 867 respondents, which limits statistical analysis. As the SNR was a postal survey and depended upon respondents receiving the form to complete, it is likely that refugee 'movers' are underrepresented. Nevertheless, weighting has been applied to the datasets by the Home Office to adjust for non-response and attrition (see Cebulla *et al.*, 2010 for further details). Cross-sectional and longitudinal weights have been applied in the SNR analysis when appropriate.

In terms of basic socio-demographics, a profile of the new refugees is presented in Table 2 (see also Cebulla et al., 2010; Daniel and Zurawan, 2010). The majority of refugees surveyed at the baseline survey were male, under the age of 35 and not living with a partner or children in the UK. The top countries of origin were Eritrea, Somalia, Iraq, Iran and Zimbabwe. Some 50 per cent of the sample had been living in the UK for less than one year prior to being granted refugee status, with 21 per cent living in the UK for five years or more. One-third of the sample was living in London and the South East with around 20 per cent each in the Midlands, the North East and Yorkshire and the Humber. Relatively small numbers of new refugees living in the North West, Scotland and Northern Ireland were included in the SNR sample.

Table 2: Socio-demographic characteristics of new refugees (Unweighted N=5678)[6]

	N	% of total
Gender		
Male	3621	64
Female	2002	36
Age		
Under 35 years	3922	70
35 years +	1637	30
Partner in UK		
Yes	1097	20
No	4427	80
Dependent children in UK		
Yes	1324	24
No	4227	76
Country of origin		
Eritrea	1141	20
Somalia	758	14
Iraq	504	9
Iran	485	9
Zimbabwe	458	8
Other	2285	40
Religion		
Muslim	2579	46
Christian	2449	43
Other (incl None)	602	11
Formal education before entering UK		
None	717	13
Up to 10 years	1503	27
10-15 years	2590	46
16 or more years	815	14

[6] Missing cases have been excluded from the totals for each variable, hence all do not add up to the total sample size of 5,678.

Qualifications equivalent before entering UK		
No qualifications	2985	57
GCSE and below	1009	19
A Level	472	9
Further education	358	7
University (UG and PG)	392	8
Time living in UK		
Less than 6 months	1795	32
Between 6 months and a year	1040	18
Between 1 and 2 years	550	10
Between 2 and 5 years	1071	19
5+ years	1158	21
Region of residence		
London and South East	1701	31
Midlands and East England	1160	21
North East, Yorkshire and Humber	1312	24
North West	740	13
Scotland and Northern Ireland	150	3
Wales and South West	424	8

Source: SNR (2005–09)

Data variables

Dispersal: In the SNR, 45 per cent of refugees stated that they were living in NASS accommodation[7] (provided by the UK Home Office) at the baseline survey. All NASS accommodation is provided in dispersal regions (i.e. not London), and so this variable was employed as a proxy for dispersal. This was useful as it enabled comparison of new refugees who were dispersed at the baseline survey (i.e. those living in NASS) with those new refugees who were not dispersed and chose to live with family/friends or in other accommodation.

Mobility: In terms of mobility, the key variables employed were those questions relating to whether a refugee has moved town or city. This question was asked at the 8 month and 15 month surveys and indicates whether a refugee moved town or city since their grant of status at the baseline (8 month survey) or in the last six months (at 15 month survey). These questions indicate the mobility of new refugees, but there is no indication of geography (i.e. where refugees moved on to). Unfortunately, this mobility question was not asked in the 21 month survey follow-up. The specific questions asked were:

- 8 month survey question: How many times have you moved town or city since time of grant?
- 15 month survey question: In total, how many times have you moved to a different town or city in the past 6 months?

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[7] When UK dispersal began in 2000, accommodation and subsistence was provided by the National Asylum Support Service (NASS). The UK Border Agency (UKBA) subsequently took over the administration of the asylum seeker dispersal programme.

The number of times refugees had moved town or city can be counted, with categories identifying no moves, one move or two plus moves over time. Different types of mover were identified for subsequent analysis: first, 'early movers' were those who moved at 8 months but not again; second, there were 'late movers', those refugees who moved at 15 months but not in the initial 8 month survey; and finally, the 'multiple movers', refugees who recorded moving town or city in the 8 and 15 month surveys.

Quantitative data analysis

Analysis of the SNR included chi square analysis and binary logistic regression.

Chi square analysis was employed to examine interactions between the categorical variables in the datasets. A chi-square test compares the observed, cross-tabulated data to a model that distributes the data according to the expectation that the variables are independent. When the observed data does not fit the constructed model, the likelihood that the variables are dependent becomes stronger. This disproves the null hypothesis and the assumption that the variables are independent. A chi square test therefore indicates when a statistically significant relationship or correlation exists between the categorical variables, but importantly it does not indicate the direction of the relationship or causation.

Binary logistic regression was employed to explore the association between dispersal policy and refugee integration and the association between mobility and refugee integration. This method models the relationship between a dependent variable (outcome variable) and one or more independent variables (predictor variables). Logistic regression estimates the likelihood of an event occurring by calculating coefficients that predict the change in the dependent variable for one unit change in the independent variable. The exponentiation of the B coefficient (Exp (B)) is the change in the odds ratio associated with a one-unit change in the predictor variable. In the analysis, statistically significant results are presented at the level when $p < 0.05$.

By way of summary, the following key research questions are addressed by the chi square analysis and statistical modelling:

- What is the association between being dispersed and the integration outcomes of new refugees?
- What factors predict the likelihood that a new refugee in the UK will move on from their town/city at 8 or 15 months after grant of status? For example, are new refugees who were dispersed as asylum seekers more likely to be movers or stayers?
- What factors predict the likelihood that new refugees in the UK will have positive integration outcomes (e.g. be employed and have good physical/emotional health)?
- When controlling for the effect of dispersal policy, is there an association between mobility (i.e. being a refugee mover or stayer) and refugee integration outcomes?

For the chi square analysis, several variables in the SNR were cross-tabulated with accommodation (proxy variable for dispersal) to explore the relationship between dispersal policy and refugee integration. Although limited, these variables provide information on integration outcomes in several important areas [Ager and Strang, 2008] including:

- employment indicators (i.e. job/no job; temporary/permanent work; voluntary/no voluntary work);

- health indicators (i.e. bothered by emotional problems; general health);
- social networks (i.e. contact with friends/family; contact with ethnic group; contact with religious organisations); and
- facilitators (i.e. English language ability including speaking, reading and writing; victim of physical/verbal attack).

Regression modelling was employed to examine mobility and integration outcomes (see Table 3). In the analysis, the models examine dichotomous outcome variables, including whether a refugee has migrated or not (stayer/mover), as well as several integration variables related to employment and health outcomes. As such, binary logistic regression modelling was used (Hosmer and Lemeshow, 2000) to examine the associations of various predictor variables, such as being dispersed, with refugee mobility and integration outcomes while controlling for the social and demographic characteristics of individuals. First, models were used to predict refugees' onward migration by identifying which socio-demographic factors increase the odds of new refugees moving town or city. Second, having explored the relationship between dispersal policy and refugee integration (see chi square analysis above), the next step in the quantitative analysis was to examine whether mobility (when controlling for dispersal policy) is associated with integration outcomes. Several integration outcomes were identified, including employment and health issues. This analysis employed migrant 'types', which identified different types of mover amongst new refugees in the SNR. This includes 'stayers' (who do not move town/city either at 8 or 15 months); 'early movers' (who move at 8 months but not again); 'late movers' (who move at 15 months but not in the initial 8 month survey); and finally 'multiple movers' (who record moving town or city in the 8 and 15 month surveys). By controlling for a number of baseline variables[8] and the impact of dispersal policy, the aim of the analysis was to examine whether moving town or city (irrespective of whether new refugees are dispersed) is associated with integration outcomes. In the findings sections below, results from the modelling are summarised in the text, with detailed models and statistical information presented for reference in the appendix.

Table 3: Description of logistic regression modelling

1. Refugee onward migration	
Outcome variable	Predictor variables
Likelihood of moving town/city versus not moving town/city at 8 or 15 months follow-up survey	Gender, partner status, country of origin, time in UK, qualifications before entering UK, speaking/reading English, region of residence in UK, accommodation at baseline (proxy for dispersal), meeting relatives not in household, limited by physical/emotional health problems

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[8] Variables were selected for the models based upon existing literature. Studies on internal migration identify the importance of gender, age, ethnicity and the role of children in predicting those most likely to migrate (Champion, 1992; Cooke, 2008; Finney and Catney, 2012; Finney and Simpson, 2008; Mulder and Cooke, 2009). Limited studies on refugee onward migration similarly point to the role of gender and children (Sim, 2015; Spicer, 2008; Stewart, 2012). Existing literature also identifies several factors that are important in predicting integration outcomes for refugees, including country of origin, time in the UK, religion, qualifications before entering the UK and English language ability (Cebulla et al., 2010; Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). As such, the variables controlled for in the respective models include gender, age, partner, children, country of origin, region, accommodation (proxy for dispersal), time in the UK, religion, qualifications before entering the UK (employment models) and speaking English (employment models).

2. Refugee integration outcomes	
Outcome variables	Predictor variables
Likelihood of having a job in the UK versus having no job in the UK Likelihood of being in permanent employment versus temporary employment Likelihood of being limited by emotional/physical problems versus not being limited by such problems Likelihood of being bothered by emotional problems versus not being bothered by emotional problems Likelihood of having contact with national/ethnic community versus having no contact with such groups	Accommodation at baseline (proxy for dispersal) Migrant status – stayer, early mover, late mover, multiple mover Interaction between accommodation and migrant status

In-depth interviews

Detailed migration histories were collected from 83 refugees living in the UK and explored issues including arrival in the UK, experiences of the dispersal process, opinions and experiences of place, integration and citizenship. It has been noted that people tend to construct their histories so that history and place fit together, with the story legitimising their choice of residence [Hjalm, 2014]. While it is difficult to determine which factors directly influence refugee mobility or whether these were identified after the move, we have aimed to critically reflect on how refugees narrate their stories of onward migration by examining motivations within the context of detailed migration timelines.

One-third of the sample was recruited through snowballing techniques, with the rest recruited through Refugee Councils, Refugee Action and several different refugee community organisations [RCOs]. Interviews typically lasted one to two hours and were transcribed verbatim with pseudonyms employed. Around half of the interviews were conducted in English, while the remainder of the sample required an interpreter or some assistance with English. The sample consisted of 19 different nationalities, including the top source countries of asylum applicants in the UK [Iran, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Iraq and Zimbabwe]. No asylum seekers were interviewed for this project. Individuals who had been granted refugee status, humanitarian protection status or currently held British citizenship[9] were included in the sample. A summary of the socio-demographic profile of the interview sample is included in Table 4. Important information regarding the mobility history of interviewees is listed in Table 5. Detailed information for each interview case is included in the appendix [Table A1].

Table 4: Socio-demographic characteristics of interview sample (n=83)

	n	% of total
Gender		
Male	44	53
Female	39	47
Age		
Under 35 years	40	48
35 years +	43	52

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[9] In the interview sample there was one Gateway refugee and two legacy cases, both of whom are now UK citizens.

Marital status		
Married/relationship	50	60
Single	17	21
Separated/divorced	14	17
Widowed	2	2
Have children under 18		
Yes	53	64
No	30	36
Dependent children in UK (n=53)		
Yes	36	68
No	17	32
Religion		
Muslim	47	57
Christian	24	29
Other	12	14
Formal education before entering UK		
None	5	6
Up to 10 years	18	22
10–15 years	40	48
16 or more years	20	24
Qualification/training before entering UK		
University degree/Higher degree	31	37
Skilled occupational training	10	12
High school diploma	12	14

Source: In-depth interview sample (2013–14)

Table 5: Mobility history of interview sample (n=83)

	n	% of total
Arrival in UK		
Before 2005	16	19
Between 2005 and 2010	24	29
Since 2010	43	52
Time to refugee status		
Within one month	22	27
Within 6 months	22	26
Within 12 months	9	11
Within 5 years	21	25
5+ years	9	11

Current city of residence		
Glasgow	20	24
Cardiff	21	25
Manchester	19	23
London	19	23
Elsewhere	4	5
Onward migration from dispersal location		
Movers	34	41
Stayers	49	59

Source: In-depth interview sample [2013-14]

The report which follows presents our data in themed subsections. Section 3 focuses on the geography of refugee onward migration by mapping patterns and exploring variations in onward flows from the four case study cities in the UK. This is based upon quantitative data from the RIES databases, analysis of the SNR and findings from the in-depth interviews. The rest of the report presents our data findings. Section 4 is divided into six different subsections examining the interconnections between refugee onward migration and refugee integration. The introductory subsection explores the factors that can explain refugee onward migration in the UK. It draws on statistical data from the SNR and is contextualised through the use of three different interview case studies. This discussion provides the framework for the remaining five themed subsections addressing ethnic and local communities, education, housing, racism and discrimination, and health. In the analysis, we address key questions such as uncovering whether refugees move on from dispersal sites after being granted status, understanding where refugees migrate to as well as examining what factors encourage refugees either to stay or to move on from dispersal sites. We consider the implications of the decision to stay or onward migrate for the long-term integration outcomes of refugees.

3. Geography of onward migration

Documenting and mapping onward migration

In the SNR analysis, the number of times refugees had moved town or city was cross-tabulated with accommodation at the baseline survey to compare the mobility of refugees who were dispersed with the rest of the SNR sample (i.e. refugees not dispersed) (Table 6). By considering discrete time periods, it was evident that dispersed refugees were more mobile in the initial 8 months, with 56 per cent moving at least once compared with 30 per cent in the rest of the sample. Interestingly, there was less difference between the two groups at 15 months. When considering total moves over the two time periods (8 and 15 months), the data demonstrate that dispersed refugees were more likely to move once (33 per cent), and to move more than once (33 per cent), compared with the rest of the SNR sample. Overall, 66 per cent of dispersed refugees had moved town or city while 42 per cent of non-dispersed refugees moved town or city. Refugees who are not part of dispersal policy are therefore more likely to be stayers.

Table 6: Total number of moves at 8 months, 15 months and over 8–15 months

	8 months (N=1456)		15 months (N=853)		8 and 15 months (N=752)	
	Dispersed refugees N=692	Rest of SNR sample N=764	Dispersed refugees N=469	Rest of SNR sample N=384	Dispersed refugees N=425	Rest of SNR sample N=327
No moves	44%	70%	78%	85%	34%	58%
One move	36%	20%	15%	9%	33%	22%
2+ moves	20%	10%	7%	6%	33%	20%

Source: SNR (2005–09)

Table 7: Migrant 'types' over 8 and 15 months (N=752)

	Dispersed refugees N=425	Rest of SNR sample N=327
Stayer	34%	58%
Early mover	44%	28%
Late mover	9%	9%
Multiple mover	13%	5%

Source: SNR (2005–09)

Different types of mover were identified for subsequent analysis (Table 7): first, there were 'early movers' who moved at 8 months but not again; second, there were 'late movers', those refugees who moved at 15 months but not in the initial 8 month survey; and finally, there were 'multiple movers', refugees who recorded moving town or city in both the 8 and 15 month surveys. Again, refugees who were part of the dispersal programme are more likely to move and move multiple times when compared with the rest of the sample. Dispersed refugees were also more mobile in the initial 8 months, i.e. were early movers (44 per cent), but there was no difference between the late movers (9 per cent). We could assume that, by 15 months, post-status refugees had migrated to their destination of choice and so the effect of dispersal policy was no longer as strong. Overall, and unsurprisingly, there was evidence that refugees who are dispersed as asylum seekers have higher levels of mobility than other new refugees, particularly in the initial 8 months after grant of status. Given that

dispersal policy operates on a no-choice basis, it would be expected that individuals move when able to do so. Nevertheless, given the implementation of the local connection rule since 2004 (to be discussed more later), high levels of mobility in the initial 8 month period may be accompanied by periods of homelessness and/or housing instability.

Further evidence from the RIES databases suggests there are a growing number of refugees choosing to stay in UK dispersal sites. General mobility patterns were examined for each case study city in the RIES data by comparing the first and current local authority of each refugee client. In Glasgow, some 68 per cent of refugees remained in the city, while 82 per cent stayed in the Greater Manchester area (Table 8). Examining mobility within the Greater Manchester area in more detail, it is clear that refugees did not engage in a high amount of internal mobility and there was a high incidence of staying. Table 9 indicates that refugees tended to remain in their initial allocated dispersal site.

Table 8: Refugee onward migration recorded in Glasgow and Manchester RIES databases[10]

	Glasgow (N=1163)		Manchester (N=2050)	
Stayer	789 (68%)		1691 (82%)	
Mover	216	(32%)	138	(18%)
Mover (unknown location)	158		221	
Unknown	100		60	

Source: RIES (2008–11)

Table 9: Percentage of refugees remaining within Greater Manchester dispersal locations (N=1993)

Client borough	Total refugees at time of referral	No/% of stayers
Manchester	550	495 (90%)
Salford	333	274 (82%)
Bolton	228	160 (70%)
Bury	122	91 (75%)
Blackburn/Darwen	140	111 (79%)
Wigan and Leigh	190	134 (71%)
Rochdale	86	55 (64%)
Oldham	226	165 (73%)
Stockport	52	45 (87%)
Tameside	33	22 (67%)
Trafford	33	29 (88%)

Source: RIES (2008–11)

The geography of 'movers' is represented in the figures below. Data on the geography of mobility is available only for 216 movers from Glasgow and 138 movers from Manchester. In the remaining cases of movers, there is data to indicate movement away from the dispersal

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[10] The databases include small numbers of refugee clients who were located outside Glasgow or Greater Manchester at the time of referral to RIES services. These individuals have been recorded as 'movers' in the analysis due to their subsequent onward movement into the case study cities. This explains the discrepancy in the total sample figures between Tables 8 and 9.

location; however, the final destination is unknown (158 individuals in Glasgow and 221 individuals originally from Manchester). This data is not included in the maps. The mapping analysis of RIES data demonstrates the diverse locations that refugees decided to move on to from dispersal sites (Figure 1 and Figure 2). There are multiple and diverse locations, with no apparent main destination of choice among the samples. A further interesting feature of the Glasgow and Manchester maps is the lack of movement to London. Indeed, only 4 per cent of the Glasgow sample and 2 per cent of the Manchester sample were recorded as officially moving to London. Existing research and anecdotal evidence suggests movement of refugees towards large cities such as Birmingham, London and Manchester (Robinson, 2003a). While London and Birmingham do not feature strongly in these limited datasets, there is evidence of Manchester being a strong magnet for new refugees, as discussed in greater detail below.

Figure 1: Refugee onward migration: Glasgow
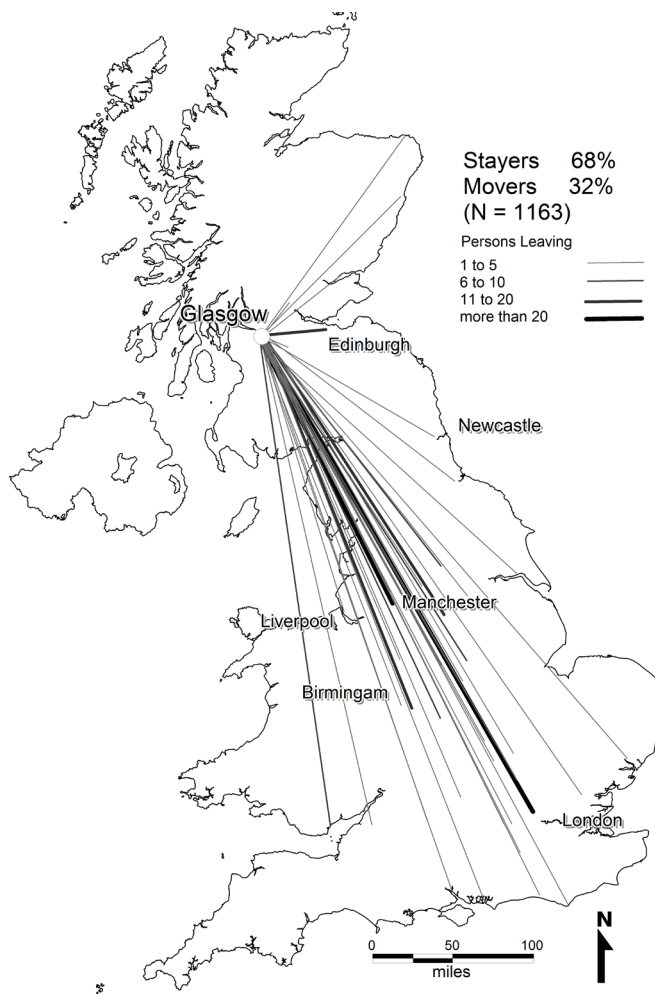
Source: RIES (2008–11)

Figure 2: Refugee onward migration: Manchester
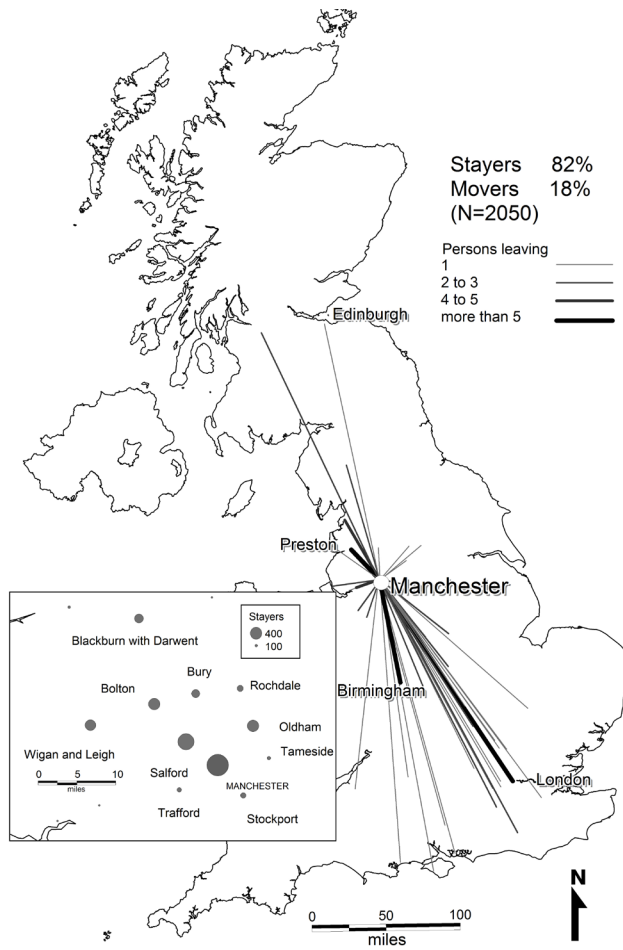
Source: RIES (2008–11)

The London RIES database is different in that refugees are not dispersed to the city. Nevertheless, mobility can be recorded in the same way as above (i.e. by comparing first and current local authority). Some 93 per cent of the total sample remained within London, and 73 per cent stayed within the same London borough (Table 10). Only 2 per cent of the sample moved out from London and only 5 per cent of the sample came to London from elsewhere, although it should be noted that the RIES database only records refugee clients that registered and accessed services. It is very likely that refugees have moved from other parts of the UK to London but were not officially recorded in the RIES database.

Table 10: Refugee onward migration in London (N=1885)

Stayer (within same London borough)	1379 (73%)
Moved within London	371 (20%)
Moved to London (from elsewhere in UK)	103 (5%)
Moved out of London	30 (2%)
Moved within England	2 (1%)
Unknown	181

Source: RIES (2008–11)

The patterns of mobility observed for each of the different cities are explored in more detail below. In particular, there is consideration of why refugees may have decided to stay in Glasgow, while a number still made the decision to leave. The growing popularity of Manchester is then examined as a destination for refugees and a place where refugees decided to stay after being granted refugee status. The reasons for migration to London are explored, but with attention as to why these migration flows may not necessarily result in permanent settlement. In the discussion, findings are included from the SNR as well as the in-depth interviews conducted with refugees in the four UK cities.

