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Belonging in Glasgow

A Qualitative Analysis of Refugees' Experiences

By

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Abstract

This study explores the experiences of refugees developing 'a feeling of belonging together' (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20) and the corollary of non-belonging in Glasgow. I draw upon data gathered from five semi-structured interviews with refugees, and participant-observation in an environment where refugees were involved in the work of a third-sector organisation. Through analysis of this data using a grounded theory approach, I derive three narrative frames which form the conceptual structure for the arguments I advance. These frames are: multiple and different instantiations (or concrete examples) of belonging and non-belonging, ambivalent attachments, and developing empathy. An investigation of several extracts focusing on interviewees' tangible temporal and locational examples of belonging and non-belonging revealed that the quality of groupness was essential to feelings of belonging and its absence gave rise to feelings of non-belonging. I identified contradictory relationships amongst and between the instantiations of belonging and non-belonging producing tensions which induced ambivalent attachments by the refugees to Glasgow and to their homelands. Further analysis of extracts uncovered two possible sources for this ambivalence: discrepant beliefs and experiences, and the experience of transnationalism. In the third stage of my argument, I identify refugee optimism and demonstration of agency as crucial factors which act as catalysts in producing an environment that is then conducive to developing the skill of empathy. Sennett (2012[1]) views empathy as an essential skill for refugees living with people who are different. My observations about the roles played by optimism and agency during an extended period of liminality were not predicted on the basis of my literature review and so were surprising to me and may indicate a need for further study.

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Permission to Consult

I would like to request that prior to passing this research on to third parties, for example for publication, I be contacted with a view to possibly obtaining further consent by the research participants. The reason for this is that the study includes confidential information given on the assurance that all data would remain anonymous. Every effort has been made to ensure participant anonymity and this position might require to be reviewed to guarantee that no person or place is identifiable.

List of Abbreviations

BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CAB	Citizens Advice Bureau
EMF	Equality Measurement Framework
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
EU	European Union
GCC	Glasgow City Council
UK	United Kingdom
UKBA	United Kingdom Border Agency
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

List of cited Acts of Parliament

1999 Act	Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
2010 Act	Equality Act 2010

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Appendix 1……………………………………………………Original Research Questions

Appendix 2……………………………………………Equality Measurement Framework

Appendix 3……………………………………………………………Final Interview Guide

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Introduction

Glasgow City Council (GCC) was the first local authority to agree to act as a 'dispersal site' for 'destitute asylum seekers' as a part of the implementation of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 in the United Kingdom. The city met the criteria since it claimed to have spare capacity in its housing sector (Hynes 2011:11&77). However, Edward's argues that Glasgow had a mixed record of welcoming and integrating migrants (2008:156). Sectarian, racist and xenophobic forces compete with humanitarian and egalitarian forces to produce these inconsistencies. It was estimated by Wren (2007:391) that as a result of this scheme, at least ten thousand asylum seekers arrived in Glasgow in this century. They were mainly from China, Iran, Iraq, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Zimbabwe and Sri Lanka in descending order of numbers of asylum seekers (Mulvey 2011:7). These new settlers increased the minority ethnic population of Glasgow by sixty per cent (Wren 2007:395). Approximately two thousand four hundred asylum seekers were living in Glasgow in 2012 (2012).

I immigrated to Glasgow many years ago under circumstances which were very different from the asylum seekers and refugees I have met in recent years. Nonetheless, my background has motivated my interest in the experience of refugees developing '*Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* or a feeling of belonging together' (Max Weber cited in Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20) in Glasgow. As my literature review will demonstrate, in the past decade, there have been relatively few major research projects focusing on the integration of asylum seekers in Glasgow (Mulvey (2009:1). There have been even fewer studies focusing on integration of refugees (Sim 2009:3). The available studies mainly concentrate on concrete and measurable features of integration, such as, whether the refugee is in employment, has suitable housing or lives with family members. However, I have noticed a shortage of qualitative studies which seek to explore the more subjective elements of integration or how refugees feel about the experience of belonging and non-belonging in Glasgow or elsewhere.