Glasgow and Cardiff: growing ethnic diversity but 'no jobs'

Now well into its second decade, dispersal policy has significantly modified the face of UK cities. Ethnic communities have established over time in the four case study cities, making those sites increasingly attractive destinations for new refugees (Sim, 2015; Stewart, 2012). Consider Cardiff in the first instance and the story of Sofia. As a Somali refugee with four children living in a predominantly Welsh suburb of Cardiff, she struggled in her early days with living in the community. As part of the only black Muslim family in town, her children were picked on in school and Sofia perceived people watching her in public as they adjusted to their presence. She said:

'I am the first black and I am the [first] person living in that area having hijab, first time we have little bit racism, my children. My daughter everybody say, 'You are dirty, you don't wash your body' … We have very difficult time but now we love together … [There is] more tolerance.' [Source: Sofia]

Like other refugee women, Sofia experienced problems as a result of wearing traditional Islamic dress and feeling visibly different (Phillimore, 2010). Nevertheless, Sofia stayed in her town and, over time, the family felt accepted as the local community became accustomed to growing diversity.

Take Glasgow as another example. Several interviewees noted the city's transformation over the years from being predominantly British (i.e. white) to increasingly ethnically diverse. Nikki was a Zimbabwean asylum seeker dispersed to Glasgow while still a child in the early years of the policy. The only black student in her school, she was bullied and isolated but decided to stay in Scotland. Nikki describes Glasgow when she arrived and the attitudinal changes she has observed more than ten years later:

'If you look at the period that I came, that was really a time where there weren't many [asylum seekers] … The Home Office was now starting to bring people over to Scotland, but we were one of the few people. You would go in to the street and you were like, 'I haven't seen a black person the whole day today' … People's attitudes have changed. It [dispersal policy] changes people's attitudes … It has been quite beneficial that you get other foreigners coming over because it changes people's attitude. I think you integrate with other people. You don't know why but when you get to know them then you start to change as well.' [Source: Nikki]

Dispersal policy has impacted on the communities that host new refugees with changes in attitudes and behaviours observed by refugees in Cardiff and Glasgow as residents have adjusted. This is not to say that all refugees have been embraced – there is evidence of racism and discrimination across all research sites, which will be discussed more later – but Sofia, Nikki and others have witnessed a shift in Cardiff and Glasgow's ethnic diversity as a result of dispersal policy (Sim, 2015), which has positively impacted on their decision

to stay. Consider a similar comment voiced by Samuel, an Ethiopian who also decided to remain in Glasgow: 'I think the people also are getting used to this inflow of different colour … I am thinking that Glasgow is now opening up for everybody.' The implications of these experiences cannot be overstated; Glasgow's multicultural growth provides new asylum seekers with comfort, familiarity and helps them to feel welcome. Nevertheless, while these gradual changes may entice refugees to stay in Glasgow, the city's transformation remains incomplete for others who have left or consider leaving.

Despite positive changes in ethnic diversity, a key issue noted in both Glasgow and Cardiff was limited employment opportunities. A perceived lack of jobs was a primary motivation for onward migration by interviewees who had moved or were contemplating moving. While several refugees had faced problems in gaining employment, the perception of few available jobs was often [re]told among communities, with refugees basing migration decisions on anecdotal information rather than direct, personal experiences. Take the case of Selam, an Eritrean woman who was dispersed to Glasgow in 2013 and planned to leave for Manchester shortly after vacating her NASS accommodation. She said, 'They [friends] say Manchester is good. I like Glasgow but … there is no job.' Selam indicated that a lack of friends in Glasgow made it difficult to find a job:

'If you have friends here, in Glasgow, I would be staying with them and they would be working and they would try for me working. So [I can] stay with friends and work, if I have friends here, but I don't have. I don't have friends who can find a job for me.' [Source: Selam]

Selam relies on friends to search for employment on her behalf, and the decision to move to Manchester is based on promises made by friends there to find her a job. Despite having not yet entered the labour market, Sara, another Eritrean woman recently dispersed to Glasgow, repeated the same 'lack of jobs' narrative, citing opportunities elsewhere:

'There are no jobs here. All the people that are leaving, they couldn't find a job. It's true. Because there were friends here, they looked for a job and couldn't find and they left. Three, four months [they searched] … [There are jobs in] Sheffield, Newcastle, Manchester. If I find job, I'm going to stay here. If I not find, what can I do? They say Glasgow is beautiful and nice place, but just there is no job.' [Source: Sara]

Dyako, a single Iranian male who was dispersed to Cardiff, planned to move to England and also noted a lack of jobs:

'I think about leaving Cardiff because most of my friends are in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds. Also jobs in Cardiff are not good. My friends say the health system is very good there [in England]. They say everything is better in England. Housing, health care, job opportunities, everything is better. They moved to England and found a better life.' [Source: Dyako]

Manchester: the 'new' London?
Adding to the discussion above on ethnic diversity, Nouri, a Sudanese man dispersed to Glasgow at the end of 2011, explained that he may leave the city and noted a lack of diversity when compared to Manchester:

'[In Manchester] I found all the people on the bus were from different countries. That means that is multicultural area, and you can find just maybe three or five English people on the bus. But here [Glasgow], you can find just yourself and a few strangers in the bus. Down in England, I think people are more experienced dealing with different cultures or different people who come from outside, rather than here.' [Source: Nouri]

Nouri and other interviewees indicated that Manchester had become a preferred destination for refugees. The ethnic composition of the city has diversified more rapidly over the years, creating an appealing alternative to London for its perceived employment opportunities, ethnic communities, lower cost of living and resources. Amanda, a refugee from Zimbabwe, had left her dispersal site in Glasgow and moved to Manchester. Here she compares the two cities:

'At that time there weren't so many black people [in Glasgow]. This thing had just started where they were shipping everyone to Glasgow, and they were starting to get to see all these different people coming in to their place. It wasn't like here where it's almost like everyone's here, like every single country is in Manchester.' [Source: Amanda]

The positive changes in Manchester were also noted by Rodrick, a refugee from Zimbabwe:

'I think Manchester is moving towards cosmopolitan kind of situation, just like in London. Me, I'm part of that ... On the whole, London integrates better because of their history with immigrants ... While Manchester comes in second, they are moving towards that direction. It is a process, and we have to be patient.' [Source: Rodrick]

Rodrick and his family were dispersed to Manchester after living several years in London before claiming asylum. They wanted to return to London but decided to stay in Manchester. Interestingly, Rodrick recognised the role that dispersal policy has played in changing the face of UK cities when stating 'I'm part of that'. Overall, refugees' decisions to stay or move on are influenced by perceived and real changes in dispersal sites which includes how dispersal policy has led to changes in ethnic composition and diversity.

London: high expectations

The research found that positive stories about London most commonly pull refugees to the city, but there is evidence that people may leave after spending time there. Expectations of life in London are often high with perceived job opportunities and facilities, but realities can leave refugees feeling unsatisfied. The size of London can be overwhelming, and perhaps surprisingly can make refugees feel isolated and lonely [Christodoulou, 2014]. Learning about public transportation and managing the pace of life in the city, in tandem with the cost of living in London, encourages some people to leave in search of a balance between large and smaller cities [Krahn *et al.*, 2005].

Mohammad aspired to live in London on his arrival from Iran, only to be dispersed to Bristol after spending some time in Cardiff. Mohammad finally went to London, but since his wife and children had arrived, a lack of accommodation in the city was pushing him to consider returning to Bristol. His image of London as the ideal centre for his political activities had become secondary to his need to provide a secure home for his family:

'I was thinking I would be able to stay in London because I love London, the diversity. London is a big scene of political activities ... so I was to some extent disappointed when I was sent to Cardiff and then to Bristol ... I don't know which one would be better for me, to stay in London or go outside, but if the [local] authority offered me accommodation in Bristol or somewhere else, I'm going there straightaway because I really had a bad experience in London.' [Source: Mohammad]

Negative experiences in London, combined with family commitments and life stage, have therefore led to new priorities for Mohammad. Consider also the case of Adam, a single male

from Sudan, who had left his dispersal site in Glasgow and moved to London at his friends' and relatives' nudging:

'I had no interest to stay in Glasgow because of the weather and even now I'm currently in London but I'm looking to go somewhere else. I don't like London as well. London is very overcrowded, very busy … I just came because of my friends. At first I was planning to move to London, but slowly, gradually I find out that living in London is very expensive and London is very busy and it's not a good place for me to stay. That's why I changed my mind and I'm wishing to go somewhere else.' [Source: Adam]

Adam had experienced a different reality to that which he had initially expected in London and so planned to move on, which was relatively easy given he was single with no family commitments. This is often not the case for refugees who have partners and/or dependents, who can feel trapped and unable to change their mobility decisions.

Time in dispersal sites: becoming connected?

Alongside the (perceived) characteristics of cities identified by refugees, spending extended periods of time in one location enables refugees to develop a meaningful connection to place (Kearns and Whitley, 2015), which can influence onward migration plans. Pomegranate, a widow who came to the UK from Iraq and was dispersed to Glasgow with her young son, had a complicated asylum case and waited five years before receiving her status. During that time, Pomegranate studied English and dedicated her energy to volunteering, serving as an interpreter and caseworker and generally assisting asylum seekers and refugees. She remarried, this time to another refugee living in Glasgow who had several family members in the city, had another child and remained active in several Glasgow community organisations. Pomegranate's investment in her adopted city cultivated her love for Scotland, the place she called home: 'I like everything [about Glasgow]. Sounds like I am born in here which surprised me because I am used to people, I am used to place, I am used to every single thing in here.'

While Pomegranate never aspired to onward migrate, several interviewees revealed plans to move from their dispersal site but decided to stay once they had had time to settle. Goitom, a refugee from Eritrea, was an example of someone who planned to leave Glasgow, where he had been dispersed, after receiving his status but decided to stay when a delay with his National Insurance number kept him in the city. Like many Eritreans dispersed to Glasgow, the weather and distance from London motivated Goitom's desire to move south with friends. Nevertheless, over the course of several months, Goitom established a connection to the city and people by attending college and taking time to explore what Glasgow had to offer. A perceived lack of jobs, however, remained problematic and could potentially push him out of Glasgow:

'That time I start to like it in Glasgow and got used to it. I've already been five years now … If I can settle here, I don't think I can go and live in other place. I used to Glasgow. I feel at home here, I used to the place. Only thing is there is no work here, no jobs.' [Source: Goitom]

Reasons for staying in a particular location are tied to familiarity, to the comfort people feel once they become accustomed to and develop a connection to the dispersal site. For refugees who struggle in the aftermath of fleeing their home country, moving again and going through the process of learning about a new place and making friends can be too much to bear (Robinson *et al.*, 2007). Specifically, there are examples of refugees who contemplated but ultimately decided against moving to London after developing local

connections over time. Maya, a refugee from Sudan, had previously spent time in London and assumed she would live in the city after applying for asylum. She was dispersed to Cardiff and had developed relationships strong enough to keep her in the city by the time she received her refugee status one year later. Maya took comfort in the familiarity of Cardiff and did not feel she could start over again:

'It's funny how I used to say when I was an asylum seeker, as soon as I get my papers I'm not staying in Cardiff, I'm going back to London because to me London is my home. I've got my friends over there. After I got my refugee status, I don't know what made me stay in Cardiff at that point, but now looking at it I think it's the friends, it's the life that I've started already in Cardiff even though it was unintentional. It was me that was put in that place, but I found myself used to it, like it's home. I do miss London, I love London … but I come back home. I feel like it's home now. Cardiff is home, I've got my friends like small family.' [Source: Maya]

Interviewees often described their attachment to place that developed over time as a 'feeling', a sense of comfort, familiarity and belonging that is difficult to articulate. Abdi and his family, who were dispersed to Cardiff after arriving in the UK from Syria, similarly developed a bond with the city:

'I feel as if it is my own city, because I visited other cities but I couldn't feel the same feeling, maybe because I lived in Cardiff for a long time. We [are] used to live in Cardiff because we based something here. In case you turn to another city you have to start from the beginning, so it would be difficult.' [Source: Abdi]

Summary

Overall, in the interviews, refugees mentioned general characteristics of the four cities that had influenced their desire to stay or move on. It was found that some aspects can both encourage refugees to stay or to move on from dispersal locations, with several factors noted equally across the different dispersal sites. For example, discrimination and racism was noted in all four cities, perhaps suggesting a commonality of experience among asylum seekers and refugees, regardless of specific location. The scale of mobility also varied in relation to some factors. For example, issues with certain neighbourhoods or accommodation encouraged movement to different parts of a city but not necessarily to another city.

Having explored specific topics in relation to cities, the report now turns its attention to thematic sections and factors connecting refugee onward migration and integration.

4. Onward migration and refugee integration

Key trends in onward migration

Existing literature suggests that multiple factors influence refugees' onward migration decisions, including gender and the role of children, which resonates with existing knowledge on immigrants' and ethnic minority populations' internal migration (Bailey, 2008; Mulder and Cooke, 2009). One striking pattern that emerged from basic cross-tabulation of RIES and SNR data is variation in onward flows by nationality. RIES analysis demonstrates that a higher proportion of Eritreans move compared with other nationality groups, followed by Iranian and Somali refugees (Table 11). By contrast, a higher proportion of Zimbabweans and Sudanese stay compared with the other top five nationality groups.

Table 11: Cross-tabulation of refugee mobility and country of origin in Glasgow (N=1287) and Manchester (N=2050)

Glasgow	Stayer	Mover	Unknown
Eritrea	128 (60%)	85 (40%)	12
Iran	168 (66%)	85 (34%)	28
Somalia	86 (67%)	42 (33%)	11
Zimbabwe	177 (72%)	69 (28%)	61
Sudan	90 (87%)	13 (13%)	6
Other	249 (72%)	95 (28%)	32
Manchester			
Eritrea	250 (65%)	135 (35%)	10
Somalia	136 (76%)	35 (24%)	4
Iran	257 (80%)	65 (20%)	4
Sudan	99 (82%)	21 (18%)	1
Zimbabwe	274 (84%)	51 (16%)	26
Other	580 (80%)	147 (20%)	15

Source: RIES (2008–11)

In the SNR analysis, a three-way cross-tabulation of country of origin, accommodation (proxy for dispersal) and movement from town/city (recorded at 8 and 15 months) was carried out (Table 12). Again, Eritreans appear to be much more likely to move town or city at 8 months (65 per cent) when compared with the other nationalities, a difference which is statistically significant. By contrast, only 32 per cent of Zimbabwean refugees move at 8 months. At 15 months, there does not appear to be great variation between nationalities; there is no statistically significant difference. A slightly higher proportion of Somalis (32 per cent) and Iraqis (27 per cent) were movers when compared to the other nationality groups.

Logistic regression modelling (see Table A2), which examined the likelihood of new refugees moving town or city at 8 months after being granted status, found a number of important variables in predicting mobility. Again, the analysis found a tendency amongst Eritrean refugees to move on when compared with other top nationality groups in the sample. Alongside nationality, single men were found to be more likely to move on, with

time in the UK reducing the likelihood of moving town/city. Living in a region of the UK as opposed to London also increased the odds of moving town/city. Unsurprisingly, those living with friends and family are more likely to stay when compared with those living in NASS accommodation at the baseline survey. Those with no qualifications before entering the UK and lower levels of English language ability also seem more likely to move town or city. Basic cross-tabulation of onward migration and socio-demographic factors among the interview sample also points to some similar patterns to the SNR [Table 13]. Findings show that there is a statistically significant difference between men and women, with men more likely to be movers. Among the refugee stayers, there are slightly more individuals that are either living with their partner and/or children in the UK. Waiting a shorter time to be granted status does seem to increase mobility, with more refugee stayers stating that they waited up to five years to be granted status. Curiously, however, those refugees who arrived in the UK after 2005 seem to be more likely to stay. This may be due to legal constraints such as the local connection rule or financial constraints facing refugees since the economic crisis.

Table 12: Cross-tabulation of refugee mobility[11] and country of origin at 8 months (N=691) and 15 months (N=466)

	8 months		15 months	
Country of origin	Stayer	Mover	Stayer	Mover
Eritrea	85 [35%]	157 [65%]	154 [81%]	36 [19%]
Somalia	44 [53%]	39 [47%]	56 [68%]	26 [32%]
Iraq	17 [45%]	21 [55%]	19 [73%]	7 [27%]
Iran	20 [41%]	29 [59%]	19 [83%]	4 [17%]
Zimbabwe	23 [68%]	11 [32%]	9 [82%]	2 [18%]
Other	112 [46%]	133 [54%]	106 [79%]	28 [21%]
Chi square: 18.679, p=0.002, df=5 [8 months] Chi square: 6.351, p=0.274, df=5 [15 months]				

Source: SNR [2005–09]

Table 13: Cross-tabulation of onward migration and socio-demographics of in-depth interview sample (n=83)

	Mobility in UK	
Gender	Stayer	Mover
Female	31 [79%]	8 [21%]
Male	18 [41%]	26 [59%]
Age		
18-34 years	27 [68%]	13 [32%]
35+ years	22 [51%]	21 [49%]
Marital status		
Single	10 [59%]	7 [41%]
Married/Relationship	29 [58%]	21 [42%]
Other[12]	10 [63%]	6 [27%]

[11] Data is only presented for refugees living in NASS accommodation at the baseline survey, i.e. those part of dispersal policy.
[12] Including Divorced/Widowed/Separated.

Partner/Spouse in UK		
No	33 [58%]	24 [42%]
Yes	16 [62%]	10 [38%]
Children in UK		
No	8 [47%]	9 [53%]
Yes	21 [58%]	15 [42%]
Religion		
Christian	17 [71%]	7 [29%]
Muslim	28 [60%]	19 [40%]
Other	4 [33%]	8 [67%]
Education before entering UK		
No qualifications	16 [53%]	14 [47%]
High school	2 [67%]	1 [33%]
Higher education	19 [66%]	10 [34%]
Time to status		
Within one month	10 [45%]	12 [55%]
Within one year	20 [65%]	11 [35%]
Within 5 years	15 [71%]	6 [29%]
5+ years	4 [44%]	5 [56%]
Arrival in UK[13]		
Before 2005	8 [40%]	12 [60%]
After 2005	41 [65%]	22 [35%]

Source: In-depth interview sample [2013–14]

In summary, below are key trends in refugee onward migration:

- Higher levels of onward migration amongst Eritrean refugees, single men and refugees who have been accommodated in NASS housing (i.e. those dispersed).
- Refugee stayers more likely to be living with their partner and/or children in the UK and to have waited longer to be granted refugee status.
- Refugees with no qualifications and lower levels of English language ability more likely to move town or city.

The importance of the socio-demographic profile of refugees and how this impacts on onward migration outcomes will now be explored further in the following thematic sections, with particular focus on the in-depth interview sample.

Onward migration case studies

Overall, the research found that multiple factors influence the onward migration decisions of refugees, which also impacts upon integration outcomes. By means of introduction and to illustrate how several factors inform individuals' decisions, three case studies are described

[13] Time of arrival was examined to explore the potential impact of the general economic climate on refugee onward migration (i.e. the economic recession).

below. One story is presented for each dispersal city, with an accompanying figure in the appendix to demonstrate the complexity of mobility decisions within and between UK cities.[14]

Wales: Omar

Omar and his family had been dispersed to Swansea, a city he loved and where he wanted to stay, but subsequently moved to London for the sake of his wife's mental health. She struggled to make friends and feel settled in Wales. Omar thought that living near their co-ethnic community in London would help her, and that the city would provide Omar with employment opportunities that were not available in Swansea. After several months in London, Omar's wife learned English, made friends, and established herself in the city. This demonstrates that moving onward from the dispersal location was beneficial for the health outcomes of the family. Nevertheless, once the family felt settled in the UK, and Omar's wife felt more comfortable in the country, they wanted to return to Wales. They have faced difficulties with housing, employment and schools for the children in London, and even Omar's educational trajectory suffered. High expectations of life in the city had not been met for the family, and they believed that the quiet and peaceful area where they had lived in Swansea was superior to the fast pace of London. The problem with returning to Wales, however, was housing. The family had experienced problems with accommodation when they arrived in London, including homelessness, as a result of the local connection rule. Omar explained:

'When I came here [to London] and I went to the housing, they refused to give me any accommodation because they told me I'm intentionally homeless ... You know the problem now if I go to Swansea and I leave the temporary accommodation, I will get another problem. The housing in Swansea will consider me as intentionally homeless so I must get my permanent accommodation in London and then I can swap and go there.' [Source: Omar]

Once they had a London home, the local connection rule prevented Omar and his family from leaving. While moving away from their dispersal location was initially beneficial for the family's integration, there had been problems in the long-term. Mental health issues, family issues and the desire to join an existing community had prompted their move to London (Figure A1). Following the initial move, additional issues continued to impact on the family's subsequent desired mobility and integration outcomes.

North West: Rodrick

Positive changes in Manchester encouraged Rodrick and his family to stay in the city where they had been dispersed, despite an initial desire to return to London where they had lived several years prior to applying for asylum. In addition to amenities and growing multiculturalism in Manchester, Rodrick had found the lower cost of living (compared with London) an appealing incentive to stay. Rodrick explained how studying at university enabled him to make social connections and feel part of the local community. Education had not only enabled him to gain knowledge and skills that were important for future employment but to forge social networks. Rodrick also mentioned his awareness of the local connection rule and that homelessness would occur if his family moved on, but their satisfaction with Manchester had negated this option. Positive experiences within the local community seem to have influenced their desire to stay. First, Rodrick explained that his family had been well received by local residents and they felt part of the community, stating: 'People have time for people where I live. In London, you might not even know your neighbour's name, but here when we moved, they brought cream cakes. All our new neighbours, that's what they do

[14] In the figures, red text boxes indicate which factors have played a role in a refugee's migration decisions.

in Manchester.' Second, Rodrick had been an active volunteer in the local community since applying for asylum. This included volunteering with a local organisation in Manchester and now at a refugee support organisation in the city. Finally, Rodrick and his wife had achieved professional success in the Manchester area, encouraging them to establish permanent roots in the area. While Rodrick's wife had initially wanted to return to her job in London where she had found financial success, over time she had developed a thriving business in Manchester. Their son also attended a good school, which combined with the multitude of other positive factors, had encouraged Rodrick and his family to stay in Manchester (Figure A2).

Scotland: Saada

Saada, a Somali woman who had been dispersed to Glasgow, moved twice from her shared accommodation during her asylum claim because flatmates were pregnant. This was a very unsettling time for her. She was on her own, and relocations removed her from areas that she had become familiar with over time. At the time of her interview, Saada explained that she had considered leaving Glasgow the previous year, but had ultimately decided to stay in the city. She had contemplated changing cities for several reasons. First, and most importantly, was her health. Saada had suffered from chronic depression for 20 years and more recently had developed physical health problems. Her poor health had motivated her desire to move to London, but structural factors prevented her from relocating. Friends warned Saada that she would face a lack of accommodation as a result of the local connection rule. Ongoing health issues would have prevented Saada from staying with friends who have children, as their activities around the house and a lack of privacy would be uncomfortable and exacerbate her problems. The appeal of London was a change of scenery, as Saada observed: 'We [Somalis] believe that if you get sick one place, maybe if you will change another place, maybe you will get better.' She also felt that the warmer weather in London would provide relief for her illnesses, and being in the city would potentially offer better health care access and superior facilities. Health problems had limited Saada's employment prospects in Glasgow, and friends had told her that opportunities for training and subsequent employment were better in England. Finally, and while accepting of racist behaviour towards her, Saada spoke of several negative experiences, particularly on local buses, which may also have contributed to her desire to leave Glasgow. Despite the local connection rule and consequent homelessness Saada would face if she left Glasgow, these factors collectively and continually motivated her desire to onward migrate (Figure A3). Ultimately, Saada planned to move on once she became a citizen, which may involve a larger move to another country (probably in the Middle East).