Hynes notes that in her research, 'belonging' is the term preferred by her participants to think about the subjective aspects of integration and feeling ‘at home’ (2011:27) and so I consider it an appropriate focus for this dissertation. However, I acknowledge that there are dangers in focusing on the concept of belonging and the subjective aspects of integration rather than a more holistic approach which would include structural components of forced migration. One of these dangers is the appropriation of the concept of belonging by right-wing factions (Hynes 2011:27). This research attempts to reclaim and explore the concept of belonging.

Initially, this study provides a literature review focusing on description and analysis of the social policy, political, legal and social contexts for refugee integration in the United Kingdom, Scotland and Glasgow. It includes a review of some of the major empirical studies in Scotland and Glasgow. This first section then considers some theoretical frameworks within which to consider refugees’ experiences of integration. Readings about identity, belonging and non-belonging, social cohesion and social capital, transnationalism, attachment, and empathy are reviewed. It concludes with an account of some of the gaps in the literature and of the epistemological approach adopted in the analysis section.

An analytical explanation of the research methodology and methods adopted follows. In this section, I clarify my choice of a qualitative methodology utilising a grounded theory approach. I provide the background for undertaking five semi-structured interviews with refugees and observing refugees in a third-sector work environment. A detailed and critical report of the process of coding, memo-writing and theorising follows. I outline the process through which I identified the analytical categories which served as interpretive frames for the subsequent analysis.

In the next section, I introduce data to demonstrate that the refugees I interviewed experienced multiple and different instantiations of belonging and non-belonging. I use the term ‘instantiation’ as this encapsulates for me a way to represent the many distinctive concrete examples described by the people I interviewed of their experiences of belonging and non-belonging at different times, places and in different ways. I develop an argument that the refugees experience contradictions which produce tensions between these instantiations and that these in turn precipitate ambivalent attachments to

Glasgow and also to their homelands. I made a conscious choice to refer to a refugee's country of origin as 'homeland' because this is the terminology each of them used and because the notion of homeland is so symbolically significant. The argument continues that refugees' optimism and demonstration of agency in the subjective environment generated by the above contradictions and correlations is favourable for developing the skill of empathy necessary for living with people who are different. These arguments are offered in the spirit of tentative theorising on the basis of a small sample. I appreciate that generalisations cannot be made from the conclusions, but it is hoped that they may stimulate further work in this area.

In the final section I summarise the conclusions of each of the earlier sections. I review the research process and outcomes including the problems I encountered. I then demonstrate how this work relates to debates in some of the theoretical and empirical literature on refugee integration. I also speculate on possible areas for future research and the contribution of a range of disciplines to investigating some of the subjective elements of how integration is experienced.

Literature Review

Introduction

My study provides a qualitative analysis of one of the subjective elements of integration: refugees' accounts of belonging and non-belonging in Glasgow. The experience of each of the refugees I interviewed had been influenced by global patterns of migration and international and national refugee regimes. However, these major topics only form a background for my focus on the refugees' current environment. Consequently, in the first section of this literature review, I will focus on the United Kingdom, Scottish and Glasgow contexts for refugee integration. The second section reviews relevant theoretical frameworks. Finally, I will identify gaps in the literature and the meaning these have for my subsequent analysis.

The United Kingdom, Scottish and Glasgow Contexts for Refugee Integration

In this section I will present descriptions and analysis of the legal, social policy, political and social contexts including key findings from empirical studies in Scotland and Glasgow.

United Kingdom

Responsibility for immigration law and policy are reserved powers of the UK government (Sim 2009:16) and reflect national priorities and politics. As a signatory of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, the UK is obliged to provide at least a temporary home to people who have fled their homelands, having been persecuted or threatened with persecution on the basis of their 'race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion' (UNHCR 1951 & 1967). Immigration law and policy have become an increasingly politicised arena in which nation-states respond to the changes brought about by the legacy of colonialism, the post-industrialism of the West and globalisation (Castles & Miller 2009:194). States also respond by increased nationalism and clinging to discrete nation-states which can lead to a Fortress Europe mentality (Hynes 2011:4).

These pressures are reflected in the history of immigration controls. There was a brief period after World War Two when controls were moderately relaxed followed by an increasingly restrictive and racialised regime (Hynes 2011:10-12; Fekete 2001:29). In response to some media and public pressure in the post 9/11 and 7/7 era, there have been more circumscribed interpretations of who qualifies as a refugee under the Convention criteria (Zetter 2007). UK policy distinguishes 'asylum seekers' from 'refugees'. Some asylum seekers ultimately are recognised as meeting the refugee criteria and are given 'limited or indefinite leave to remain' or in exceptional cases 'discretionary leave to remain' in the UK (Home Office 2012). For refugees who can make informed decisions about their countries of destination (Crawley 2010:3), many chose to come to the UK because of its colonial history and links with their country of origin (Bloch & Schuster 2002). Similar legal and political systems can also contribute to a sense of familiarity (Crawley 2010:2). Hynes (2011:26) shows that asylum seekers begin the process of integration immediately following arrival rather than in accordance with Home Office policy that integration begins only once refugee status has been conferred.

Cheong et al (2007:25-29) argue that generally policies in the 1960s reflected an assimilationist and monocultural model that assumed 'aliens' would adopt hegemonic values. The 1980s and 1990s were then usually characterised by multicultural policies which accepted cultural pluralism and encouraged an environment in which minority groups were not necessarily expected to subscribe to all dominant cultural norms (Cheong et al 2007:25). Following the attacks on 9/11 and 7/7, multiculturalism was seen by the government and some media as a 'divisive force' which was biased toward minorities (McGhee 2008). Rejection of multiculturalism's encouragement of 'parallel lives' led to new UK government policies highlighting models of social inclusion and social/community cohesion (Hynes 2011:27). In a later part I will consider a theoretical model of social capital which is said by Hynes (2011:28) to be the source of ideas about social cohesion.

Cosmopolitanism has been identified by Yuval-Davis et al (2006:4) as a 'universalist approach' which can be seen as a type of belonging and so relevant for my analysis. Cosmopolitanism is said by McGhee to be a successor to multiculturalism but with a ‘calmer…mentality’ (2006:155). The evolution of cosmopolitanism is charted by Turner (2002:52) as arising out of early trade and a need to be hospitable to strangers. More recently, Turner notes, it has been associated with the human rights movement and in relation to people being viewed as ‘citizen[s] of the world’ (2002:54&57). Turner argues that cosmopolitanism encompasses both having a homeland and also ‘a certain reflexive distance from that homeland’ (2002:57). However, cosmopolitanism has been criticised by Yuval-Davis (2008:103) as being ‘always situated’. In support of this claim, Yuval-Davis (2008:102) and Nava (2006:42) offer the further analysis that cosmopolitanism’s acceptance of essentialising characteristics presupposes an elite and an ‘other’. As a result, power differentials, emotions, racism, questions of choice and social structures are discounted. Taking into account these criticisms, ideas about cosmopolitanism have still proved useful in my qualitative analysis about a milieu in which to express more complex ways of belonging.

Scotland

The Scottish Parliament is responsible for laws and policies about devolved matters including local government housing and education, health and justice (Scottish Government 2012). A falling population trend and predictions about a disproportionate number of older people in Scotland were part of the background against which successive Scottish governments took a lead in welcoming migrants. Two campaigns standout out: the ‘Fresh Talent’ initiative in 2004 designed to encourage the settlement of highly skilled immigrants including international graduates of Scottish universities (Wright 2004:11 & Sim 2009:24) and ‘One Scotland: Many Cultures’ (Wren 2007:395). The Scottish Government has also opposed detention of asylum seekers who are children and dawn raids (Sim 2009:24). These campaigns and policies may well have influenced the more positive perception of migrants in Scotland than in England (Sim 2009:24). They also set the framework for a Scottish-specific immigration policy (Wright 2004:14).