As illustrated by these case studies, multiple intersecting factors influence onward migration decisions. In order to unpick these themes, we address each key topic in a separate section below. The topics include:

- (co-)ethnic and local communities
- education
- housing
- discrimination and racism
- health

To begin, drawing together the analysis on nationality with the above discussion on city-related factors, we explore explanations for patterns in the interview sample. We pay particular attention to the role of co-ethnic communities in directing onward migration flows of refugees and link this to employment and English language issues.

4.1 (Co-)ethnic and local communities

Employment and pre-existing ethnic communities

As discussed above, the importance of perceived employment opportunities and finding a job was a common theme which ran through the interview transcripts of most refugees who had been dispersed but then subsequently migrated away (or planned to) from peripheral regions such as Glasgow and Cardiff. Employment is key to refugees' successful settlement, although refugees often tend to be under-employed, in poor employment conditions or face structural barriers (Bloch, 2004). Many interviewees, and Eritreans in particular, noted the desire to move to a larger city (such as Manchester or London) because of the presence of social networks as well as potential employment opportunities. We found that the presence of an existing community and potential job opportunities are closely connected, as explained by Merhawe, an Eritrean, in Glasgow:

'There is more chance working there [in England]. If you go where there is a lot of Eritreans ... They can help you and tell you there's a job here. They get somebody to show you how to get a job. But here in Glasgow, we can't just go and find a job. So I've been sitting here and if I go south myself I find a job.' [Source: Merhawe]

Merhawe explains that it is not only the existence of ethnic communities or employment that are important in attracting refugees from dispersal sites, but that co-ethnic communities play a key role in obtaining employment (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014; Healey, 2014). Selam similarly explained her planned move to Manchester in such terms: 'I don't have friends who can find a job for me [in Glasgow] ... In Manchester they said we are going to find for you job.' Selam's use of her Eritrean networks to secure work highlights the importance of co-ethnic communities and also the need for meaningful job training at the outset of the asylum process to facilitate entry to the labour market.

Home Office research found that refugees from countries such as Eritrea and Somalia were more likely to need assistance in finding employment, which is linked to lower levels of English and fewer qualifications on arrival to the UK (Cebulla et al., 2010; Daniel et al., 2010). SNR analysis suggests that refugees dispersed as asylum seekers are more likely to have had no jobs in the UK (57 per cent) compared with those living with friends/family or in other accommodation 8 months after grant of status (43 per cent) (Table 14) (see also Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). They are also less likely to be in permanent employment (38 per cent versus 58 per cent). Analysis of employment variables were not found to be significantly different at 15 or 21 months, suggesting the impact of dispersal policy on employment outcomes is strongest in the initial 8 month period.

Given the disadvantage that refugees in dispersal sites face in terms of employment outcomes, onward migration is one way to access support provided by co-ethnic communities to secure jobs. This is important because refugees in employment are better able to acculturate, with employment positively affecting self-esteem and the ability to meet other people (Phillimore, 2010). In order for the least qualified new refugees to find employment, it is often considered essential to make contact with pre-existing co-ethnic communities, who can provide direct assistance in finding a job. Indeed, further modelling of SNR data indicates that mobility can be advantageous for employment outcomes, when controlling for the effect of dispersal policy (Tables A3–A4). Several refugees in the interviews indicated that a key reason for moving was to gain employment, which appears to echo the statistical findings. Nevertheless, although refugee movers may gain employment, the jobs obtained since being granted status are most likely to be short term, temporary or insecure posts (see

Tables A3–A4]. While policy makers desire refugees to settle, with efforts to stop onward movement and even enforce rules to retain refugees in dispersal sites (such as the local connection rule), by contrast this analysis suggests that mobility should not necessarily be viewed negatively but can result in positive employment outcomes for refugees.

Table 14: Employment indicators at 8 months survey: jobs in UK (N=1321) and type of employment (N=534)

Accommodation at baseline survey	Employment indicators	
	No jobs in UK	Jobs in UK
NASS	322 (57%)	246 (43%)
Friends/family	219 (43%)	292 (57%)
Other	102 (42%)	140 (58%)
Chi square: 25.655 (p=0.000), df=2		
	Temporary work	Permanent work
NASS	106 (62%)	65 (38%)
Friends/family	106 (42%)	144 (58%)
Other	26 (23%)	87 (77%)
Chi square: 42.740 (p=0.000), df=2		

Source: SNR (2005-09)

English language and pre-existing ethnic communities

In addition to employment, existing communities can provide vital support with English language, which is a strong predictor of success in society (Bakker *et al.*, 2014; Mulvey, 2013]. While Birhane, a single Eritrean man who had been dispersed to Glasgow, relied on his ethnic community as he learned English, he indicated that language proficiency would broaden his options and might influence his future mobility: 'If I can speak the language, it's not important to live with my community. Once I speak English I can live anywhere.'

Language competency is fundamental to the successful integration of refugees, particularly for accessing jobs (Daniel and Zurawan, 2010). Refugees who have poor English skills may be more likely to move towards co-ethnic communities for employment and language assistance, which could be regarded as a positive step towards integration. Take the example of Fathia, a refugee woman from Kuwait who lived in Cardiff but wanted to move to London:

'It's hard for me because I don't speak English. It's about the language barrier. I want to move to London because most of people speak Arabic, there is Arabic shops. If I want something I have to show with my fingers in here, but there, if they are Arab, they can do shopping for me.' [Source: Fathia]

Conversely, good English skills may decrease the tendency to migrate towards co-ethnic communities because of self-sufficiency, a factor which will be explored among Zimbabwean refugees later. While groups such as Iranians are relatively mobile (like Eritreans) in terms of onward migration, opinions on the role of language and integration are very different, as Dyako, an Iranian refugee explained:

'Sometimes I do things in the Kurdish community … It's not important to me. I prefer to be with people whose language is not Persian, Kurdish, because I live here in the UK and need to improve my English. I need English to improve my life. As an example, I had a job interview. My English was not good and I didn't get the job. When I'm with my friends, I speak Persian and it's easy. I must focus on my English to make a better life for myself.' [Source: Dyako]

Although Dyako wished to leave Cardiff for England, this was not to join an existing co-ethnic community for language support. Dyako was eager to mix outside his ethnic community and practise English, as this is a key means to furthering his employment prospects. He voiced strongly that not speaking English was a potential barrier to his integration. Similarly, several refugees in our sample took the view that being too close to co-ethnic communities might impede successful integration in UK society with limited opportunities to practise English language skills (Netto, 2011). Contact with a pre-existing community as potentially hampering refugee integration was noted by several refugees, including Mohammad, the Iranian refugee who lived in London with his family:

'Of course I have some [Iranian] friends. There is no point of this friendship because it will make the process of integrating very difficult for us. [If] we [are] just talking and socialising with people from my homeland, it will prevent me to get to talk and get in touch with British people.' [Source: Mohammad]

Finally, Selam, who was in Glasgow but would move to Manchester so that her co-ethnic community could help her find employment, spoke of how she would consider the community once she had improved her English language skills: 'I don't need them that time [*laughter*]. When that happens we don't need [an Eritrean community leader]. There is nothing I need from the community.'

Findings from the SNR seem to echo this perspective, voiced by several interviewees. Although English language outcomes are not significantly affected by whether a refugee moves or stays, it was found that those refugees living with family and friends were less likely to speak good English at 21 months after being granted status (Table 15). Being dispersed therefore seems to positively impact on refugees' English language skills, which may help long-term integration.

Table 15: English language-speaking ability compared to native (recorded at 21 months survey) (N=806)

	Not very well/not at all	Very/fairly well
NASS	108 (24%)	339 (76%)
Friends/family	92 (37%)	160 (63%)
Other	34 (32%)	73 (68%)
Chi square: 12.374 (p=0.002), df=2		

Source: SNR (2005-09)

Social networks and co-ethnic communities

While co-ethnic communities were found to be extremely valuable for employment and English language assistance, there was evidence in the interview sample of refugees who did not wish to migrate towards existing co-ethnic communities. Indeed, one key outcome of dispersal policy has been interactions amongst asylum seekers that are based upon 'similarity of place and experience and less so of ethnic and cultural backgrounds' (Rainbird,

2012, p142], with evidence of tension and distrust amongst individuals forced to live in an inter-ethnic community. Some refugees feel that, while sharing nationality or ethnic group, they may have little else in common [Williams, 2006]. So, in contrast to groups like Eritreans, who wish to be close to an existing co-ethnic community for employment, social support and language assistance, other groups – Zimbabweans and Iranians in particular – noted a desire not to be close to a pre-existing ethnic community. This demonstrates a more individualistic approach to settlement and integration [Kalir, 2005] and is related to issues of trust and intra-ethnic relationships, which are discussed below. When asked about her limited contact with Iranians in Glasgow, Lida explained:

'The main reason is that I don't want other people to know about my life and my problem. That interpreter knows other people, so we don't know if she discusses about my problem and my life with other people. This is why I don't want really to make friends. I don't like to have Iranian friends. I don't know any Iranian people and I don't want to know.' [Source: Lida]

A lack of trust within the community also appears to explain the sentiments voiced by Hiva, an Iranian refugee who lived in Cardiff: 'I want my private life, I prefer [to] live with my daughter alone. I don't like contact with Iranian people. I have two Egyptian friends and one Syrian friend, and we talk together.' Hiva appeared to have forged relationships beyond co-ethnic affiliations based upon the shared experiences of migration, religion and gender. But despite having established connections in their dispersal sites, both Hiva and Lida talked about the desire to move away. Hiva wished to move to London, where her brother lived, and Lida might leave Glasgow in the future. This suggests that not having strong connections to an existing co-ethnic community, such as an Iranian community, might lead to onward migration.

Like Iranians, Zimbabweans voiced a desire not to foster strong relations with an existing co-ethnic community. Similar sentiments expressed included the desire for privacy, the issue of trust and intra-group relationships. Consider the case of Thelma who coveted seclusion from her community:

'I don't want to know the other people, it's better staying on my own. I need my privacy ... [Let me] give an example of my own people, it's really difficult to trust them because you never know what they are talking about you.' [Source: Thelma]

Mudiwawashe, a Zimbabwean woman, echoed these thoughts when talking about her struggle to connect with her community through a church in Glasgow, where she had been dispersed. She had eventually left for England:

'When I went to Glasgow initially there was a church I was going to, so most of the people [I met] I knew from there. I had so many questions about the things that were going on in the church, so that meant that I couldn't really relate with them people anymore, and then I don't open up easily to people. I'm kind of like, I can be suspicious ... I find people, my people, they tend to be a bit nosey. They want to know everything, so I don't really want people in my business too much.' [Source: Mudiwawashe]

Zimbabwean associations, including church fellowships, have grown exponentially in recent years and provide the community with a venue to socialise and collect information about their adopted home [Pasura, 2013]. Despite their aim to unite Zimbabweans and cast divisions aside [McGregor, 2009], Mudiwawashe's suspicion of her community demonstrated existing barriers that continued to drive people away. Several refugees noted interactions

with members of their co-ethnic community only in religious settings, such as at church or in the mosque, but the same unifying institutions can sometimes divide individuals and encourage them to further distance themselves from their communities. Zimbabweans also appear to remain distant from an existing co-ethnic community for several reasons. The legacy of Zimbabwe's colonial history has impacted on refugee experiences in the UK, with a lack of Zimbabwean communities and organisations, as well as a tendency for refugees to view adaptation as an individual rather than collective responsibility. Another key difference concerning Zimbabweans is the method of entry to the UK (Pasura, 2012; 2013), as the majority in our interview sample had entered the UK legally as visitors or students and lived for a considerable time in the UK before claiming asylum. This provided them with extensive knowledge about the UK system and locations around the country, perhaps leaving them better placed to make informed decisions about where to move. Zimbabweans also tend to have high levels of skills, educational qualifications and English fluency (Bloch, 2006), making them more independent and less reliant on existing co-ethnic communities than less educated groups such as Eritreans.

Linked to issues of trust, there is the point that Iranians also desired to remain distant from existing co-ethnic communities as a result of internal conflicts (Netto, 2011). As one example, Omar talked about the conflict between Persians and Arabs from Iran. He explained:

'It is very hard for me to make friends with Iranian people if they are Persian because they don't like Arab at all … If they have no problem with my race, with my religion, with my personal identity, I have not any problem with them.' (Source: Omar)

As a result of the divisions among Iranians, Omar explained that it is very difficult to befriend co-nationals. Dyako further illuminated why he did not wish to associate with Iranians (in addition to his views on language and integration noted above): 'I do not identify as Iranian. I am Kurdish and we must have our own state. I am not Iranian.'

Along with ethnic differences among Iranian refugees, there was also evidence of distance being maintained on the basis of class and educational level (Lewin, 2001). Aria, who lived in Manchester, explained that he rarely socialised with Iranians because he had not found co-nationals who share his educational background. He spoke of the negative behaviour that he dislikes, saying: 'Maybe it's not good to say but lots of Iranian here they are uneducated and not from very good family.' Similar sentiments were expressed by Saeed, an Iranian in London, who went further in his condemnation of the Iranian community: 'The people I know in London, most of them, I have to say hundred percent gamble, they're druggie or politics. I'm not interested in all these things.'

Saeed stated this was the reason he had no Iranian friends in London. Like Aria, he felt that education was a key difference amongst Iranians, explaining that 'I don't have a friend in here with high education, with high job.' We came across several Iranian refugees, like Saeed, who lacked connections and had onward migrated from their dispersal site to London. The result for such individuals was to become homeless and unemployed. Combined with a lack of social support and networks, this often led to individuals returning to the original dispersal site or moving on again. While availability of jobs and housing were often identified by refugees as their reasons for moving to London, the reality could be different. There is a shortage of housing in London, which pushes individuals towards homelessness or requires them to rent privately, a colossal challenge for those without the finances required for deposits and monthly payments. The high levels of multiple moves amongst Iranian refugees could therefore be attributed to the lack of strong connections with existing

communities, meaning that there is no support network to help individuals through times of homelessness or unemployment, which ultimately leads to further onward migration.

Similar to Iranians and Zimbabweans, some Somalis in Cardiff voiced their preference to live away from their co-ethnic community. This did not suggest an effort to avoid contact with other Somalis, but rather a desire to maintain some distance and instead work towards integration. In these cases, individuals felt that living among other Somalis inhibited integration, whereas interactions and involvement with people more broadly was preferable. Take the case of Ahmed, a single man who had been dispersed to Cardiff. He called the city home and had no plans to move but does not care for some people within the Somali community, as he explains:

'There are some certain mentalities there, especially when you come up to the Somalis here … certain type of mentalities that I really don't like. Unfortunately these people are coming in from my race, from my countries. Some of them I don't like. Some of them are acceptable.' [Source: Ahmed]

Ahmed pointed out that there were multiple waves of Somali immigration to Cardiff that went back over a century. He observed differences within the ethnic community and the discomfort he felt at the distinction. Ahmed discussed how he felt after meeting a standoffish elder at the mosque shortly after arriving in Cardiff:

'When they [Somalis] know that you're an asylum seeker, they look at you in a different way. I don't know what's in them, because most Somalis in Cardiff, most of them, ninety five per-cent are all citizens now. When they see a Somali who's an asylum seeker they're like, they look at him, 'Oh, he's an asylum.' They have this different look on him. I don't know, I just don't feel comfortable, and then he [the elder] told me, 'What's your name?' And then I told him my name and then he said, 'What's your family name? Who's your father?' And I just feel really offended. So these are the things that I really don't like and it's not only in Cardiff, it's everywhere in the world. Wherever you go, if I see my people … they want to get to know your tribe.' [Source: Ahmed]

Despite Ahmed's negative perceptions of many people within his community, he still wished to instil Somali values and customs in the children he hoped to have one day. He socialised extensively with people outside the Somali community and felt embracing multiculturalism was important for personal growth.

Finally, we return to Sofia, who had been dispersed to Cardiff with her young children; her husband joined them several years later. She explained:

'I hate some Somalis saying I am from Somaliland or Puntland or Mogadishu or blah, blah, blah. I hate it that way, because I born that time and I grew up that situation but I hate it. We come Europe and we see all the world. We like together peace, you know, but I don't know what time is coming but I'm not that person. I hate the people who say I'm coming from here or there.' [Source: Sofia]

While Sofia remains deeply committed to her homeland, she embraced the opportunities she and her family had in the UK and did not want to be limited by interactions within her ethnic community.

Local communities and community organisations

Beyond relationships within co-ethnic communities, respondents discussed their interactions with British and other residents where they lived. These experiences can influence onward migration decisions, whether they occur in neighbourhoods or in the larger community, and impact on integration outcomes. Shared activities that transcend ethnicity, such as through religious institutions or volunteering, were found to be especially important for cultivating positive feelings about dispersal sites and fostering stability. While participation in the community enhanced feelings of belonging and settling, refugees also shared their struggle to interact with people generally, often adversely affecting any sense of being at home in the UK and leading to onward migration.

Several refugees noted how pre-existing ethnic communities in the UK have influenced movement. Mohammad, the Iranian mentioned above who lived in London, had originally been dispersed to Bristol and subsequently moved to Birmingham on the recommendation of friends. Consider his comments about the different cities in which he had lived:

'I was living in a street [in Bristol] which … was predominated by Jamaican people. I was think-ing I'm not in UK, I'm in Jamaica [laughs] … My friend told me that Birmingham is a very diverse city, that there is a lot of ethnic groups from different part of the world living there. Unfortu-nately I was living in an area predominantly by African people and Pakistani people and this area was very rough, and I had a bad feeling about the area … I just quit the city … I prefer to stay in a place which is predominant by British people because I want to integrate with them. I want to speak their own languages.' [Source: Mohammad]

Having no connections to an existing Iranian community, Mohammad moved multiple times after being granted refugee status. His experiences and opinions of each city appear to have been shaped by pre-existing ethnic diversity. He also explained that his desire to live in majority British areas is in order to integrate. Mohammad appeared to subscribe to certain notions of what British society is and into which community he wished to integrate. Several participants also discussed discrimination and racism as it occurred within and between ethnic communities. Consider Liban's case, a Somali man, who described an incident while out celebrating in Cardiff one night:

'I'm happy that time when I find the job and it's my birthday. I'm coming outside [to cele-brate]. I drink a couple of beer. When I go back, I'm asking the taxi driver to pick up [and take me to] my house. He say, 'No, no, go next one.' When I go next one, he say, 'No, go front of.' I come back [to the first driver]. I knock the window. He looking other side driver, and he have glass up so he doesn't hear me. I knock like this [demonstrates knock]. 'Hey, look at me.' I say 'Go', and he was come around. He punch, he try to punch me, so I defence two times … When I'm coming, he take out glasses on the car and he came back to me. He came back to me and I tried to defence. When I was defending, that taxi driver, Asian people, come to me and give [me] black out.' [Source: Liban]

Negative experiences as an 'outsider', even in ethnically diverse areas, can have a long-term impact on individuals and encourage further migration. Consider Sarah, an Iranian woman who had been dispersed to Salford and wished to move to Manchester to protect her children:

'You can speak very well like English people and they know that [you] come from the for-eign county. They ignore us, they ignore my children. For example because of our pronun-ciation, for example we are speaking my language and they heard some of the words in

my language and repeat it and laugh at us ... Now I put my children in a school that there are lots of children from other countries, Pakistan, Eritrea, not all of them are British.'
[Source: Sarah]

The existing ethnic diversity in Salford had been insufficient to prevent Sarah from feeling targeted as a foreigner. Interestingly, and despite Sarah's strong English skills, she observed that her accent will always identify her as an outsider, a sentiment shared by other refugees in the sample. Indeed, existing research has found that fear often leads to refugees lacking confidence to seek relationships with local people, leading them to withdraw from social contact and/or remain within their ethnic community (Healey, 2014; Phillimore, 2010). Sarah feels that moving to Manchester will situate her in a better, safer area where her children will have positive experiences with the local community.

In contrast to Mohammad and Sarah, many refugees wish to live in multicultural and diverse areas (Vertovec, 2007) where there are opportunities to develop relationships with their co-ethnic communities, other refugees and British citizens. Consider Moon, who started volunteering at an RCO in Manchester after he had been dispersed there. His work enabled him to foster friendships with Britons as well as other asylum seekers and refugees:

'When I joined [this RCO], I learned so many things, how to talk to people and get experience ... My community is important for me because of sharing information and sharing fun. Sometimes we help people from our community like helping people with interpretation. But also I like to communicate with people from other communities. I like all kinds of people ... Sometimes I could live without [other Eritreans and Sudanese]. I don't want to be like people who stay here a long time just in their community and can't speak English. It's really important to meet different people and get to know other communities better.'
[Source: Moon]

The ethnic diversity in Manchester enabled Moon to become an active member of the community, one where he shared an identity with other refugees, supported his ethnic communities and built relationships with all Britons. His volunteering accelerated his integration in the UK through the people he met and the skills he gained. It also led Moon to feel settled in Manchester, the place he called home. While acknowledging the need to question the integrative function of RCOs and whether marginality is perpetuated (Griffiths *et al.*, 2006), research has found that RCOs can promote stability within refugee communities (Hardwick and Meacham, 2008). Indeed, it seems that the multiculturalism in Manchester, along with Moon's positive experiences with voluntary organisations in the city, had been significant factors in his decision not to migrate onwards.

Beyond volunteering, several refugees befriended 'locals' through extenuating circumstances as well as everyday encounters, which in turn facilitated meaningful relationships. Take the case of Anna, an Iranian woman who had been dispersed to Glasgow and gave birth: 'We have so many Scottish friends. When I give birth in the hospital, the hospital was mobbed with Scottish people ... I have so many Scots friends but no Iranian [friends].' Anna made many friends from their time in hospital and also met people in church, parks and sewing classes. Anna's positive experiences in Glasgow influenced her decision to stay in the city; she would not consider leaving. She identified church as one place to make connections. Religious institutions can play a key role in how refugees rebuild social networks, maintain cultural traditions and seek assistance (Allen, 2010). Indeed, this is a way several refugees have diversified their networks while maintaining links with their co-nationals. Consider Abnet, an Eritrean woman who had been dispersed to Salford and valued her exposure to

different groups of people in church and her neighbourhood. She explained how positive interactions with those around her had encouraged her to stay in Salford:

'The Methodist Church was close [to our house] and we try to go on Sunday. We met a lot of people there and made friends from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Eritrea … All my neighbours are English and they are so nice … It's good to have diversity. It's good to have commonality with Eritreans because we have the same culture and language and background. These things are good, but we must live with everyone, so it doesn't matter where people come from. We are the same in front of God.' [Source: Abnet]

Abnet went on to explain that she felt part of the Salford community through the friends she had made and her participation in community events. She felt a strong connection to the people she shared her life with – those she met in church and her neighbours – who she culturally recognised as family. Abnet's comment that she did not wish to limit her social interactions to Eritreans alone indicated that her exposure to ethnic diversity and interactions with those around her was a positive step toward integration. Daily experiences such as Abnet's greatly impact upon decisions to stay or move on.

Summary
Overall, refugees were found to migrate onwards towards co-ethnic communities for assistance with finding employment and English language. At the same time, however, we found evidence of refugees who did not wish to live near co-ethnic communities. This was for a variety of reasons including issues of trust and a desire to fully integrate within British society. Relationships maintained with local community organisations and inter-ethnic connections likewise influenced refugees' decision-making.

4.2 Education
Life course and education
Access to education, including English language classes, is considered by refugees as important when deciding where to live in the UK. Along with other factors discussed in this report, education is key to the successful long-term integration of refugees in UK society (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Several participants noted that education for adults and children contributed to decisions to stay or move on from dispersal sites.

The life course of refugees and their educational career can influence migration decisions. Julia, who had been dispersed to Glasgow after leaving her native Ivory Coast, talked about how studying became a key way for her to 'survive' the asylum process, distracting her from stress and providing hope for the future. Julia's positive experiences of being in education and her plans for continued studies meant that she wished to remain in Glasgow. Her mobility decisions had been shaped by her educational trajectory and probably influenced by the availability of courses and funding at her chosen institution. Indeed, for some refugees, pursuing education required movement to access appropriate courses. Abubassil, for example, came from Syria and had been dispersed to Glasgow but moved on to Edinburgh to pursue his studies:

'We lived [in] Glasgow one year, me and my wife and my children in Glasgow, and we moved to Edinburgh because I got full-time study course at Edinburgh College. That's why we have moved to Edinburgh.' [Source: Abubassil]

Likewise, Sam, an Iranian refugee who had been dispersed to Glasgow, decided to leave the city and move to London, where he had friends. He had trouble adapting to Glasgow (which

will be discussed further in the 'health' section] and thought London would improve his situation. He also applied for college while in Glasgow but did not receive a decision. Sam was not content in London and talked about his future mobility plans:

'Probably the city and the town that I am going to move to depends on which university and which subject, so those are maybe factors that decide or indicate where I need to go.' [Source: Sam]

Finally, and similarly to Sam, Mudiwawashe, the Zimbabwean woman who had been dispersed to Glasgow [discussed above], found it difficult to feel settled in the city. She eventually moved on to England to be closer to family but also wished to access her chosen course at University: 'I came here for uni but now my kids have got good schools and I've got a job.' Having made the move, Mudiwawashe prioritised her children's education and explained that along with her employment status, this would prevent any further movement.

Children's education and women
Like Mudiwawashe above, several refugees noted the importance of children's education when making decisions about onward migration. Lucia had originally been dispersed to Glasgow but on gaining refugee status moved to Manchester as she wanted to live with her Eritrean friends and community. When asked about her future mobility, she explained:

'The first thing is that I would love for the house to be near the school where my daughters are ... I have friends and I need to settle down somewhere for my children. I want to stay in Manchester because my children have school and we have friends here.' [Source: Lucia]

While the Eritrean community was most important in determining Lucia's first move of city after gaining refugee status, her decision to remain in Manchester was to ensure her children's stability and education. Likewise, Hannah in Cardiff explained why she wished to remain in her dispersal location:

'The only thing is that I don't want my baby to change schools every two, three, four months. It's too hard for my daughter to make new friends all the time so I want us to be settled in one place. My children need the stability of staying in the same school.' [Source: Hannah]

Although there is not a large Eritrean community in Cardiff, Hannah prioritised her children in explaining her desire for residential stability. Indeed, several refugee women prioritised their children and education above being located near a co-ethnic community. Amira, a Somali woman living in Salford, identified the most important factor in determining her mobility plans:

'I can live without community, but my children is very important, that's why I'm here. My children they like this school. My daughter, they say me, 'You never leave here. Mama, I love here, I want it.'' [Source: Amira]

The importance of children's education also sits alongside particular challenges that refugee women face in accessing education. Finding appropriate childcare can be particularly challenging in the absence of social networks or community support in dispersal sites. Two Somali women explained their problems:

'Actually only last year I wasn't take the class because I was pregnant last year, and I'm waiting even this year because I applied for the crèche for the baby and I'm waiting for it, to more improving my English and learning.' [Source: Dunia]

'I did some NVQs in Health and Social Care. I was supposed to do my Access to Nursing which I couldn't cope, I had issues with childcare.' [Source: Faduma]

In the absence of childcare, Dunia and Faduma were forced either to abandon or to postpone their plans for further education. Theoretically, in order to access childcare and education, refugees could move on from dispersal sites in search of such support. Additional assistance is therefore needed for refugee women who remain in dispersal sites in the absence of such networks and in order to facilitate integration. If not, then refugees with children may potentially move towards ethnic communities for support with childcare. Alternatively, the importance of children's school education can take priority amongst families when making migration decisions, which can result in refugees remaining in or moving to locations with little or no existing co-ethnic community.

Perceptions of education provision

Beyond children's schooling and course availability in different parts of the UK, refugees talked about their varied perceptions of education quality and provision. This was particularly noted in relation to ESOL courses and specialist training for adults. Several refugees held the perception that provisions are better in different locations and voiced a desire to leave the dispersal site in order to access opportunities. Lida talked about her struggle to access appropriate ESOL provision in Glasgow when compared with friends in Birmingham and London. Similarly, Saada, a woman who came from Somalia, mentioned specialist training when speaking about the opportunities she would have if she left Glasgow. Although at very different levels of education, both refugee women perceived that education provision was poorer in Glasgow and as a result wished to move on. By contrast, we also found positive perceptions of education provision in Scotland and Wales, which could result in migration towards these destinations. Fatima was dispersed to Cardiff but now wants to move to Edinburgh, where she stayed prior to applying for asylum. As well as talking about the 'nice people' she met there and the peaceful environment, she also said: 'I want to go back [to Edinburgh]. It's a calm place and it's good for upbringing of children, yeah, and education is free up to university.' Free university education provision in Scotland may be one reason why refugees decide to stay in Glasgow or arrive from other parts of the UK.

There were several examples of refugees who identified good educational provision in Manchester as influencing their decision to stay. Exchanges of information between refugees on education opportunities are common, with perceptions and knowledge shared between social networks. Based on this information, refugees had decided to stay in dispersal sites or make local moves within the Greater Manchester area. Sarah, who earlier talked about the importance of her children's education, additionally mentioned her own education in relation to her decision to stay in the area:

'Salford is the best college. Yes, because you can go there free, full-time and four times a week. When I moved in this city to Salford, after two months I could go to the college and until now I'm continue going to the college and it's very best point for me to use the college to improve my language, but my friends in Bolton or Liverpool they can't go to the college like me. Sometimes some of them needs to pay money and sometimes they need to go college half time.' [Source: Sarah]

Finally, Moon similarly talked about the educational experiences of his friends in different cities and compared these with his own. Like Sarah, he decided to stay in Manchester and continue his education:

'I have a friend in Liverpool and one in Bristol. We talk on the phone and they say I am lucky to stay in Manchester because I got a special education here and they think that when you get a certificate from Manchester it is better. When the name Manchester is mentioned on a certificate, it's better. My friends think the name Manchester gives greater acceptance than Bristol for example. I believe that too.' [Source: Moon]

Education and integration

Refugees recognised the importance of education, and learning English in particular, to long-term integration. Laban, a refugee who came from Sudan and lived in Manchester, talked about his frustration in relation to speaking English, echoing other refugees, and how this had changed his priorities:

'If I go to shop or go to a restaurant, I can't get food without English. I have a lot of experiences here where I can't communicate and tell people what I want. These experiences make me feel not like a person. It doesn't feel good when people talk to you or ask a question and you can't answer. I feel like a child who can't understand and speak. It's not a good feeling. This is why I changed priority from a job first, education second to education first, job second.' [Source: Laban]

In addition to the knowledge and skills gained from educational courses and training, the process itself was regarded as important for refugee integration, influencing refugees' decisions to stay in dispersal sites. Consider the examples of two refugees, one in Glasgow and the other in Manchester:

'When I start college I change my mind [about moving away from Glasgow]. I start to integrate with people when I start college, then I see Glasgow is a very friendly place and I like it, and I'm here now.' [Source: Goitom]

'I'm studying here in Salford, great university. I've made friends and connections as well, getting exposed to different things in Manchester. London, yes we can visit, we love it … but this has become our home now.' [Source: Rodrick]

As discussed earlier, although Goitom had originally planned to leave Glasgow after gaining refugee status, his time and experiences in the city led him to reconsider this decision. He further explained that attending college had allowed him to interact with people, which is important for integration, and also contributed to his decision to stay. Similarly, Rodrick discussed how studying at university enabled him to make social connections and feel part of the community. He too had decided to remain in Salford, his dispersal site, despite initially planning to return to London, where he and his wife had lived several years before launching asylum applications. Education not only enabled refugees to gain knowledge and skills that are important for future employment, but to forge social networks and connections, thus facilitating broader integration in society. Positive experiences of accessing education also seemed to encourage refugees to remain in dispersal sites, if suitable courses were available.

Summary

Overall, these findings suggest that children's education and education provision can be key factors in encouraging refugees to stay in dispersal sites. Perceptions of facilities are shared among refugee communities, with comparisons made between different UK cities and educational institutions. While positive experiences can result in refugees staying, information about better provision elsewhere can encourage people to move on. Nevertheless, the decision to move on to access education may be an important part of the refugee's life course, demonstrating the importance of not privileging the 'refugee' identity (Ludwig, 2013). Interviewees also spoke powerfully of how the experience of education and attending courses in the UK facilitated social integration, and established connections and networks. In turn, these positive experiences can result in the decision to stay.

4.3 Housing

Housing is a key factor that impacts on refugee mobility and integration (Mulvey, 2015), as this can affect stability as well as access to services and employment. This section considers the housing experiences of refugees during the period when seeking asylum and subsequently when individuals are granted protection. Repeated housing and city moves lead to housing insecurity among asylum seekers and refugees, which can impact upon future mobility decisions and ultimately integration outcomes. Widespread experiences of homelessness were identified amongst the interview sample. At the time of interview, six refugees were homeless, 34 individuals (40 per cent of the sample) had experienced homelessness, while the majority of the interview sample had been worried about becoming homeless at some point since entering the UK. Homelessness can lead to high levels of onward migration as well as negatively impacting on access to education, health and employment. To begin the discussion, we examine the high levels of mobility experienced by individuals during the asylum process.

Seeking asylum and housing insecurity

As evidenced in the interview sample, individuals were moved repeatedly while having their asylum claim processed. This included housing moves within local areas as well as movements between different cities across the UK. There was a sense of the normalisation of mobility in the process of seeking asylum, as Daniel explained:

'It is the rule ... You stay for the first time in just the same area up to your interview and then to a NASS house and then hotel, or if you get temporary or hostel you go to hostel. If hostel, then after hostel you go to temporary accommodation, [and] after you move to permanent accommodation. That is the procedure I think.' [Source: Daniel]

In his own case, Daniel had moved four times since arriving in the UK from Ethiopia six months prior to being interviewed for this project. Each move was to a very different part of Glasgow, and Daniel was sometimes housed with individuals who were struggling with drug and/or alcohol addiction. He felt this was inappropriate as it interfered with his career and integration goals. Multiple moves were distressing, but it also complicated his academic aspirations with regard to proof of address requirements for financial aid.

To explore stories of mobility in more detail, consider the following two examples of refugees who were dispersed to Cardiff and ultimately moved on to London. Each described their mobility history during their time as asylum seekers. Singh and his young family arrived in the UK after leaving their native Afghanistan. He talked about their accommodation in Cardiff:

'Nineteen, twenty days [at the hostel], then they were giving us a house. The lady explained to us that … we were only staying in temporary [accommodation] for a few weeks. So they moved us to a house … That accommodation was NASS accommodation. Then they said to us, you will be given council [house], another property because you need to go from there because you have leave to remain. Therefore we went to another address.' [Source: Singh]

After three changes of address in Cardiff, Singh and his wife decided to move on to London. He explained that his wife was extremely unhappy with the accommodation they were given after being granted status and felt it was not suitable for the family. Just as the family vacated their NASS accommodation and moved to a flat, Singh's wife was in hospital giving birth to their third child. The family were housed in a fourth floor flat with no lift, making it extremely difficult to manage with a new-born baby. Singh and his family liked Cardiff, but sought a different life in London.

Similarly, Yasin had been dispersed to Cardiff after coming to the UK from Syria and explained his history of moving as an asylum seeker:

'I just stayed two days in [Cardiff hostel] because it was full, and then we have been sent to different hotels … After I have been sent to three different hotels, finally they put me in a NASS accommodation. It was very nice and clean and tidy house. Everything was okay and when I got my status, I received NASS letters to give me 28 days to leave the place, and when I got that letter I straightaway came to London.' [Source: Yasin]

A series of repeated moves within Cardiff and a lack of roots or connections within the city led to Yasin's onward migration to London immediately after he was granted refugee status. There was evidence amongst refugees that constant moving during the asylum process leads to a lack of knowledge regarding services, shops and communities. This lack of connection not only impacts on their sense of security but also practically. Ties to one area can become so strong that refugees return to places for shopping or to visit friends, even though they have been relocated elsewhere. Continued moves during the period of seeking asylum is clearly destabilising for individuals, but refugees accepted this movement, as noted by Merhawe: 'I don't like to be moving all the time [but], you know, it's going to happen so you just accept it … It's procedure that they move me place to place.'

Exploring the reasons for repeated moves in more depth, three key issues were identified by interviewees. First, and probably most obviously, is the problem of housing supply. Othman, an Iraqi who has lived and moved back and forth between several different cities across the UK including Ashford, Leeds, London and Cardiff, was aware of this: 'They tell us, they have contract with another house. They finish contract, they send to us another address, the reason why, another house.' Second, individuals can be forced to move multiple times as a result of situations arising from shared accommodation. We found several cases where refugee women were forced to move on as a result of their housemates becoming pregnant. Julia had been dispersed to Glasgow and moved from the YMCA to temporary accommodation near the Home Office, where she felt secure, before being asked to vacate her accommodation. She explains: 'I stayed there I think two months, and my neighbour was pregnant so I've been asked to move.' She was then moved to a different part of the city. Finally, inadequate, sub-standard accommodation was mentioned by several interviewees as their motivation for demanding relocation within cities or even wanting to move on to other parts of the UK [see also Glen and Lindsay, 2014]. Consider Jennehba, who spent some time in the UK before applying for asylum after leaving Sierra Leone. She and her baby

were sent to Manchester and lived in a flat that was extremely damp and affected her son's health, as she describes:

'The first accommodation … was a bedsit but really damp. Mistakenly if you lean on the wall you can feel the water running down, close to the bed, and I tried to raise concern with my caseworker, the landlord, but it wasn't achieved until it start affecting my son. My son become very ill. [An] ambulance had to come several times and he developed breathing problem.' [Source: Jennehba]

Jennehba's son had health problems and was hospitalised as a result, which she attributed to the toxic conditions in their accommodation. She consulted several different agencies for help and learned that the building had been condemned for some time. The caseworker assured her the conditions were not bad, but finally everyone had to leave as the building was due for demolition. Jennehba's next accommodation was not much better, and her child's doctor sent a letter to the council which compelled them to relocate her. After receiving her status, Jennehba was given a house in a different area of the city, where she felt isolated. The problems she experienced with her son motivated her desire to leave Manchester, as she explained:

'There is a lot of problems people don't speak about … When you are waiting, a lot of intimidations where you can't speak because we are afraid to speak … Even though I was desperate, you've got an evidence of my son being deteriorated, always in hospital, nothing happened. So if I should have lost that boy the only thing they should have gone, 'Oh, sorry. We are sorry with this.' … Where I find job and very peaceful place, I'd really like that.' [Source: Jennehba]

Jennehba's negative experiences with housing and her son's poor health left her feeling depressed with a chaotic life. She would have liked to pursue graduate studies and secure a good job, which might also contribute to future migration decisions.

In sum, there is clear evidence that individuals seeking asylum in the UK experience multiple moves of either house and/or city whilst awaiting the outcome of their claim. This negates against individuals developing connections to and knowledge of local areas, with mobility removing people from social connections and areas that they may have knowledge of. Multiple moves can also destabilise individuals and negatively impact on mental and physical health (discussed more later). Finally, this can negatively impact on children's access to education during the asylum seeking period. These issues will be further developed below.

Homelessness and refugee status

Once an individual gains refugee status, there are two regulations that impact on subsequent experiences of housing and integration. First, refugees have 28 days to vacate NASS accommodation, after which time they become homeless. Second, Section 11 of the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants etc.) Act 2004 implemented the 'local connection' rule, meaning that when an asylum seeker is granted refugee status and becomes homeless (e.g. in Cardiff), a housing application can be made only to the local authority of the original dispersal area and not elsewhere in the UK, such as Manchester or London.[15] Along with dispersal policy, this legislation aims to reduce refugee onward movement [Stewart, 2012]. The 28 days rule means that refugees often continue the constant cycle of moving that was initiated during the asylum period. Although allowing refugees to stay longer in asylum accommodation appears to have been successful in encouraging refugee households to stay

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[15] As noted earlier, different rules apply in Scotland where asylum seekers are not deemed to have established a local connection as a result of being provided with dispersal accommodation there.

in dispersal sites (Sim, 2015), housing contracts have been operated by private companies such as Serco since 2012, meaning extended stays in asylum accommodation no longer happen (Glen and Lindsay, 2014). Continual movement during the asylum and subsequent refugee period can have cumulative negative effects for individuals. One key outcome of the 28 days rules means that the majority of refugees experience homelessness on their path to finding permanent accommodation. Consider the following cases. Amira moved three times after being granted refugee status, and this included living in hotels with her young children. After this series of moves and experiencing homelessness, the family were given a council house. Amira was fortunate in that Salford Council asked her in which area she would like to live. She chose her current location because many of her Somali friends are in the neighbourhood. The family since befriended other neighbours and felt safe and happy. They had no plans to move again.

Masoud, an Iranian who had been dispersed to Glasgow, moved around four times in the year following his grant of status including hostel and hotel accommodation. His story illustrated the practical and emotional impact of being made homeless:

'After my refugee status I got the letter that says you have 28 days to move, to leave this accommodation. What will happen next? I don't know. Scottish Refugee Council, my advisor contacted someone from Hamish Allan Centre to come to visit me at home … I didn't know that I'm going to be homeless. So the 28 days finished and I went to Hamish Allan and what happened was they asked me to sit down on an iron bench from 9 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the evening. I thought that it's just, maybe I'm not lucky and it shouldn't be this way, you know, it's not the normal procedure but it happens sometimes. Then they sent me to hotel and they told me to come back tomorrow morning, so I went back tomorrow morning and the same thing happened, sit down there and you're not allowed to go, from 9 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and then go back to the hotel again. And where do you eat, what do you eat? In that period, you're not receiving any money from Job Centre. You are registered, but they're still processing your registration. You don't have a bank account, so they can't put money in your bank account. You can't open a bank account because you don't have proof of address. You can't open a bank account because you're not being paid by Job Centre. You're not being paid by Job Centre because you can't open a bank account. It's ridiculous. They should do that for every person because they know this is going to happen … simple payment, so that you're not starving on the street when you're homeless. So that's what's going to happen, very intense, very difficult, very harsh … I had food in [my NASS accommodation]. I was walking back, and I was cooking pasta and stuff and packing it and bringing it to Hamish Allan and we were eating it with other people in the park. That's how we survived … It's wrong to say 'while you were staying at the hotel.' You're not staying at the hotel. You're not allowed to stay at the hotel during the day. You're allowed to go there after 9 o'clock in the evening until before 9 o'clock in the morning to sleep … Anyway, you're allowed to sleep there but then the rest of the day, what would you eat? How do you survive? What do you do? You don't have the five pound NASS support. You don't get anything from Job Centre and you're homeless, and you can't survive if you don't have some pasta just accidentally in your old flat and you still have the keys and you go there and cook your food and then come back and eat with others.' [Source: Masoud]

Masoud clearly described the harsh reality of becoming homeless, waiting for accommodation and living without basic necessities such as food and money. Refugees often talked about how their feelings of elation at being granted refugee status were quickly overtaken by a sense of fear, powerlessness and homelessness due to their shift in legal status. Rodrick describes this transition after he and his family received their refugee status:

'The [asylum application] reply was positive and what then I realised is once you get a positive response on your asylum claim, life then changes. I believe that when you are an asylum seeker and you're still in NASS accommodation, in support, you are living a honeymoon life … I believe those are honeymoon days because you don't have to worry about your gas and electricity and your rent, which is the three most big evils in England.' [Source: Rodrick]

A shift in status from asylum seeker to refugee, while positive, also brings stress and worry for individuals facing imminent homelessness. The inevitable homelessness that comes with gaining refugee status in the UK was shocking for several people who could not understand why they were to be evicted from their accommodation. Lulia, who had travelled to the UK with her husband when they left Syria, explained the position many refugees who had been dispersed find themselves in:

'The point is now we're not thinking about anything other than finding a home because if we don't we'll be homeless, and if we're homeless we're going to sleep in the roads. There's no place we could go and sleep. Yeah, finding a house it's horrible. It's just a nightmare, because many of them go like, 'You're refugees, we can't give you a house. We don't have anyone to be your guarantor or to reference you' or whatever, and the point is when we come to London, to the UK, we couldn't get enough money with us.' [Source: Lulia]

A lack of finances, local knowledge and social networks/connections make this transition phase very difficult and often traumatic for refugees [Carnet *et al.*, 2014]. The financial issues that hamper finding housing, such as needing a guarantor, are exacerbated by unemployment. In such situations, refugees have to rely upon the help of friends either to prevent homelessness or to find accommodation whilst awaiting statutory provision. Amanda explained how she relied upon friends and how she lived in fear after being made homeless:

'They came to evict me, obviously that's what they do, and I had to go and live with a friend of mine. She wasn't allowed to keep me there, so I had to go into a hostel to wait until I get accommodation … I kept moving, like going into my friend's place, living there for a bit and hiding kind of like because you're not allowed to do that … Obviously knowing hostels, it's sort of like monitored and if they see that you're not really living there, you don't really get accommodation because they think you've got somewhere to live, so I had to go back again.' [Source: Amanda]

The help of friends and social networks is essential while refugees are waiting for council housing or homeless accommodation. From the sample, there is evidence that refugees will move on if they cannot access such help in the areas to which they have been dispersed. It seems that families are given priority accommodation, leaving single refugees more likely to move on. Dyako, who initially used his Kurdish connections to find a house in Cardiff, stated that he planned to move on:

'I came to the Welsh Refugee Council and they referred me to Housing Options. I went there and they interviewed me and they said I had no chance to get a house. They showed me the priority list and I had no chance. I am a single man with no wife, no children, no family. I am very low on the priority list and knew I couldn't get a [council] house.' [Source: Dyako]

Being homeless and living in limbo
Experiences of homelessness also impact on the lives of refugees in a number of practical areas. Secure housing is critical to refugees' ability to integrate, with its absence inhibiting

participation in education, training, employment, health care and social groups (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Several refugees discussed how this impacted on adult and children's education. Repeated moves and changes in housing are not only unsettling for children, but they may also limit access to schooling or require significant travel to attend classes. This results in a desire to stay and not move on as refugees seek stability for their children (as discussed earlier). Previous research has also found an association between homelessness and high drop-out rates from colleges (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Sara, the Eritrean woman (discussed above) who had been dispersed to Glasgow, talks of how being homeless delayed her education:

'Still I'm not going college because I don't have … address. This is all temporary, that's why I'm not going college, but I go small library. Yeah, it is hard waiting. If you have work, if you have school, you are busy. You go, you come, you say you're meeting people, you get good English class.' (Source: Sara)

A lack of stable housing not only impacts on accessing education, but as Sara explained this potentially delayed the integration process because it reduced her opportunity for contact with people and learning English. Sara also planned to move on from Glasgow, a decision which was mainly driven by a desire to find employment but which was also likely to have been informed by these experiences.

As a result of homelessness, feelings of insecurity were widely voiced in the interview sample, impacting on refugees' physical and mental health. Consider the case of Alisha who came from Pakistan with her children. She explained the initial elation she felt at being granted status, which was quickly followed by the stress of becoming homeless:

'So I was very happy, another new world in front of us [laughs]. When we got our leave to remain, they told us that you have to leave Home Office accommodation in twenty eight days' time and I didn't know what to do and where to go, so I went to Scottish Refugee Council. And I asked them, 'What about my stuff, my things, my luggage?' They said, 'You can leave that in your flat but you can't live in there, you can leave that for couple of days, two or three days but you can't live there, you need to give us the keys.' So I was like in B&B again for five, six days with my children. We had our bags with us and every day they used to send us to hotel and every morning come back to their office, go again in the evening in B&B. So it was very hard time and we were like, what has happened with us after this leave to remain? All the happiness went away. It was very difficult for me, through all this asylum process. I also wasn't very well, I'd got mental health problems and I got anxiety and depression and tense muscles and things so I just decided to move into a private let because every day they used to tell us that there is no accommodation.' (Source: Alisha)

In addition to her own health, Alisha's son had diagnosed mental health problems which stemmed from his fear of removal during the asylum process. This was further exacerbated by the lack of housing the family experienced on being granted status. The cumulative negative impact of seeking asylum and subsequent homelessness faced by Alisha and her family led her to seek private let accommodation to stop the cycle of housing instability, although many refugees are not financially able to do so. It is important for refugee children to settle in permanent housing to avoid potentially negative mental health outcomes and psychological stress (Archambault, 2012). Families are a priority need for housing, but we found that most families have to stay temporarily in hotel or hostel accommodation while awaiting permanent housing.

Overall, housing instability does not appear to stop once refugees are granted status. There is a continued cycle of movement, homelessness and insecurity, which is more likely to result in refugees moving on from their dispersal site. This period of homelessness impacts on the future plans of refugees as they are in 'limbo' regarding education and English language training, thereby delaying the integration process. Homelessness is also detrimental to the physical and mental health of refugees, which is cumulated after the process of seeking asylum. Finally, homelessness was shown to impact on children in terms of accessing education and also their mental health and well-being.

Local connection rule

There was some awareness of the local connection rule amongst the interview sample, although this was not always identified explicitly. Some refugees received information about local connection via their social networks, which prevented onward migration. Several individuals in Manchester decided to stay in the city, partly as a result of the local connection rule. Consider what each says:

'You have NASS accommodation in Salford, you have just the choice to have a Salford council [house], not for example to Manchester, Bolton, anywhere. If you want to go to anywhere you need to rent house.' [Source: Sarah]

'They told me … you can go everywhere when I got my status, but if you go to other [cities] you have to wait for a long time, but if you stay in Salford you can get [accommodation] easier because you can get more score to choose your house. To go to another city you have to wait again from first time.' [Source: Aria]

'If you want you can move back to London. He [our solicitor] then said, 'If you move back to London you have to look for accommodation yourself. The council in London, it's not their duty to look after you at all … but if you remain in Salford they have statutory duty to rehouse you." [Source: Rodrick]

Although each of these refugees decided to stay in Manchester for several reasons (see earlier sections for further detail), it was clear they also had knowledge of the local connection rule. These participants were happy to remain in Manchester and the local connection rule was a further justification for doing so. Nevertheless, this was not always the case. Anwar, a refugee from Pakistan, had been dispersed to Cardiff but hoped to live in London to access his religious community and facilities. However, local connection rules thwarted the move, a painful realisation for Anwar as he was left with no choice but to stay in Cardiff:

'When I came here, when my family also came, we decided to go to London because we have a lot of community there. When I found that I will go to London and I will take a house on rent and I will pay the advance payment of that house, rented once, and council will not give any house, then I decided to stay here.' [Source: Anwar]

Anwar was fortunate in that he was given accurate information regarding the reality of leaving Cardiff prior to making a permanent move to London. The additional time in Cardiff led to Anwar's comfort and satisfaction with the city. He also first arrived in the UK without his family, leaving him feeling lonely. Once his family had arrived, he felt more content with his situation and was eventually happy to stay in Cardiff.

SNR analysis suggests that refugee stayers have increased odds of being affected by emotional problems at 15 months post status when compared to early movers (Table

A5]. This could link to the experiences of refugees who desire to move on, but the local connection rule prevents them from doing so. This can lead to emotional problems from feeling powerless, trapped and unable to change their situation. It also links to the impact of the local connection rule on refugees' mental health, which we will return to later.

Returning to the interview sample, interestingly the local connection rule may prevent movement in the short term, but determination to move on may be pursued in the long term. Lida, a single mother from Iran mentioned earlier, had been dispersed to Glasgow but wanted to go to London after receiving information from friends on job availability [Rainbird, 2012; Williams, 2006]. However, she still needed ESOL training and friends had said it was difficult to enrol in such courses given London's size and high demand for English classes. Lida also learned that the local connection rule would leave her without free housing if she went to London. She could not afford to pay rent without a job, and she would struggle to find a job without better English skills. Therefore, Lida decided she had to stay in Glasgow for the time being, despite her long term goal to move on.

Despite the local connection rule and the inevitable consequences of moving on, we found evidence of several refugees migrating away from dispersal sites and facing the reality of homelessness. This resulted in refugees sleeping on the street, living in homeless shelters or most commonly relying upon friends, social networks, community organisations or charities until statutory provision could be accessed. The case of Mohammad, who moved from his dispersal site to London, was typical:

'When my family joined me, the housing refused to accommodate us, because they told me that my family should at least stay for six months and then maybe they might be [able to] help me or not … so I was going from one friends to another friends.' [Source: Mohammad]

The local connection rule has led to some refugees finding themselves in catch-22 situations by preventing return to dispersal areas after moving on. Omar and his family had been dispersed to Wales but moved to London upon being granted refugee status. The family experienced problems in London, including homelessness, difficulties accessing education and finding employment. As a result, they re-evaluated their future plans and decided that they would prefer to return to Swansea but cannot do so due to the local connection rule. Omar talked about his experiences and explained the complex situation the family now find themselves in:

'When I came here [to London] and I went to the housing, they refused to give me any accommodation because they told me I'm intentionally homeless because I had accommodation in Swansea and they refused to help me. Then I went and lived with a friend for six months and according to the law, because I have a family, after six months I have access to local housing … You know the problem now if I go to Swansea and I leave the temporary accommodation, I will get another problem. The housing in Swansea will consider me as intentionally homeless so I must get my permanent accommodation in London and then I can swap and go there … Maybe I swap and go back to Swansea but maybe it takes one or two years, I don't know.' [Source: Omar]

There were several cases of refugees who had moved on from dispersal sites seeking a better life, frequently in London. The reality of homelessness, unemployment and unmet expectations in the city subsequently led to refugees re-considering their decision to live in London. Take the case of Hassanzadeh, a man who left his family behind in Iran to seek a better life in the UK. Hassanzadeh had been dispersed to Belfast, where he struggled to

find a job that matched his specific skillset. Encouraged by friends who said his employment prospects would be better in London, Hassanzadeh saved money for six months to pay for a coach ticket to the city, only to find himself homeless and unemployed. At the time of his interview, a local organisation was working to find him temporary accommodation, which was ultimately unsuccessful. Here Hassanzadeh shares the reality of his situation:

'My expectation was from the information, probably misinformation, that within a week, two weeks maximum, they would offer me somewhere to stay. That gentleman said, first time, said 'Okay, we text you, see within a week or two week.' I say oh well that's it, I live within two weeks, they will offer. But now, a month [has gone by] and they haven't [found any accommodation for me]. No, I wasn't expecting this … Now I am frustrated and I'm feeling angry and tired and I also feel for my family, that they don't know what I am going through. They don't know my situation, they don't know I don't speak the language, I don't know the system, so all this will add up and obviously I am really under mental pressure. I am really under pressure from all sides, my family and thinking that I can't explain, they don't understand my situation. I don't know, I am just lost here, I don't know what to do.' [Source: Hassanzadeh]

Hassanzadeh lived rough in London, as he describes:

'Over a month now, I haven't heard from offices, I never seen a room. I always live, sleep outside, in Queens Park. I have place, is a tree, it's almost hidden when you can go inside and sleep there.' [Source: Hassanzadeh]

Hassanzadeh had no food and filled a water bottle wherever he could find a source. He did not receive assistance from the Job Centre nor could he access housing. He eventually returned to Belfast, unable to establish himself in London.

Despite some refugees having a strong desire to return to the original dispersal location, the local connection rule has prevented further movement. Refugees who have moved away for some time do not wish to become homeless again on return. Instead, several refugees talked of eventual house swapping as the only way forward to return to the dispersal site, a reality which could take years. House swapping was also mentioned by refugees as one way to by-pass the local connection rule and facilitate onward migration from the dispersal site. Fathia, the Kuwaiti refugee dispersed to Cardiff, wanted to move to London but was delayed because of local connection rules. She still plans to move by doing a house swap after one year in her current accommodation. In the meantime, staying in Cardiff has been extremely difficult and isolating for Fathia, who is over 65 and living without members of her co-ethnic community (see earlier discussion).

Summary

If one aim of dispersal policy is to ensure that people remain in allocated sites, then time spent in dispersal locations, including developing local connections and accessing services, is crucial. Repeated moves during the asylum process inhibit this and are destabilising for refugees. Once a refugee is granted status, they have 28 days in which to make decisions about housing and onward movement. The result is that homelessness is endemic amongst refugees as they must live in multiple, temporary addresses before gaining access to permanent accommodation. Destitution and homelessness are realities for refugees in the move-on period (Carnet et al., 2014), as the time is insufficient to find accommodation, access mainstream benefits and the labour market. Widespread experiences of housing instability, transience and insecurity also impact on the long-term integration of refugees (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Housing is a basic need and without this, refugees face difficulties

in accessing education and language training. Constant mobility and homelessness also negatively impacts on adult and children's mental health and well-being, which in turn could affect long-term integration into society.

4.4 Discrimination and racism

The SNR indicates that refugees who were part of dispersal report nearly double the levels of physical/verbal attack (13 per cent) even after some time in the UK, when compared to new refugees living with friends or family (Table 16). This could be the result of refugees accepting housing in deprived areas (and with a lack of ethnic communities) when faced with homelessness after grant of status and limited time or knowledge to make an informed decision about where to move (see earlier section).

Table 16: Victim of physical/verbal attack in past 6 months (recorded at 21 months survey) (N=815)

	No	Yes
NASS	394 (87%)	60 (13%)
Friends/family	236 (93%)	18 (7%)
Other	99 (93%)	8 (7%)
Chi square: 7.717 (p=0.021), df=2		

Source: SNR (2005–09)

Existing qualitative research on refugees' experiences of discrimination and racism has found that refugees often deny actions are racist or they reduce their seriousness (Kirkwood et al., 2013). They present racist people as being a minority, beyond the bounds of normal behaviour, and locate events temporally and geographically to avoid a general negative evaluation of the host society. Refugees are reliant upon the host society for protection, so accusations of racism may be seen as ungrateful and/or raise questions about the legitimacy of their claims for protection. This makes racism more difficult to identify and address. In the interview sample, we explicitly explored experiences of discrimination and racism and discuss this below at different scales including within cities, neighbourhoods, accommodation and everyday domains.

Cities and dispersal sites

Perceptions of, and experiences with, racism were noted by several refugees in our sample, and in some cases influenced onward migration decisions. Local attitudes and behaviours affect how welcome refugees feel in a particular city. In the cases presented here, the general feeling people have in place – in cities or in a particular neighbourhood – can profoundly affect their willingness to invest in dispersal sites and influence their migration decisions. Feelings of exclusion were experienced in larger cities that are key dispersal destinations. For example, Mudiwawashe (discussed earlier) had been dispersed to Glasgow at a time when the Home Office was starting to send more asylum seekers to Scotland. She decided to leave Glasgow and moved several more times before settling in Essex, where she now lives:

'Some people say Scottish people are friendly but, this is just my view, I didn't find it like that. I thought they don't really take kindly I think to, not just because I'm black in colour, but I think foreign people. Even maybe to the English, you know what I mean, just other people coming from outside, I don't think they take very well. Someone was telling me Edinburgh is better but I didn't find that in Glasgow. I just felt a bit lost to be honest.' [Source: Mudiwawashe]

Mudiwawashe also lived in the East of England and again experienced problems when her son was bullied:

'My son was bullied at school because of his colour … [the East of England] was really, they wouldn't embrace really. They were difficult because there were only two black children in the school at the time he was there, and somebody was calling him chocolate. I went to the school and I said no, I can't have this.' [Source: Mudiwawashe]

In the case of Um Mujtaba, who travelled to the UK with her mother and siblings after leaving Sudan, her family refused to go to Sunderland, where they were allocated housing by NASS, because an aunt said it was too far from London and the people there were racist. Her aunt had never been to Sunderland and relied on anecdotal evidence to coach the family on location. In response, the Home Office cancelled the home in Sunderland and moved them to a small hotel in South East England. After several months, Um Mujtaba and her family were dispersed to Glasgow. Again, her aunt and a cousin advised that the Scots are racist and hate the English in particular, a sentiment also identified by Mudiwawashe above. The family lived in the south of Glasgow, and while the area was nice and quiet, Um Mujtaba felt uncomfortable living amongst 'whites', as she describes:

'Very nice and quiet place, but they all white. [It bothered me] because I can't get help, and I don't feel welcome. They all look at me when I'm coming and going and when my mum come to visit me they look at her like you are foreigner, why you come to that area?' [Source: Um Mujtaba]

Despite her initial discomfort, Um Mujtaba preferred Glasgow because she had adjusted to the city and now lived northwest of the city centre. What she perceived as racism upon her arrival and what she felt now had changed:

'Since I move to Glasgow, I find out there is a big city, a very quiet city, and no racist at all. In London we still live with African community, but in here, in Glasgow our neighbour is Scottish and we don't have to still [be] with community, with African community, which is sometime they helping and sometime they take you backward.' [Source: Um Mujtaba]

It is interesting that Um Mujtaba now views living amongst Scots as a positive outcome of dispersal, noting that living with other African communities can limit refugee integration (an issue also discussed previously in relation to English language proficiency).

Barre had been dispersed to Swansea after spending some time in Cardiff. A friend told him Swansea was a decent place to live, but Barre found the racism intolerable and returned to Cardiff. Here he describes his experiences in Swansea:

'I don't like Swansea, it's like the countryside. The people who lived the next door, they know in the building there are foreign people and they start to attack us. They break the door. They did everything, vandalism, because they know a foreign people living there. It's like a racist action.' [Source: Barre]

Despite negative experiences in a particular place, some individuals still remain in their dispersal city and ignore racist attacks (Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013). For example, Maya came from Sudan and felt others treated her differently when she first arrived in Cardiff:

'When I first came I thought, oh my God they [locals] are really nice, look at them. They thank the driver, bus driver every time they get off, but then I get looks, like people looking at me funny.' [Source: Maya]

Nevertheless, Maya emphasised that not everyone was racist and attributed such incidents to a lack of ethnic diversity in Cardiff. Within cities, participants often spoke about the conditions of their dispersal accommodation as being located in areas and neighbourhoods where discrimination and racism was an everyday occurrence. For asylum seekers and refugees, this can shape perceptions of dispersal cities and influence onward migration decisions. This may entail a local move or a much larger relocation. Finally, Othman, who moved on to London, thinks racism is less pronounced in the city and has never experienced any trouble there:

'I like the London big city, international city and you see everyone and you see all nationality ... Nobody a racist here but from north England people racism, [this is] the reason I come to London.' [Source: Othman]

Buses

Several participants cited travel on local buses as where they most frequently experienced discrimination and racism. Consider the experiences of three Somali women living in Glasgow. Hinda felt bus drivers often discriminated against her when she stepped on to the bus, whether it was the way they speak to her or their general attitude. Hinda perceived that bus drivers often change their demeanour once they must interact with her, often showing indifference to her. While it was upsetting, Hinda accepted this as only a small issue in a pool of more pressing problems, such as how to survive.

Similarly, Saada accepted that people will always exhibit racist behaviour toward her, anywhere in the world, but it is only part of the population, as she explains: 'Sometimes you see little bit, 20 per cent maybe you see racism or somebody don't like you, 25 per cent.' Saada gives an example from public transport, where she experienced the most problems:

'Especially public transportation, when you go you see the bus driver sometimes he don't like for us. Sometimes also in the bus, some people you will feel, sometimes they don't like for you in the bus even. [For example] just one day I entered the bus and I sit beside a woman. She told me, 'Excuse me'. I was thinking maybe she was going out. She just moved and sit for another chair. That's I feel really terrible. I was thinking maybe she was out in the bus, but she change, sits in another place, and she stood for me like that. You will feel it.' [Source: Saada]

In another example, Saada discussed a specific experience with a bus driver:

'Sometimes you see the bus driver, oh, even he don't want to look for your face. When you are going to the bus he see you, he's like that [demonstrates dismissiveness]. What do you think if you're talking to me and your card is like that [holding bus pass to driver] and I am doing like that [turning away]? For me, I knocked the door. I said, 'Driver, why you don't want to look at me? I'm showing my bus pass' ... Another day we have another bus driver, for me I have back pain, I can't walk even one step. I can't walk long time. We take a bus, and I out of bus next stop. He shouted, 'Oh, they can't walk even one step, they can't walk.' I say, 'What's your point? What's your problem? I have bus pass, that's not your business.' I told [him], 'If I want I can walk. If I want to come, I come the bus', and he told me, 'Shut up.' Yeah, that's what he's telling for me. I told him it's not good what you are doing.' [Source: Saada]

Finally, Dunia had been dispersed to Glasgow and discussed her experiences with racism, primarily occurring on local buses:

'Sometimes there's people calling you the names when you walk in the street, 'Oh, go back to your country', or 'Why did you leave your country?' They're not good people when they speaking to you. When you saw they're not good people, you can leave it. But the most racist is the bus drivers. I believe that for myself. When you are standing the bus stop, if you are alone and you have headscarf and you're a black woman, they left for you even with my hand up.' [Source: Dunia]

Dunia shared that buses had passed her by on several occasions, one time making her late to collect her children from school. These incidents were serious enough that Dunia considered moving away from Glasgow, but she realised that it is only a handful of people who mistreat her and that other people are generally decent. She felt there is a lack of ethnic diversity in Glasgow, however, which created an atmosphere of racism. These perceptions caused Dunia to struggle with the decision to stay in the city or move on.

Finally, when Abdulkarim had been dispersed to the West Midlands after leaving his native Saudi Arabia, he struggled with his refugee status and the treatment he received from locals based on his language and appearance. Also on the bus, Abdulkarim experienced racism from an intoxicated passenger: 'There was someone like 35 years. He was little bit drunk I think, he start shouting and he said bad words, 'Go back to your home.'' Managing poor treatment was not easy for Abdulkarim, but he accepted that as an outcome of little diversity in the West Midlands: 'It's nice place but I think because there are not a lot of people from around the world, they don't know us ... They think bad maybe about us or something like that.'

Children

As well as negative experiences on buses, several participants shared their stories of children inciting racism towards refugee children and adults. Thelma's experiences in Liverpool, where she had been dispersed after fleeing Zimbabwe, demonstrated how children exhibited racist behaviours toward adults and not just other children. Thelma received permanent housing in a new development, and she described her early experiences in the area:

'It was a beautiful house. I was lucky to get a good house, the place is also quiet. There is a few problems here and there whereby the youngsters sometimes shout at you, 'Nigger, go back home, nigger.'' [Source: Thelma]

Thelma recalled an incident that occurred as she waited for the bus to go to work:

'There is a time when they were flashing me with those green lights. They flash, flash, flash, and the other time it was Halloween. I was at the bus stop ready to go for work. They wanted to throw these fireworks in the bus stop but luckily there was a white lady who came in. When they came nearer, somebody shouted, 'Oh, there are people, there is a person here', meaning that if it was me alone they were going to throw the fireworks at me. Mostly I just ignore them because there is nothing which I can do. I'm black and there's no way I can turn myself to any colour.' [Source: Thelma]

Problems with English youths have become normalised for Thelma; she accepted racist behaviour as a reality of being a black foreigner in the UK [Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013]. Racist behaviours from children towards refugee children were observed when parents took their children to parks. Consider the following cases from Iranians who shared their stories from

their dispersal sites. In the first case, Reza and his family had been dispersed to a town in Yorkshire and the family felt racism when Reza's son could not find playmates in the park. He explains:

'My son wanted to play at park with other children. They wouldn't play with my son, other children. Also if neighbours' children wanted to play they were preventing their children to play with us, with my child, so there was a disconnect.' [Source: Reza]

Reza and his family moved on, believing that London would provide the social networks and facilities the family needed to feel comfortable and make a home in the UK. Reza sought the Iranian community for his son in particular, who was struggling with depression and finding friends in the country. In the next case, Sarah shared her experiences in the family's dispersal accommodation in Salford. When at the local park, teenagers would act and speak abusively to her young children. Having moved accommodation within Salford, she again talked of her children's experiences at the park:

'When it [the park] was empty I take them, but [not] when it's lots of children ... You can speak very well like English people and [when] they know that they came from the foreign county, they ignore my children ... They heard some of the words in my language and repeat it and for example laugh at us ... Two or three times it's happened for us, but because I know this problem I try not to go where I am faced with this problem in front of my children. Now I put my children in a school that there are lots of children from other countries, Pakistani for example.' [Source: Sarah]

Like others, Sarah and her children avoided public spaces or chose certain times to venture out in order to minimise negative, racist experiences with other young people. Experiences of racism or discrimination can often lead to refugees avoiding interaction with local people (Phillimore, 2010). Sarah also moved her children to a school which she considers more multicultural.

Alisha (discussed above) had been dispersed to Glasgow with her children and moved several times around the city in search of safe and suitable accommodation for her family. She described problems the family encountered with local children and how it took time for her to report her experiences and receive new accommodation:

'The area wasn't very good and we faced harassment there and whenever the children used to go out for schools, there were children in the street, they abused them, Scottish children. They used to throw stones to our windows and when I put my washing downstairs they took all our washing and binned it. I spoke to my ... housing provider and she said you can report to the police if you want, but I didn't want [to do that] really because I was on asylum that time. I thought if I will complain to police, police will come to our house and this can make worse the things. After I joined Red Cross they encouraged me, 'You need to speak to the police. You shouldn't live there', and then they called a police officer in British Red Cross and I spoke to her and then she helped me a lot to move my accommodation and they moved us.' [Source: Alisha]

Refugee children can also be the targets of racist behaviour within schools. Returning to Nikki, the Zimbabwean woman dispersed to Glasgow alone as a child, she was the only black student in her school and was consequently bullied, leading her to feel isolated. Here Nikki describes her early experiences in Glasgow schools:

'It was really hard. I won't lie to you, that was the worst time of my life. I never enjoyed my school, I won't lie to you. It was hard fitting in, you know when you really feel like an outsider, you really are made to feel like you're nothing. You get things said to you and, it was terrible.' [Source: Nikki]

When Nikki arrived in Glasgow, the Home Office was only beginning to disperse asylum seekers to Scotland. It was isolating for her to be one of few minorities in the city and profoundly affected her emotional development. Even as Nikki learned to manage her poor treatment, and found friends among other ethnic minorities living in the same block of flats, her mistrust of her peers continued and she found it difficult to make friends. In time, Nikki was able to forgive her fellow students and move on, recognising that racism is taught and her classmates did not know better. Nikki has weighed her options carefully and ultimately decided to stay in Glasgow, explaining: 'I'm not that kind of person who takes well to change … Glasgow was what I knew so I wasn't going to go anywhere else.'

Nikki's aunt lived in London and she contemplated going there, where she felt there was more diversity and it would be easier to fit in, but she had already established herself in Glasgow and was not prepared to start over again. In her mid-20s and studying for her degree, Nikki considered herself a loner and, while she had friends, she did not spend much time socialising. More generally, Nikki has observed changes in people's attitudes in Glasgow as more refugees are dispersed there. It has been a slow but positive transformation, and Nikki now plans to stay in Scotland.

Racist domains

Several participants noted distinctions in the way they experience racism, observing that it occurs unevenly in different domains. In some cases, this can spur onward migration but for those content in their city and accommodation, they may accept negative experiences in some aspects of their lives. Julia, who plans to stay in Glasgow, made a poignant observation about how she thinks about the people – friends and strangers – in her everyday life:

'What I have learned through my life course is [that] all relationships are not about a country or a place; it's about our human character. I have met good people here, and I have met bad people here. I feel welcome here not because of people, but because of the place where I have been. I have been saved.' [Source: Julia]

Feelings of gratitude for protection in the UK can often lead refugees to overlook negative, racist experiences (Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013). For Julia, receiving refugee status and permission to stay in the UK made her feel welcome despite the racism she experiences from time to time, such as comments that she is a 'fucking black'. She accepts that some people will not want her in Glasgow, or anywhere in the country, but it matters little in the grand scheme of things.

Similarly, two young Zimbabwean women articulated their feelings about being foreigners in the UK despite holding British citizenship. In the first case, Amanda spoke of not fitting in even after spending years in the country:

'It's not written on my forehead that I've got citizenship. I'm just some black person walking down the street and obviously a foreigner, and when you open your mouth people hear that you're a foreigner … It's making me feel like it doesn't really matter what you do. Even if you try to be a good citizen or if you try and get education and you try and get into jobs,

you'll never be looked at in the same way. Maybe some people might accept you but not everyone ... I think wherever you go it will always be there. It's not going to change really.' [Source: Amanda]

This perception has negatively affected Amanda, who did not feel at home in the UK. Like Amanda, Nikki [discussed above] struggled with belonging even though she is a British citizen. Here she shared her feelings about being at home in the UK:

'Personally, I don't think you ever fit in ... you'll always carry this thing over you that you're not part of that place ... I don't feel like I've lost my [Zimbabwean] identity at all. I don't think I have but you do feel like okay, where do I really fit in here? Am I Zimbabwean or British?' [Source: Nikki]

Interestingly, Amanda and Nikki's feelings regarding their lack of belonging have not affected their mobility decisions. They perceived that exclusion would be problematic anywhere they lived in the UK. While Nikki decided to stay in Glasgow, where she had built her own life, she acknowledged that perhaps she would feel differently had she lived in a more multicultural city such as London. For both women, who do not wish to move and start over again, they accepted negative perceptions of them as realities of living in the UK. In another example, Ahmed had been dispersed to Cardiff after spending time in detention when he arrived from Somalia. His first impressions of Cardiff were of warmth and kindness, as he described:

'They were really welcoming here, and I see that they even take an extra mile for you some-times, because I was lost when I came into this country. I was in town and this guy that owns a shop, I went into the shop and I told him, 'Where is this so and so place?' He had to come out of his shop, basically speak to another guy who was going there and to lead me to that place where I'm going. Who would do that? You don't find that in London. No, you don't find that in Manchester. In Cardiff, yeah you find ups and downs but I feel here I have what I want and I think I'm going to be settling here.' [Source: Ahmed]

Ahmed's positive experiences with people in the streets made him feel accepted as a member of the Cardiff community. He did face what he perceived to be discrimination when setting up a bank account, but that did not detract from Ahmed's overall satisfaction with Cardiff. Along with accessing financial services, perceptions of discrimination extended to other sectors, such as employment. Returning to Saada's case, the Somali refugee living in Glasgow, it had been extremely difficult finding a job, which she attributed to her ethnicity and health problems, as she explained:

'Sometimes I think when we put application ... if they see my name is Saada Hussein [In-terviewer made up this surname], that name it's not Scottish. I'm not the priority, they will put me back. That's what I believe ... Because they're getting many people in Scottish, why they take me? And they don't have disability. You know, you are employer you will take the people fit, you see? That is my problem.' [Source: Saada]

These experiences have pushed Saada to consider leaving Glasgow and moving to another city (or even country) where her job prospects would be better, and where a change in climate might improve her overall health condition (which will be discussed more later).

Similarly, Merhawe had been dispersed to Glasgow and believed race would hinder his job prospects in the city. Here he described his understanding of how others perceived him and how this harmed his self-confidence:

'I can feel the glare. Even if I go and ask for job, even your colour confuse things. They're not going to take me because I'm black … I don't have experience [with this personally], just a feeling … just mentally that I can't get a job when there's a white man here.' [Source: Merhawe]

Merhawe felt this experience was likely everywhere in the UK, but living with other Eritreans would temper that, as he explained: '[It will be present] everywhere I go, but if there is a lot of Eritreans … who will tell you everything, what to do because they show the route.' This sentiment was shared by many Eritreans who felt living with their ethnic community was the only way to survive in the UK and successfully gain employment [as discussed earlier].

Asylum, terrorism and 9/11

In exploring personal experiences further, it became evident that refugees face negative behaviour as a result of wider adverse views on asylum and the realities of post 9/11 Britain. The cumulative effect of these experiences can shape individual confidence and integration outcomes, and it may influence onward migration decisions. This section reveals refugees' thoughts on views of asylum and how it affects them personally.

When Hakim had been dispersed to a village near Birmingham, after leaving Iraq, he experienced racism. He later moved to Birmingham but described his early days in the UK:

'To me it was quite racist area. They didn't like us. When we went to the streets first week, all you heard was swearing and 'bastard', 'you refugees', stuff like that … They didn't attack us but they walk past and swear something, 'refugees', 'smelly', this that.' [Source: Hakim]

At the time of Amanda's interview, the single woman discussed above who moved to Manchester after being dispersed to Glasgow, she had been facing discrimination from local organisations and felt frustrated by her inability to be accepted as a legitimate member of society. Amanda attributed much of the negative perceptions of asylum seekers to media portrayals, as she explained:

'[There are] talks about all these people coming here and they're rude … and then all these programmes coming out about them getting benefits and getting this and that … It's when you hear people talking and all these media things … even with kids in class [at university] about what they've heard about people on asylum. It's not really nice. Sometimes it makes it hard to disclose your status to people … because they're going to look at you differently. People think that you've actually been given a lot of money. They were shocked in my class when they were given a lecture about immigration stuff, that people get five pound a day, 35 pound a week, and they didn't know.' [Source: Amanda]

As alluded to by Amanda, media sources, including outlets such as newspapers, effectively create a climate of fear and mistrust, thereby fostering resentment towards asylum seekers in the local community [Coole, 2002]. Amanda felt that a lack of acceptance would be present anywhere she went in the UK, and it was something that would not change.

Nikki, the refugee from Zimbabwe who lived in Glasgow, echoed Amanda's sentiments, saying:

'Sometimes I feel as if they think you're just coming here to take away their resources and those kind of things. Even if it's not said to you, you feel that you carry that thing over your head. Even if you've got a right to something, you feel as if you don't deserve it.' [Source: Nikki].

Saeed is embarrassed to admit he is a refugee and attributes the treatment he receives as an outcome of Islamophobia, particularly as a native of Iran. His perceptions of how he is viewed have shaped Saeed's sense that nearly everyone was out to discriminate against him and that no one wanted to help him:

'They [UK citizens] imagine we are low. They still imagine we are low, we came from the refugee and we are hungry, no education, no nothing. When they got that you're from Iran, always imagine you are maybe suicide [bomber].' [Source: Saeed]

Saeed's paranoia that he is perceived as a terrorist simply because he comes from Iran adversely affected his mental health and his ability to find work and a place to call home. Indeed, post-9/11 Britain has left an indelible mark on the lives of the country's Muslims. Refugees who arrived in the UK prior to the attacks noted changes in attitudes and the ways in which racist comments were directed towards them. In addition to skin colour and other phenotypic differences that distinguished many refugees from the majority population, racism now emphasised religion, namely Islam, with accusations of terrorism and other xenophobic remarks. Individuals responded to these incidents differently: some accepted this as a reality all over the UK, while others took steps to relocate within cities.

Othman came from Iraq and lived in Leeds at the time of the 9/11 attacks. Here he talked about the changes in racism he observed pre- and post-attacks, a factor which encouraged his move to London:

'Leeds was very nice and people [were] very nice but after eleventh September, the American building when Al Qaeda attack American building, after that people they don't like [us], people hating us. Everywhere they say to us 'fuck off' … I have got problem in Leeds … people racist and people swearing to us. If we answer they come and attack, they hit us … they say you are Muslim and you are from Middle East.' [Source: Othman]

Similarly, Faduma came from Somalia and had been dispersed to Leicester, but moved to London before receiving her status. She lived in the South East when 9/11 occurred. She shared her experiences:

'There've been issues with a lot of hate crime and we've had eggs thrown and sometimes you cannot walk in the street. Things got worse after September Eleven. As a Muslim and as a refugee, you know, that's two pressures you have to deal with … I just felt very vulnerable … After the September Eleven it got worse because before it's just your colour, 'Oh, go back to your country', 'Oh, you are black' and all that, and now you're Muslim, that was the other target which was getting worse. They were going on and, 'Oh, you are a bomber', you're this, you're that.' [Source: Faduma]

Faduma liked her flat but found the area racist, with negative experiences intensifying since 9/11. While Faduma struggled with racism, she also found those in her community at the time who were willing to defend her.

Finally, several Muslim women discussed their encounters with individuals who targeted them for wearing headscarves. Other research corroborates the difficulties refugee women face for wearing traditional Islamic dress, and the belief that they are somehow connected to terrorism [Phillimore, 2010]. Lulia felt discriminated against for wearing a headscarf when she first arrived in Cardiff after fleeing Syria, as she describes:

'The lady just stood and she was staring at me like this because I'm wearing a head-scarf. Like the other time we were at the Lynx [asylum seeker accommodation] a man just opened the door and said you are refugees. He started screaming. He was driving his car and then he approached forward and he started screaming, 'refugees'. So the point is that was the only person that we met that is racist that much, so we can't just assume that everyone in Cardiff might be the same.' [Source: Lulia]

Women generally accepted this treatment as a post-9/11 reality and often overlooked such experiences [Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013], instead focusing on the positive qualities of people and places. A drunk woman took issue with Pomegranate on a local bus in Glasgow, as she explained:

'I was with a friend, she couldn't speak English at all. We were chatting and talking in our language and the lady start to swear at me, at my scarf, at my religion and she start to swear a lot … And because I knew that time, some people they don't like foreign people being in their country, but because there were lots of help come to me as asylum, as a foreign people, from the other people who respect humanity, I couldn't care that much.' [Source: Pomegranate]

Summary
There were many examples of discrimination and racism in the sample evident on local buses, within cities and neighbourhoods and in different spheres of life. While some refugees accepted this as part of living in the UK, others did not feel welcome and took action to move accommodation, neighbourhood or city. In post 9/11 Britain, Muslim refugees also faced double discrimination as they lived with the label 'refugee' as well as their religious identity.

4.5 Health

Physical health
Analysis of the SNR data found that being an early mover means that refugees are less likely to be limited by physical health problems at 21 months than refugee stayers [Table A5]. This may be because refugees move towards better health facilities and/or social networks which provide support with physical health problems. Indeed, several refugees in our sample indicated that physical health problems motivated their onward migration decisions, often in search of facilities that could accommodate their particular health care requirements. Elwasila, a Sudanese man who had been dispersed to Bolton, moved to Manchester at the urging of his friend who felt health services were better there. With myriad physical health problems, Elwasila prioritised his health in making migration decisions, saying, 'He [friend] tell me, to take care for your health come to Manchester. It is the best for you.' Elwasila liked Bolton, but moved to Manchester for access to health care facilities. He explained:

'Manchester is better than Bolton because it's a big city and the hospital here, and I know the GP not far from me and help me every time. And sometimes if I have problem I go emergency and you know Manchester City Council help me, and some like Red Cross and Revive help me to support me for a lot of things like Ring and Ride, for taxi, and bus in Manchester … Here in Manchester I have more than one hospital … This I look for my health.' [Source: Elwasila]

Elwasila travelled to the UK alone and at the time of his interview expected his family to arrive within a couple of months. In addition to health care needs, his decision to move to Manchester was also made knowing he had a friend who would help him, whereas he lacked social support in Bolton. Even with exemplary health facilities and a caring friend, Elwasila stated he would consider leaving Manchester when his wife and son arrived despite feeling

content there. He explained: 'I like to stay here [but] … I have wife and she's coming. Maybe if she would like to stay here it's best for me, and if she want to move for another city [I will have to move].' The arrival of family members in the UK can affect onward migration patterns, even in cases where people are settled in their cities and do not wish to move again. Nonetheless, Elwasila felt confident that Manchester would be better for his family than Bolton, especially regarding his son's education, although he indicated a need to change his accommodation regardless of his family's arrival, because it lacks appropriate disabled facilities.

Conversely, refugees who arrived in the UK with physical health issues or developed problems shortly after entering the country had time to develop relationships with medical care facilitators in their dispersal sites, thus encouraging them to continue seeking treatment under the watch of trusted physicians and nurses locally. Take Amin's case, a single man from Iraq who had a terminal illness when he arrived in the UK and had been dispersed to Cardiff. Amin came close to death on several occasions but is currently managing his condition with medication. Despite visiting other cities in the UK, Amin was happy in Cardiff and felt people are friendly. His physical health problems limited his ability to travel, and he did not wish to start over by moving to an unfamiliar area where he did not know people and the health care providers. Interestingly, Amin lived with his brother, who moved to another UK city several years ago for a job opportunity, only to return three days later when worrying about Amin's health pushed him back to Cardiff.

In other cases, negative health experiences in dispersal sites, whether from stress of the asylum process or challenges settling into life in the UK, can motivate the desire to onward migrate. Physical health problems can stem from poor mental health. Looking at Fathia's case again, she fell physically ill after being dispersed to Cardiff, a cumulative effect of the stress from leaving Kuwait, arriving in the UK and applying for asylum. Her health declined after receiving temporary accommodation in Cardiff, as she explains: 'I was strong [before], my weight was 85 [kilos], and after that my health became destroyed.' Fathia's complicated asylum case, which was initially refused, exacerbated her health problems. She collapsed at one point due to stress and had to use crutches. Fathia had a pre-existing health condition before coming to the UK, but problems proliferated once in Cardiff: 'When I came here everything changed to me. I had like depression, a lost trust. Once I get here, I got knee problems. Day after day, my health is destroyed, day by day.'

Fathia wished to move to London, where she could find support through her ethnic community, but was constrained by the local connection rule. Fathia's current accommodation was in a caring house (provided by the council) and conflicted with her desire to relocate, as she cannot afford to support herself and would lose any right to housing if she left Cardiff.

Health care needs may trump other factors that would otherwise influence onward migration, such as employment opportunities or existing ethnic communities. Similarly to Fathia, Sam (discussed above), a single male, suffered physically and mentally upon his arrival in the UK. He had been dispersed to Glasgow and tried to settle in the city but ultimately found it adversely affected his health and decided to move to London. He describes his experience:

'In Glasgow in those [first] two months, I developed some kind of physical kind of illness, or feeling uncomfortable. Now you can see me, I have really lost weight since I arrived in this country. I had consultation several times with my GP, and he suggested that I should go and do activities, meet people, go out, do things with the Red Cross, but overall nothing happened. I didn't feel okay in Glasgow.' [Source: Sam]

While London has improved his condition generally, Sam still would like to move again in the future after completing his education.

Overlapping physical and mental health problems may encourage refugees to stay in their dispersal sites for the familiarity and stability the city provides. Consider Abdi's case, a man who came from Syria with his family and battled debilitating physical illness and mental trauma from his experiences prior to leaving his country and the ongoing conflict there. Abdi's health problems have limited his interaction with the Syrian community in Cardiff, where he and his family had been dispersed, instead encouraging him to focus on Syrian news. Physical limitations exacerbated Abdi's poor mental health, as his immobility led to a lack of social interaction that enabled him to concentrate on current events in Syria, as he explained:

'I read books but most of the time I [am] reading, I listen to the news about my country, you can say every morning until the evening I can't stop it. You can say I [am] addicted to hear the news and I can't stop it. Anyway it's your country … I know it doesn't help me, it makes me stressed but I can't stop it. … It's very heavy on my spirit. Now I can't sleep all night in case, sometimes I take strong antidepressants to sleep at least three or four hours.' [Source: Abdi]

Abdi chose to remain in Cardiff, the place he called home, and noted how peaceful it was there. The time he spent in the city cultivated feelings of comfort, stability and familiarity, which were important as he and his family dealt with the emotional impact of fleeing Syria. In addition to positive feelings about the warmth of Welsh people, Abdi visited his GP two or three times each week and was physically incapable of extensive movement. Abdi's physical and mental health problems limited his integration, but those are barriers he worked to overcome in Cardiff.

In another example, Saada considered leaving Glasgow last year, where she had been dispersed, but ultimately decided to stay in the city. She suffered from chronic depression since leaving Somalia in 1994 and later developed other physical problems. As she explained, Saada's poor health motivated her desire to move to London but structural factors prevented her from doing so. Saada's friends in London discouraged her from moving there. While she had close friends who would have accommodated her, children living in the house would have made staying there difficult during severe bouts of illness, and ultimately Saada required her own living space. In addition to a change of scenery, Saada felt the weather in London would provide relief to health problems, and potentially better health care facilities:

'When I went in London [to visit friends during winter], it's little bit okay. I said it's not cold like Glasgow. When I came back I see the cold, I say wallahi [I swear to Allah] it's [London] better. My shoulders, all the joints I feel, I think maybe if I go hotter place, maybe I will be better. And there's another reason. You know, I became sometimes very sick and I suffer. Sometimes I feel I have fever, maybe I have bacteria. But they have seen here, they give me treatment, they told me it's resistance for antibiotic. Sometimes I'm telling if I go London there's many hospitals and it's private, maybe I see them, something like that I got in my mind.' [Source: Saada]

Saada's health problems additionally limited her employment prospects. A combination of these factors along with her desire for a warm climate left Saada considering a much larger move once she became a citizen, most likely outside the UK to the Middle East.

Mental health

Research has documented how asylum systems across Europe negatively impact upon the mental health of refugees [Bakker et al., 2014]. Cross-tabulation of SNR data found that those living in all accommodation types at the baseline survey stated high levels of emotional problems at 15 months after grant of status, with the highest proportion among those living with friends and family [Table 17]. The process of being dispersed, living in NASS accommodation and isolated from family and kin is known to cause individuals to feel isolated and distressed. Furthermore, those living with family or friends may experience emotional problems as a result of the stress of overcrowding within accommodation and/or the lack of financial resources.

Table 17: Bothered by emotional problems in past 4 weeks (recorded at 15 months survey) (N=1103)

	No	Yes
NASS	178 (28%)	448 (72%)
Friends/family	71 (20%)	277 (80%)
Other	32 (25%)	97 (75%)
Chi square: 7.635 (p=0.022), df=2		

Source: SNR (2005–09)

Many of the refugees in our sample suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder or have developed mental health problems after their arrival in the UK, often due to protracted asylum cases or the dispersal process itself. Maya, the young woman from Sudan discussed earlier, struggled when she was dispersed to Cardiff, as she described:

'It's kind of me throwing away my past and then coming into this country and not having any contact with anyone back home, so it was kind of very emotional and scary as well … Since then I was diagnosed with depression and anxiety because it was completely hard, that change and the pressure … The depression, anxiety just made me not want to leave the house, to get up and do the day to day activities or even meet new people. I used to accept change and adapt but when I claimed asylum, it was the kind of the opposite. I hated change.' [Source: Maya]

Over time, Maya forced herself to make friends and began to volunteer in the community. While Maya still suffered from depression, saw a psychiatrist and took medication, she decided to stay in Cardiff for the people she eventually met and the support she received.

In a rather unusual example, Anna and her husband applied for asylum when they entered the UK through Gatwick and had been dispersed to Manchester after spending time in detention. Their asylum application was denied, and they were eventually deported to their native Iran. They were imprisoned upon arrival, and it was several frightening months before they were released. An agent in Iran promised to take them to Canada, but instead the couple found themselves back in the UK, this time entering through Glasgow. The stress of their first asylum experience had caused Anna to seek professional treatment during the deportation process; she even attempted suicide to avoid returning to Iran. Events that occurred in Iran after deportation left Anna depressed. She explained:

'I can't get rid of these things at all. It's still with me, it's very difficult. It's been three to four years but I cannot get rid of these things at all on my mind … We were scared so much. We were hurt so much. I cannot sleep properly, I keep seeing my doctor. I'm on medication due to all these problems, all these years.' [Source: Anna]

Anna's experience as an asylum seeker in Glasgow the second time around was much more positive. She felt Scotland treated her better [than England] and was comfortable in the local Glasgow community, saying,

'The people of Scotland really helped us to get into this society … The only reason we have so many friends is just because they [Scots] are friendly, so we could easily communicate with them.' Anna believes Scotland is the best place for her as she continues to work on improving her mental health. The friendships the family developed in Glasgow have accelerated Anna's progress in combatting her depression.' [Source: Anna]

The decision to onward migrate from a dispersal site sometimes leads to additional moves in search of a comfortable place to call home. While the SNR modelling found that mobility can be beneficial for refugees, which may be the result of refugees moving to live with or near friends, family or co-ethnic communities for support, it seems that multiple moving significantly increases refugees' likelihood of being bothered by emotional problems [Table A5]. The following two cases illustrate the impact of stress caused by feeling unsettled. In the first example, Joude stayed in Croydon while his asylum application was under consideration. Once he received his status, Joude found himself without any support and used his networks in Iraq to find help from other Kurds already living in the UK. He moved to Daventry and stayed with his new friends for six months, though it was an extremely trying time. Joude suffered from depression and referred to that period as more difficult than anything he had experienced in life. This was partly the result of his dependence on friends, but also that Daventry lacked a Kurdish community and Joude did not have the English language skills required to meet other people, as he said: 'I don't know no one but two or three friends and I sit there and do nothing while they went to work. It felt like I was in prison and I was so low, so depressed.' Even though he found a job and eventually made friends through work, Joude left Daventry three years later when he married. Aside from his wife's preference for larger cities, Joude was haunted by his earlier experiences in the city:

'Honest to God, Daventry was very nice. But the problem is that I was suffering and I want to forget bad times. It was so difficult there in the beginning and I had so many problems starting my life that the memories were very bad for me. I discussed this with my wife and she encouraged me to move, to go somewhere new to start fresh and to make new memories that are better.' [Source: Joude]

Their fresh start began in Bolton, where friends encouraged them to move and they stayed six months. They then moved to Manchester, a city with the Kurdish community and resources the couple sought. Joude and his wife remained in Manchester with their growing family and had no plans to relocate again: 'I'm like a fish. If you take a fish from the water, it will die. If you take me out of Manchester, I will die. It's like all of Manchester is my house and I take care of it.'

In the next example, Mohammad aspired to live in London on his arrival from Iran, only to be dispersed to Bristol after spending some time in Cardiff. He came to the UK without his family and was sick with worry about them, which affected his experiences:

'I didn't know what would be happening, the future of my family, and I was suffering from watchfulness [insomnia] as well … I was just waiting, and I really suffered from the stress and worrying about my family. I never go out to explore what there is in the city, just sometimes for walking.' [Source: Mohammad]

Mohammad, discussed above, decided to move on to Birmingham from Bristol. By this time, he had received his status and thought he might find happiness there but soon felt distressed and homesick, as he explained: 'Because my family was very far away of me, I start to be very depressed. My mind about the city in general changed, and I just quit the city.' For Mohammad, dispersal was the first of many disappointments in the UK that instigated his poor mental health. He was depressed after being sent to Cardiff and then to Bristol, cities he did not choose to live in, while Birmingham was what he thought might be an opportunity to find a comfortable home. Unhappy with his situation there, he moved on to London, where Mohammad became 'intentionally homeless' due to the local connection rule. Uncertainty regarding his family's arrival was the primary source of his depression in the early days, but once they reunited the stress shifted to a focus on a lack of housing, protection and security for his family in London. At the time of his interview, Mohammad was greatly distressed about how he would build a life for his family in the UK. They could stay in London, Mohammad's ideal destination, but without a home, or they could move on to a less suitable city where housing might be a possibility.

There are close connections between family relationships and onward migration patterns. Similarly to Elwasila's case above, onward migration decisions are sometimes made to accommodate family needs and particularly those related to mental health issues. Consider Omar's case, who was also discussed above, who had been dispersed to Swansea with his family and moved to London when his wife was depressed. Omar loved Swansea and wanted to stay, but he agreed to relocate for the sake of his wife's mental health. He explained:

'It was very clear for me to see her [my wife] every day, she was crying … She was very depressed in Swansea because it was very hard for her to speak English and so to some extent she got isolated, she didn't have any friends or, but because I know there is a big community of Ahwazi people who speak the same language in London, I came to London.' [Source: Omar]

Omar's wife learned English, made friends and established herself in London. Now that the family felt settled in the UK, and Omar's wife felt more comfortable in the country, they would like to return to Swansea, believing the quiet and peaceful area where they lived was superior to the fast pace of London. Difficulties with housing, employment, and schools for the children also motivates their wish to return to Wales, but local connection rules have stalled their move.

Intimate partner relationships can provide the stability individuals need to settle in their dispersal locations, or it can encourage them to move on for different reasons. Consider the two following cases of men whose relationships determined their mobility decisions. In the first instance, Masoud (discussed earlier) had been dispersed to Glasgow and struggled with depression when he arrived in the UK. Meeting his Scottish girlfriend was instrumental in overcoming feelings of loneliness and making him feel more at home in Glasgow. Here Masoud described how important that relationship was in his life:

'[My girlfriend is] part in that process of feeling happy … She plays a great role in that. Why? I could imagine if I didn't have [my girlfriend], if I was alone having lots of friends,

Scottish, Iranian, Kurdish, Arab, African, it doesn't matter but I can imagine, I have spent time to think about that and I appreciate that I have [my girlfriend], because I could still make progress, I could still make friends, I could still find job, I could still go to the uni, and still feel like I'm making a new life here, but I could be depressed. I could feel lonely as I used to … People like me, to be honest, are more vulnerable to these kind of feelings because they've been through traumatic experience in their journey and before they start their journey in their own country. They're more vulnerable emotionally, so you are very likely to feel lonely, to feel depressed, to have sleeping difficulties, but having someone that you can love and you can hope to make a life with and you can be loved, it's a totally different world to live in.' [Source: Masoud]

Hakim had been dispersed to Birmingham and had problems with his asylum case, resulting in depression over his inability to work. He explained:

'I was really depressed. Every day I wake up, I was losing my hair. I had lots of hair and now it's gone [laughs] … Depressed because I didn't have a future and … if you not work it's not nice. Not just staying in the house and waiting for Home Office, they send you visa or if they send permission to work. It was really bad. I didn't even tell my doctors I was depressed.' [Source: Hakim]

Hakim eventually received refugee status and married a British woman. His life improved as they established their home in Birmingham, but the marriage broke down and Hakim's depression returned once they went their separate ways:

'I get a new private flat [in Birmingham] and after that the depression is come back again. It was like, because I was there, she was there and I didn't want to [go] back to her, and I was thinking that this is it. I have to leave Birmingham, I have to move on.' [Source: Hakim]

Summary

Overall, it seems that moving might be beneficial for refugees' employment and health outcomes. However, high levels of mobility are not good for refugees' mental health. This might be related to expectations not being met, such as refugees imagining that mobility will bring improvement in their lives (jobs, networks, and so on). But this is not always the reality, which has been evident in several interviews.

Conclusion

In this report we demonstrate that refugees' decisions to migrate onward or to stay in their dispersal locations are extremely complex, with such decisions influencing and shaping integration outcomes. We have uncovered how the ethnic composition of dispersal cities has shifted over time, encouraging more refugees to stay on after grant of status. Rather than viewing onward migration as merely a failure of dispersal policy, we suggest that positive outcomes can result from such movement. Nevertheless, we also raise important concerns over the provision of refugee integration support in dispersal locations, a lack of which can encourage refugees to leave. Below we outline our key conclusions, which link to the top five recommendations outlined above.

Dispersal policy has diversified the ethnic composition of many UK cities, with evidence of growing numbers of refugees staying.

Given that UK dispersal policy has operated for 15 years now, it is not surprising that the policy itself has shaped the urban landscape, particularly in terms of ethnic composition. Our findings indicate that, in Glasgow, Manchester and Cardiff, there has been an observed visible increase in ethnic diversity as a result of UK dispersal policy. This is a continuous process and for some refugees, the changes are not sufficient for them to stay (e.g. small ethnic communities or lack of service provision). Nevertheless, there are many examples of refugees who are encouraged by the on-going transformation of their dispersal city and choose to stay, pointing not only to increased ethnic diversity but positive changes in attitudes amongst local communities. While being cautious about overly positive observations in dispersal cities and cognisant of the realities of racism, our research confirms that with time refugees can integrate in dispersal sites as they contribute both economically and culturally to society (Kearns and Whitley, 2015). Consequently, we have found strong evidence that the dynamic nature of dispersal sites, as influenced by UK dispersal policy itself, plays a crucial role in refugees' onward migration decisions.

Refugees who are dispersed as asylum seekers have higher levels of onward migration than other new refugees.

While UK dispersal policy has effectively 'spread the burden' and provided the impetus for multicultural cities, it has failed to halt all movement after grant of refugee status. This research found that being dispersed results in higher levels of onward migration amongst refugee populations. It is not surprising that onward migration occurs when refugees are housed in sites where they are isolated from social networks and ethnic communities. Dispersal to locations that asylum seekers and refugees perceive as undesirable and without social networks or communities may result in increased mobility as people determine where to live.

Real or perceived lack of employment opportunities in dispersal sites is a primary motivation for onward migration. Social networks are instrumental in perpetuating perceptions of job availability, and they also facilitate employment for refugees.

Existing literature has stressed the economic and non-economic motivations for internal migration. Although multiple factors emerged in the interviews, one key issue in relation to peripheral dispersal sites was perceived lack of employment. Dominant narratives about place revolved around refugees gaining employment elsewhere, with limited or no opportunities in dispersal sites. Whether this is a reality or per-

ception (re)told amongst refugee communities in cities like Cardiff and Glasgow, it clearly impacts upon the actual mobility decisions of refugees. Even individuals who expressed happiness within their dispersal sites stated that they would ultimately move for employment. This clearly indicates that if cities wish to retain refugees, facilitating employment must be a top priority. Understanding whether job shortages are a reality requires further investigation, as well as addressing the barriers refugees face in gaining employment (Bloch, 2004). Evidence from this research shows that refugees tend to rely on their co-ethnic communities to gain employment (see also Bloch *et al.*, Forthcoming) and therefore move away from dispersal cities to gain access to such assistance.

The amount of time spent in dispersal sites as well as experiences in those places impact on onward migration decisions.

Time in dispersal sites was found to foster stability and increase the propensity of refugees to stay. Although some refugees had initially resented being placed in dispersal sites and anticipated moving immediately on being granted status, feelings of being connected to place and feeling 'at home' led them to stay. Clearly if the aim of dispersal policy is to ensure that people remain in the allocated sites, then time spent in place, including developing local connections and accessing services, is crucial. A caveat to this point, however, is that for some refugees the negative experiences in place (irrespective of time) mean that a desire to 'start a new life' motivates the need to move on, which in such cases may be the best option for ensuring positive integration outcomes.

The likelihood of onward migration varies by nationality group and works in tandem with other important factors, such as having children or other family in the UK and an individual's relationship to the broader co-ethnic community.

Akin to other refugee onward migration studies, this research demonstrates variation in mobility decisions by different nationality groups. Eritrean refugees appear to be relatively mobile and move towards cities where there are significant Eritrean communities. This is important for gaining employment, receiving assistance with English language and obtaining support for family and children. By contrast, most of the Iranian and Zimbabwean refugees in the interview sample did not desire to migrate towards existing co-ethnic communities for various reasons. The onward migration of refugees after dispersal seems to depend upon the importance (or not) that is placed upon the existing co-ethnic community by the new refugee. Most interestingly, different onward migration patterns have resulted in divergent outcomes for refugee groups. A lack of support and social capital has resulted in the likelihood that Iranians will move multiple times in an effort to find the 'ideal' location. By contrast, Zimbabweans' previous experiences in the UK enable them to make more informed decisions, meaning they are likely to move less often. While nationality differences are most apparent in the sample, these distinctions are intricately linked to education levels, English language proficiency and channel of entry to the UK. The diverse nature of refugee populations means onward migration decisions after UK dispersal are extremely complex and vary between different groups.

Stability for children, a desire for privacy or the presence of intra-ethnic conflict can be more important drivers of onward migration than joining co-ethnic communities. This suggests a need to diversify conceptualisations of the ways in which pre-existing co-ethnic communities influence refugee onward migration. The complex role

that pre-existing co-ethnic communities play in onward migration decisions serves to push people towards or pull them away from those communities, as revealed in a significant number of cases in this study by refugees who distance themselves from their co-ethnic communities for the sake of English language acquisition and positive integration outcomes. Intra-ethnic differences as well as relationships between new refugee groups and existing ethnic communities were identified, highlighting cultural heterogeneity among the same ethnic groups and nationals that demands attention in future investigations.

Finally, similar to other migrant groups, gender, family composition and the life course stage of refugees can be an important predictor of onward migration. Refugees with children often make onward migration decisions based upon their children's needs, such as stability and good education systems. Developing this further, one key non-economic motivation for refugee onward migration which emerged in this study was the role of family reunification. While single refugees appeared to be footloose, moving multiple times around the UK, the actual or anticipated arrival of the same refugee's partner and/or children led to new priorities. Family reunification may immediately lead to more movement, e.g. moving to a preferred city or location within a city for children's education or to meet the partner's needs, but ultimately leads to more stability and less movement.

Onward migration can be a positive step taken towards integration. Nevertheless, refugees also decide to leave dispersal sites as a result of a lack of integration support.

This study demonstrates that a key reason refugees move towards co-ethnic communities is for language and employment support. In such cases, the decision to onward migrate within the UK should be viewed as a positive step towards long-term integration and not necessarily a failure of dispersal policy. Nevertheless, onward migration also occurs due to a lack of integration support for refugees after grant of status. There is a lack of funded integration programmes to support and advise refugees in the immediate period after being granted status, which results in individuals deciding to leave dispersal sites due to limited housing options, lack of employment and lack of job training. Integration measures in dispersal sites need to focus on employment preparedness as early as possible to ensure that refugees are fully informed and equipped. One example of good practice is the Scottish Refugee Integration Strategy that recognises integration as beginning on day one of an asylum application [Scottish Government, 2013]. Additional research is also needed to examine whether positive regional views on asylum policy result in better outcomes for refugee settlement and integration [Mulvey, 2015; Schech, 2012].

Multiple onward moves caused by homelessness, temporary housing or moves based on minimal information can lead to instability and poor integration outcomes.

Current legislation dictates that refugees have 28 days in which to make decisions about housing and onward movement following a grant of status. Due to the shortage of social housing, this policy clearly leaves refugees more likely to move on. The research found that refugees lack information and knowledge about potential destinations and rely upon social networks, which can result in poorly informed mobility decisions and realities not meeting expectations. In such cases, refugees onward migrate again to another suitable destination. While we agree that onward migra-

tion should not necessarily be regarded as a negative outcome of dispersal, it seems that multiple, uninformed moves can adversely affect individuals, not only in terms of facing practical issues such as homelessness (due to the local connection rule) or unemployment but also on mental health outcomes. Overall, then, refugees may onward migrate or decide to stay, but neither decision can be regarded as necessarily the best option for integration.

Key policy recommendations

Based on the research, key recommendations have been made in the areas of employment, local communities, education, housing, racism and health. Several recommendations have been made for specific policy makers, local authorities and service providers who work with refugees across the UK.

The **UK Government** should:

- allow asylum seekers to choose their dispersal location, subject to availability of adequate housing;
- ensure asylum seekers are placed in appropriate, stable accommodation immediately on dispersal and minimise the time spent in initial accommodation (where moving to a different accommodation is necessary, asylum seekers should be given the choice to remain in the same area);
- grant more powers to local authorities to oversee the provision of asylum accommodation;
- consider contracting the provision of asylum seeker accommodation to devolved governments and/or local authorities;
- ensure all asylum seekers are eligible to access free ESOL courses immediately after claiming asylum;
- consider waiving the fees for all asylum seekers attending further education courses;
- ensure funding agencies provide clear and accessible guidance on asylum seekers' and refugees' eligibility and entitlements in relation to further and higher education;
- work with local authorities and the DWP to ensure refugees are fully supported until they are in receipt of mainstream benefits and have access to housing;
- include refugees as early access participants in employment programmes; and
- increase the amount of integration loans available to refugees to cover a deposit and rent in advance.

The **Home Office** should:

- provide asylum seekers with detailed information about how to report harassment and the possibility of requesting a move to a different accommodation, emphasising that reporting will not have an adverse impact on their asylum application;
- develop clear and transparent guidance on dealing with requests for change of accommodation due to the asylum seeker being subject to racial harassment;
- allow asylum seekers with healthcare needs to choose their dispersal location, subject to availability of adequate housing and care services provision; and
- provide clear guidance to caseworkers and accommodation providers to ensure asylum seekers with healthcare needs developed or identified after the initial screening can move to appropriate accommodation and have access to the necessary services.

The **Scottish Government** should:

- ensure that, once support for unemployed people through the employment programmes is devolved, the services operate in a way that addresses the specific needs of refugees, helping them overcome barriers to employment;

- ensure asylum seekers and refugees provide input into and benefit from initiatives for promoting equality and community cohesion, and initiatives for tackling racism and hate crime;
- ensure funding agencies provide clear and accessible guidance on asylum seekers' and refugees' eligibility and entitlements in relation to further and higher education; and
- use the administrative powers to be devolved in relation to Universal Credit to prevent homelessness and support refugees in accessing stable and appropriate housing as well as maintaining a healthy tenancy.

The **Welsh Government** should:

- revise the *Refugee Integration Strategy* in relation to employment and housing in partnership with local authorities, DWP, refugee-assisting NGOs and other relevant stakeholders with a view to agreeing on concrete actions and time frame for their implementation;
- ensure asylum seekers and refugees provide input into and benefit from initiatives for promoting equality and community cohesion, and initiatives for tackling racism and hate crime;
- ensure funding agencies provide clear and accessible guidance on asylum seekers' and refugees' eligibility and entitlements in relation to further and higher education; and
- ensure sufficient administrative resources are in place to cope with the consequences of the extension of the period of eligibility for homelessness assistance to 56 days so that refugees continue to receive timely support.

The **Department for Work and Pensions** should:

- ensure Jobcentre Plus staff and Work Programme providers have sufficient knowledge of the barriers to employment facing refugees and adequate skills to address them by providing training, including through partnership with specialist refugee providers;
- revise the *Refugee Customer Journey* guidance on how DWP procedures should be applied to refugees, in partnership with specialist refugee providers;
- work with NGOs and other stakeholders to increase the volunteer opportunities available for refugees; and
- ensure the implementation of Universal Credit takes into account the specific needs and circumstances of refugees.

The **Department for Communities and Local Government** should:

- ensure asylum seekers and refugees provide input into and benefit from national initiatives for promoting equality and community cohesion; and
- ensure asylum seekers and refugees provide input into and benefit from initiatives for tackling racism and hate crime.

Local authorities should:

- develop, coordinate and monitor local refugee integration strategies, promoting a multi-agency approach;
- form partnerships with other local authorities to coordinate policies and improve services for refugees;
- develop clear guidance on the application of the 'local connection rule' to refugees and consider introducing flexibility for refugees who move to seek employment or access training;
- in partnership with refugee-assisting NGOs, map community groups, faith groups and refugee community organisations in the local area, identify gaps in funding and services, and develop a strategy to address them;
- develop and provide information packages to asylum seekers and refugees about volunteering opportunities in the local area;
- consult, inform and encourage refugees to participate in cultural, recreational and sports activities;
- develop and implement strategies to disseminate accurate information about asylum seekers and refugees which address local residents' concerns;
- in partnership with specialist refugee NGOs, funding agencies and learning providers, develop information packages for asylum seekers and refugees specific to the local context, outlining their eligibility, entitlements and additional sources of funding for further and higher education;
- engage with the Home Office and housing providers to advocate for placing asylum seekers in stable and appropriate accommodation, to allow them to better plan and discharge duties in relation to service provision;
- develop clear guidance on the assessment of priority need and the application of the 'local connection rule' to refugees, especially in relation to a more flexible interpretation of 'family associations' criteria, particularly in cases involving refugees with physical or mental healthcare needs;
- engage with the Home Office, housing providers and the DWP to establish a coordination mechanism to discharge their duty to prevent homelessness, ensuring refugees granted status are not left without accommodation and support;
- develop housing information packages for refugees specific to their circumstances and the local context, including the local connection rule and ensure staff have the capacity to provide advice and assistance tailored to refugees' needs;
- consider introducing loans, or, where possible, grants to refugees to cover a deposit and rent in advance;
- initiate multi-agency partnerships to tackle racism, including representatives from organisations such as Runnymede or the Migrants' Rights Network, refugee organisations, the police, accommodation providers and the Home Office;
- ensure a robust mechanism is in place to monitor adherence to cluster limits as well as accommodation providers' compliance with the obligation to take into account social cohesion and local services' capacity when selecting properties to provide accommodation;
- engage with community organisations and refugee-assisting NGOs to encourage asylum seekers and refugees to report racist incidents;

- develop and distribute information packages for asylum seekers and refugees on what physical and mental healthcare services are available in the area and how to access them; and
- develop 'Peer Education' models for sharing information and confidence about the use of health services for asylum seekers and refugees (subject to funding).

Learning providers should:

- ensure staff dealing with asylum seekers and refugees have an understanding of their rights and specific needs and are capable of addressing them (training could be delivered in partnership with refugee-assisting NGOs);
- provide information, guidance and advice to asylum seekers and refugees on eligibility, entitlements and sources of funding;
- exercise discretion in relation to asylum seekers' eligibility for home fee status for higher education and consider providing alternative financial support, e.g. through scholarships; and
- endeavour to meet refugees' childcare needs, including by providing childcare facilities, establishing scholarships to cover the costs of childcare or making arrangements with childcare providers.

Police forces should:

- ensure that police officers receive training on issues affecting refugees and the barriers they face to reporting harassment.

Bus operators should:

- establish a mechanism to report racial harassment, encouraging passengers to make use of it and providing training and guidance to staff on identifying and handling racial harassment.

Clinical commissioning groups/health boards should:

- ensure primary care practitioners receive training on refugees' specific needs, barriers to accessing healthcare and the impact of the asylum process on mental and physical care, and are aware of the appropriate referral mechanisms and services (training may be delivered in cooperation with refugee-assisting NGOs);
- encourage the use of qualified and appropriate interpreting services and ensure healthcare workers receive training on working with interpreters, know what rights patients have to access interpretation services and implement these rights fully and consistently;
- ensure physical and mental health services are responsive to asylum seekers' and refugees' needs by conducting an evaluation including effective engagement with service users; and
- develop and improve services to meet the mental health needs of asylum seekers and refugees, in particular those arising from the asylum process and past trauma and torture.

Appendix

Table A1: Basic information for interview sample (n=83)

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Religion	Marital status	Children	Arrival in UK	Time to status	Dispersal region[16]	Mover/Stayer	Plans to move on
Nana	Female	35–44	Morocco	Muslim	Divorced	No	2005–10	9m	Wales	Stayer	No
Myriam	Female	18–24	Morocco	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	6m	Wales	Stayer	No
Maya	Female	25–34	Sudan	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	13m	Wales	Stayer	No
Fatima	Female	65+	Kuwait	Muslim	Widowed	Yes	Since 2010	2y	Wales	Stayer	Yes
Fatima	Female	35–44	Gambia	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	3m	Wales	Stayer	Yes
Hiva	Female	35–44	Iran	None	Divorced	Yes	Since 2010	2m	Wales	Mover	Maybe
Sengimana	Female	35–44	Tanzania	Christian	Separated	Yes	2005–10	7y	Wales	Stayer	Yes
Hannah	Female	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Married	Yes	Since 2010	3m	Wales	Stayer	No
Mani	Female	25–34	Syria	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	3m	Wales	Stayer	Maybe
Mavis	Female	45–64	Zimbabwe	Christian	Divorced	Yes	Before 2005	7y	Wales	Stayer	No
Sofia	Female	25–34	Somalia	Muslim	Married	Yes	Before 2005	4y	Wales	Stayer	Maybe
Lulia	Female	18–24	Syria	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	2m	Wales	Stayer	Maybe
Abdi	Male	35–44	Syria	None	Married	Yes	Since 2010	16m	Wales	Stayer	No
Liban	Male	25–34	Somalia	Muslim	Married	Yes	2005–10	2.5y	Wales	Stayer	Yes
Ahmed	Male	25–34	Somalia	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	2y	Wales	Stayer	No
Barre	Male	35–44	Syria	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	2m	Wales	Mover	Maybe
Sargon	Male	18–24	Syria	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	2m	Wales	Stayer	Maybe
Dyako	Male	25–34	Iran	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	1m	Wales	Stayer	Yes
Anwar	Male	45–64	Pakistan	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	2m	Wales	Stayer	No
Amin	Male	25–34	Iraq	Muslim	Single	No	2005–10	4y	Wales	Stayer	No
Moussa	Male	18–24	Syria	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	Wales	Stayer	Maybe
Lida	Female	25–34	Iran	None	Married	Yes	Since 2010	3m	Scotland	Stayer	Yes
Nuri	Female	35–44	Sri Lanka	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	Maybe
Anna	Female	25–34	Iran	Christian	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1y	Scotland	Stayer	No
Pomegranate	Female	35–44	Iraq	Muslim	Married	Yes	2005–10	5y	Scotland	Stayer	No

[16] Cities have been replaced by region to protect identity in some sensitive cases.

Name	Gender	Age	Country	Religion	Marital status		Period	Duration	Region		
Alisha	Female	25–34	Pakistan	Muslim	Separated	Yes	2005–10	4y	Scotland	Stayer	No
Um Mujtaba	Female	18–24	Sudan	Muslim	Single	Yes	2005–10	4y	Scotland	Stayer	No
Nikki	Female	25–34	Zimbabwe	Christian	Single	No	Before 2005	5y	Scotland	Mover	No
Sara	Female	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Single	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	No
Selam	Female	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Married	No	Since 2010	6m	Scotland	Stayer	Yes
Julia	Female	35–44	Ivory Coast	Christian	Single	Yes	Since 2010	3y	Scotland	Stayer	No
Hinda	Female	35–44	Somalia	Muslim	Divorced	Yes	2005–10	1m	Scotland	Stayer	No
Saada	Female	45–64	Somalia	Muslim	Divorced	Yes	2005–10	16m	Scotland	Stayer	Yes
Dunia	Female	25–34	Somalia	Muslim	Married	Yes	2005–10	3y	Scotland	Stayer	Maybe
Samuel	Male	45–64	Ethiopia	None	Married	Yes	Before 2005	7y	Yorkshire	Mover	No
Daniel	Male	25–34	Ethiopia	Christian	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	Maybe
Abu Mustafa	Male	35–44	Sudan	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	Wales	Mover	No
Nouri	Male	25–34	Sudan	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	1y	Scotland	Stayer	Yes
Birhane	Male	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Married	No	Since 2010	1y	Scotland	Stayer	No
Merhawe	Male	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	Yes
Abubassil	Male	45–64	Syria	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Mover	No
Goitom	Male	35–44	Eritrea	Christian	Divorced	No	2005–10	3m	Scotland	Stayer	No
Masoud	Male	25–34	Iran	None	Relationship	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	No
Aster	Female	45–64	Eritrea	Christian	Widowed	Yes	Before 2005	12y	Midlands	Mover	No
Mudiwawashe	Female	35–44	Zimbabwe	Christian	Married	Yes	Before 2005	6y	Scotland	Mover	Maybe
Saba	Female	25–34	Eritrea	None	Divorced	Yes	2005–10	1y	South West	Mover	No
Faduma	Female	25–34	Somalia	Muslim	Separated	Yes	Before 2005	3m	Midlands	Mover	No
Oppar	Female	25–34	Zimbabwe	Christian	Married	Yes	Before 2005	10y	London	Stayer	Maybe
Garth	Male	35–44	Guinea	Muslim	Single	No	Before 2005	10y	Wales	Mover	No
Zakari	Male	35–44	Iran	Other	Married	Yes	Since 2010	2m	Yorkshire	Mover	No
Saeed	Male	35–44	Iran	Other	Single	No	2005–10	2y	Scotland	Mover	No
Hassan-Ali	Male	35–44	Iran	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Stayer	No
Hakim	Male	25–34	Iraq	None	Separated	No	Before 2005	9y	Midlands	Mover	No
Rahim	Male	35–44	Iran	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	N. Ireland	Mover	Maybe

Name	Gender	Age	Country	Religion	Marital status		Arrival	Duration	Region	Mover/Stayer	Settle
Sam	Male	25–34	Iran	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	2m	Scotland	Mover	Yes
Omar	Male	35–44	Iran	Other	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	Wales	Mover	Yes
Babo	Male	35–44	Iraq	Muslim	Married	Yes	Before 2005	5m	Midlands	Mover	No
Singh	Male	35–44	Afghanistan	Sikh	Married	Yes	Since 2010	10m	Wales	Mover	No
Bako	Male	35–44	Iraq	Muslim	Married	Yes	Before 2005	2y	South East	Mover	No
Othman	Male	45–64	Iraq	Muslim	Divorced	Yes	Before 2005	2y	Yorkshire	Mover	No
Adam	Male	25–34	Sudan	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	1m	Scotland	Mover	Yes
Mohammad	Male	45–64	Iran	Other	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	South West	Mover	Maybe
Yasin	Male	18–24	Syria	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	Wales	Mover	Yes
Abnet	Female	45–64	Eritrea	Christian	Married	Yes	2005–10	3m	North West	Stayer	No
Merhawit	Female	35–44	Eritrea	Christian	Married	Yes	2005–10	1m	North West	Stayer	No
Rahel	Female	25–34	Eritrea	Christian	Relationship	Yes	2005–10	1m	Scotland	Mover	No
Thelma	Female	45–64	Zimbabwe	Christian	Separated	Yes	2005–10	1y	North West	Stayer	Maybe
Sarah	Female	25–34	Iran	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	2y	North West	Stayer	Yes
Jennehba	Female	35–44	Sierra Leone	Christian	Single	Yes	2005–10	3y	North West	Stayer	Yes
Amanda	Female	25–34	Zimbabwe	Christian	Relationship	Yes	2005–10	2y	Scotland	Mover	Maybe
Malen	Female	45–64	Gambia	Christian	Divorced	Yes	Before 2005	10y	North West	Stayer	Maybe
Amira	Female	35–44	Somalia	Muslim	Married	Yes	2005–10	6m	North West	Stayer	No
Aria	Male	35–44	Iran	Muslim	Married	Yes	2005–10	1y	North West	Stayer	Maybe
Rodrick	Male	35–44	Zimbabwe	Christian	Married	Yes	Before 2005	8y	North West	Stayer	No
Moon	Male	35–44	Eritrea	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	1m	North West	Stayer	No
Sam	Male	35–44	Saudi Arabia	Christian	Married	Yes	2005–10	6m	North West	Mover	No
Ali	Male	25–34	Sudan	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	2m	Scotland	Mover	Maybe
Laban	Male	25–34	Sudan	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	North West	Mover	No
Mohamed	Male	18–24	Sudan	Muslim	Married	No	Since 2010	2m	North West	Stayer	Yes
Gona	Male	25–34	Syria	Muslim	Relationship	No	2005–10	2y	Yorkshire	Mover	Yes
Joude Anes	Male	35–44	Iraq	Muslim	Married	Yes	Before 2005	1m	London	Mover	No
Abdulkarim	Male	25–34	Saudi Arabia	Muslim	Single	No	Since 2010	3m	North West	Mover	Maybe
Elwasila	Male	45–64	Sudan	Muslim	Married	Yes	Since 2010	1m	North West	Mover	No

Table A2: Likelihood of moving town/city at 8 months using independent variables from the baseline SNR survey [N=1265]

Statistics		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
		Exp [B]	Exp [B]	Exp [B]	Exp [B]	Exp [B]	Exp [B]
Socio-demographics							
Gender	Male [ref Female]	1.288 **	1.307 **	1.308 **	1.231	1.235	1.276 *
Age	35+ years [ref 18-34 years]	0.839	0.853	0.908	0.911	0.910	0.878
Children under 18	Yes [ref No]	1.162	1.205	1.195	1.186	1.150	1.147
Partner status	Partner [ref Single]	0.721 **	0.770	0.767	0.948	0.942	0.908x
Country of origin [ref Eritrea]	Somalia	0.362 ***	0.365 ***	0.347 ***	0.455 ***	0.438 ***	0.469 ***
	Iraq	0.386 ***	0.482 ***	0.533 **	0.668	0.637	0.664
	Iran	0.570 **	0.618 *	0.671	0.807	0.815	0.824
	Zimbabwe	0.521 ***	0.299 ***	0.363 ***	0.537 **	0.522 **	0.609
	Other	0.496 ***	0.571 ***	0.606 **	0.893	0.918	0.993
Time in UK [at baseline survey]	More than one year [ref less than one year]		0.693 ***	0.718 **	0.871	0.891	0.885
Human capital							
Qualifications before entering UK	Yes [ref No]			0.725 **	0.659 ***	0.645 ***	0.645 ***
Speak English compared with native speaker	Very/fairly well [ref not very well/at all]			0.649 **	0.642 ***	0.632 ***	0.638 **
Read English compared with native speaker	Very/fairly well [ref not very well/at all]			1.482 **	1.404 *	1.400 *	1.471 **

Place and housing		M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Region of residence [ref London and South East]	Midlands and East England				1.630 ***	1.631 ***	1.587 **
	NE, Yorkshire and Humber				2.378 ***	2.416 ***	2.346 ***
	North West				1.817 ***	1.826 ***	1.843 ***
	Scotland and NI				1.141	1.312	1.367
	Wales and SW				2.465 ***	2.574 ***	2.571 ***
Current accommodation [at baseline survey] [ref NASS accomm]	With friends/family				0.601 ***	0.582 ***	0.576 ***
	Other				0.531 ***	0.530 ***	0.531 ***
Social/cultural							
Friends/relatives in UK	Yes [ref No]					0.820	0.813
Meeting relatives not in household	Yes [ref No]					1.292 *	1.255
Health							
Limited by physical health in past 4 weeks	Yes [ref No]						1.558 ***
Limited by emotional problems in past 4 weeks	Yes [ref No]						0.755 *
Constant		0.313	0.356	0.410	-0.055	0.050	-0.024
Log-likelihood		1901.38	1871.979	1816.084	1613.808	1579.725	1539.803
Change in log-likelihood			29.40	55.90	202.28	34.08	39.92
Nagelkerke R2		0.063	0.074	0.088	0.157	0.158	0.163
Hosmer and Lemeshow		0.969	0.226	0.554	0.002	0.121	0.605

*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01
Variables not included in baseline model: Religion, Gender*Nationality, Continent, Pre-UK Employment, Level of qualifications before entering UK, Contact with national/ethnic group, Meet friends not in household, Contacted place of worship, Contacted other groups/organisations, General health, Bothered by emotional problems, Help/support variables (x12)

Table A3: Likelihood of having a job in the UK (past 6 months) as recorded at 15 month survey (N=598) and 21 month survey (N=399)

Statistics		15 months	21 months
		Exp (B)	Exp (B)
Migrant status (ref stayer)	Early mover	1.216	1.922**
	Late mover	2.775**	1.822
	Multiple mover	3.071***	2.389*
Gender	Male (ref Female)	1.040	0.689
Age	35+ years (ref 18–34 years)	1.030	1.814*
Children under 18	Yes (ref No)	1.313	1.450
Partner status	Partner (ref Single)	0.908	0.426**
Country of origin (ref Eritrea)	Somalia	1.407	0.412*
	Iraq	2.115*	0.582
	Iran	2.899*	0.668
	Zimbabwe	0.850	0.141*
	Other	1.249	1.176
Religion	Muslim (ref Other)	0.425***	1.103
Time in UK (at baseline survey)	More than one year (ref less than one year]	1.133	1.092
Region of residence (ref London and South East)	Midlands and East England	1.031	1.962*
	NE, Yorkshire and Humber	0.535**	1.468
	North West	0.770	2.525**
	Scotland and NI	0.395	2.591
	Wales and SW	0.605	4.269**
Current accommodation (at baseline survey) (ref NASS accomm)	With friends/family	0.949	2.289**
	Other	0.851	3.218**
Qualifications before entering UK	Yes (ref No)	1.077	1.300
Speak English compared with native speaker	Very/fairly well (ref not very well/at all)	0.940	3.460***
Constant		0.408	-1.157
Log likelihood		751.606	442.982
Nagelkerke R2		0.102	0.199
Hosmer and Lemeshow		0.855	0.049

*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01

Table A4: Likelihood of being in (permanent) employment as recorded at 15 month survey and 21 month survey

| Statistics		15 months		21 months
		In employment [N=415]	In permanent employment [N=298]	In employment [N=291]
		Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)
Migrant status (ref stayer)	Early mover	1.706*	0.514**	3.681**
	Late mover	0.928	0.543	2.972
	Multiple mover	1.479	0.608	2.786
Gender	Male (ref Female)	2.461**	1.159	0.409**
Age	35+ years (ref 18–34 years)	1.530	0.879	0.516
Children under 18	Yes (ref No)	0.763	1.419	1.272
Partner status	Partner (ref Single)	1.951	1.633	1.040
Country of origin (ref Eritrea)	Somalia	2.028	1.983	0.599
	Iraq	1.423	2.336	1.031
	Iran	2.517	3.342	0.140*
	Zimbabwe	1.770	1.643	0.086
	Other	1.262	3.181**	1.419
Religion	Muslim (ref Other)	0.648	0.512*	1.165
Time in UK (at baseline survey)	More than one year (ref less than one year)	1.563	0.517*	0.776
Region of residence (ref London and South East)	Midlands and East England	1.222	2.403**	2.026
	NE, Yorkshire and Humber	0.586	1.951	2.667
	North West	1.260	2.120	1.950
	Scotland and NI	0.383	0.619	4.561
	Wales and SW	0.796	2.331	25.46**
Current accommodation (at baseline survey) (ref NASS accomm)	With friends/family	0.923	1.178	3.165**
	Other	1.214	1.587	2.375
Qualifications before entering UK	Yes (ref No)	0.660	0.604	1.548
Speak English compared with native speaker	Very/fairly well (ref not very well/at all)	0.721	1.398	5.351***
Constant		0.266	0.044	0.266
Log likelihood		444.569	353.844	444.569
Nagelkerke R2		0.119	0.140	0.119
Hosmer and Lemeshow		0.378	0.561	0.378

*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01

Table A5: Likelihood of being limited in daily activities by emotional problems as recorded at 15 month survey; and bothered by emotional problems and limited by physical health problems as recorded at 21 month survey

Statistics		15 months	21 months	
		Emotional (N=695)	Emotional (N=503)	Physical (N=499)
		Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)
Migrant status (ref stayer)	Early mover	0.671**	1.027	0.642*
	Late mover	1.083	0.758	0.723
	Multiple mover	0.824	2.668**	0.508
Gender	Male (ref Female)	0.944	0.500**	0.793
Age	35+ years (ref 18–34 years)	1.027	0.860	0.734
Children under 18	Yes (ref No)	0.737	1.058	0.585
Partner status	Partner (ref Single)	1.104	0.748	0.776
Country of origin (ref Eritrea)	Somalia	0.914	0.379*	0.785
	Iraq	1.260	0.409*	0.848
	Iran	1.061	1.870	0.297*
	Zimbabwe	1.323	0.225*	1.106
	Other	1.639*	0.345**	0.533*
Religion	Muslim (ref Other)	1.368	2.477**	1.320
Time in UK (at baseline survey)	More than one year (ref less than one year)	0.854	1.350	1.902**
Region of residence (ref London and South East)	Midlands and East England	1.136	0.778	1.308
	NE, Yorkshire and Humber	0.910	0.627	1.311
	North West	0.717	1.528	2.563**
	Scotland and NI	0.767	7.052E8	4.557*
	Wales and SW	0.760	1.668	2.458*
Current accommodation (at baseline survey) (ref NASS accomm)	With friends/family	0.795	0.877	1.737*
	Other	0.928	0.881	0.651
Constant		-0.174	1.649	-1.004
Log likelihood		909.290	547.657	553.114
Nagelkerke R2		0.039	0.143	0.117
Hosmer and Lemeshow		0.644	0.003	0.006

*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01

Figure A1: Factors influencing refugees' decision to stay or move on from UK dispersal sites
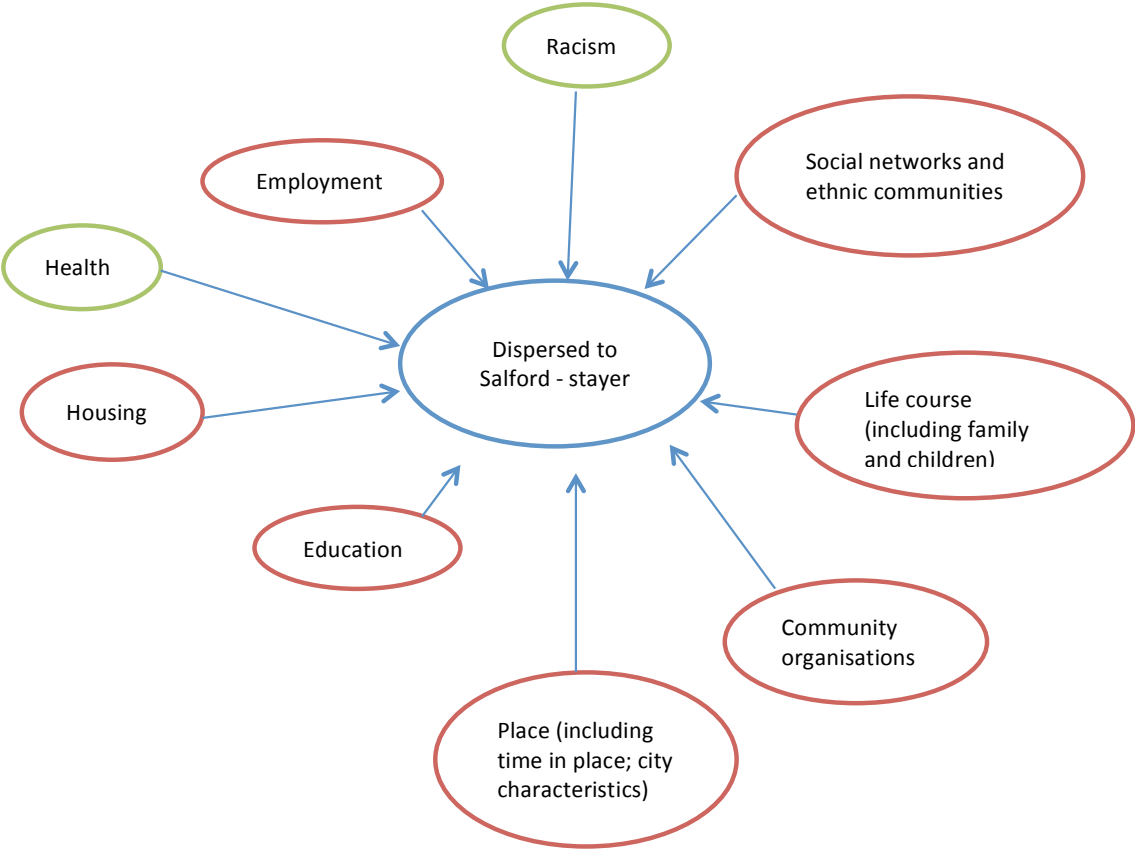
Case study: Omar (Wales)
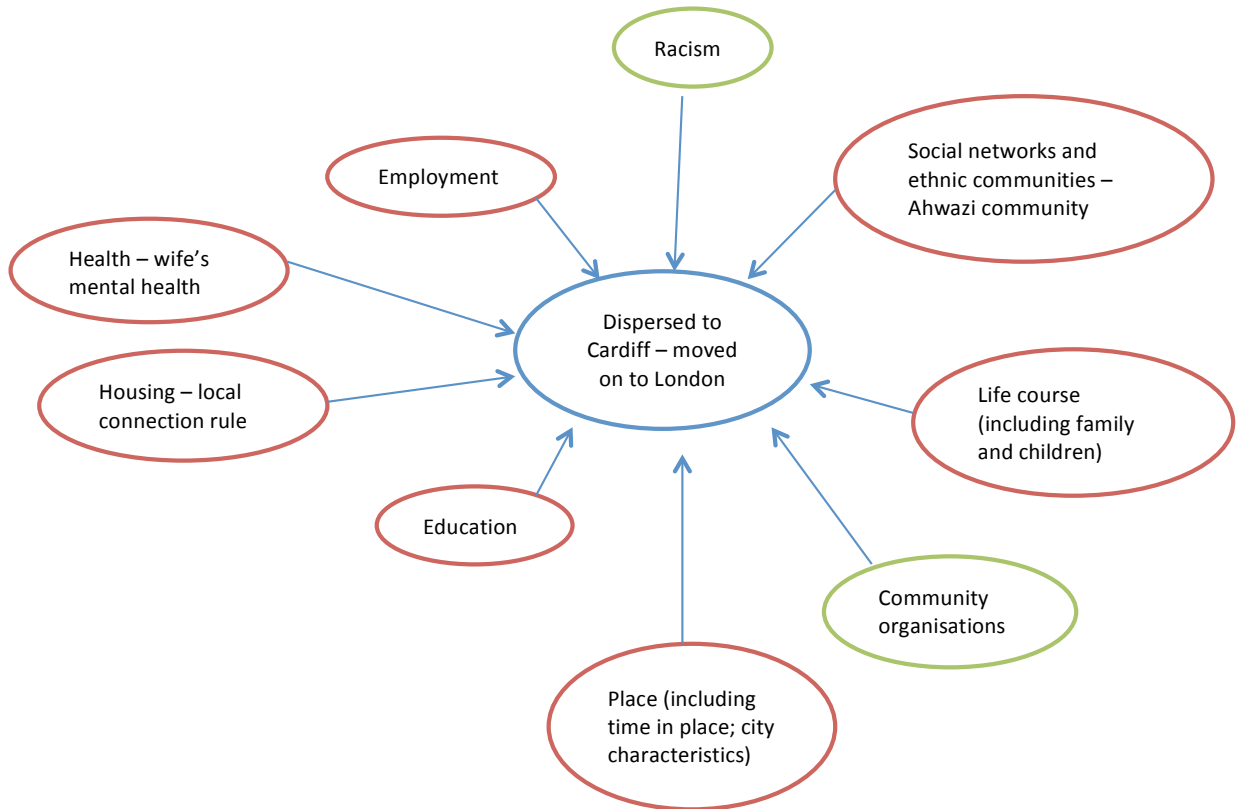
In the figures, red text boxes indicate which factors have played a role in a refugee's migration decisions.
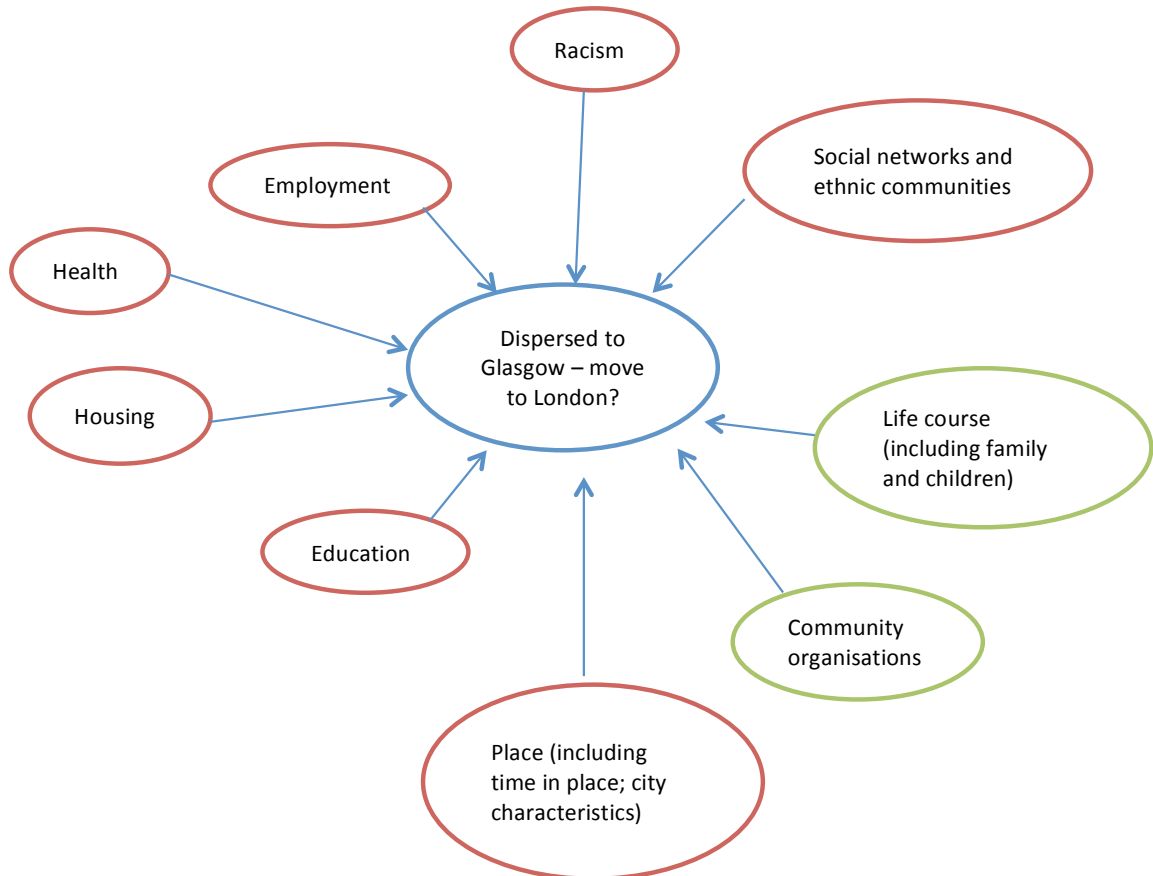
Figure A2: Factors influencing refugees' decision to stay or move on from UK dispersal sites

Case study: Rodrick (North West)

Figure A3: Factors influencing refugees' decision to stay or move on from UK dispersal sites

Case study: Saada (Scotland)

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