Glasgow

Responsibility for provision of services is devolved further to local governments, like Glasgow City Council. As noted earlier, between 2001-2007, Glasgow's asylum seekers increased the city's minority ethnic population by sixty per cent (Wren 2007:394-5). Echoing research in other parts of the United Kingdom, Barclay et al (2003:50) found that nearly all the asylum seekers had little or no knowledge about Glasgow prior to arrival and so their attitudes and expectations were either neutral or positive. However, they also discovered that some of them had heard of the killing of Kurdish asylum seeker Firsat Dag in Glasgow in August 2001 and so some had fears about coming to Glasgow (Barclay et al 2003:51). Additionally, Barclay et al (2003:52-3) reported that initially many asylum seekers were surprised by the presence of deprivation in Glasgow. Some asylum seekers believed that because they had distinctive appearances, people were looking at them. However, most of the asylum seekers found Glaswegians friendly and welcoming (Barclay et al 2003:51, Wren 2007:395). Studies like Barclay et al (2003:8) and Wren (2007:396) also found that the legacy of positive community action in Glasgow proved significant in the responses of community groups and religion-based organisations.

There is comparatively little context-specific research about refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland although the policy of dispersal to Glasgow has served as an impetus for more work over the past decade or so (Mulvey 2009:1). Much of the research I now consider examines the experience of asylum seekers rather than refugees since asylum seekers are an officially identifiable population and refugees are not, hence separate statistics cannot be kept (Sim 2009:3). In my qualitative analysis, I develop a view about the role of refugee optimism and exertion of agency and these factors are implicit in many of the empirical findings. The key studies offer remarkably similar descriptions of the experience of asylum seekers in Glasgow (eg: Barclay et al 2003:22-23; Ager & Strang 2004[1]:5-13; Bowes et al 2009:31-34). Specific themes recur in the empirical studies: safety and security, accommodation, networks and isolation, language barriers, employment, and racial harassment. I will consider each of these themes in turn.

Upon arrival, Barclay et al (2003:52) recognised that personal safety was a key theme for asylum seekers and this concern continued. In Sim's (2009:6) study, approximately half of the interviewees felt safe in their neighbourhoods although Barclay et al (2003:53) revealed that significant proportions of asylum seekers were fearful of going out, especially at night. The settlement of asylum seekers was seen by Wren (2007:405) as housing-led and Bowes et al (2009:32) revealed that Glasgow benefitted by being enabled to refurbish and utilise empty housing stock in areas of multiple deprivation. Housing allocation was characterised by Wren (2007:395) as chaotic and in many cases unsuitable, for example, housing families in high-rise flats. Ager & Strang (2004[1]:12) viewed housing as central to the process of integration and Mulvey (2011:36) saw housing issues as having the power to 'facilitate or disrupt' and as one of the most significant factors in improved quality of life. Barclay et al (2003:65) and Mulvey (2011:16) found that significant proportions of asylum seekers were not happy in their accommodation or neighbourhood even though Sim (2009:5) noted that many had remained in the accommodation initially allocated. For many refugees, Sim (2009:5) found that the practice of renting accommodation was a novel experience as they had built and/or owned their own homes in their homelands.

Developing relationships was identified by Ager & Strang (2004[2]:4) as the key to integration and Sim (2009:6) found that many refugees did become part of social networks. Barclay et al (2003:53) observed that establishing social relationships with Glaswegians and with other asylum seekers was seen as significant. Barclay et al (2003:68), Ager & Strang (2004[1]:7) and Sim (2009:6) highlighted the significant role of churches and mosques and of schools for people with children, in promoting integration. Wren (2007:395) raised the issue of social isolation as a significant problem for asylum seekers and Barclay et al (2003:66) found that the problem was greater for women who had a greater fear of attack and were likely to have less proficiency in English. The problems of isolation were exacerbated by the failure to cluster language groups together (Barclay et al 2003:49) and separation from family members (Mulvey 2011:28). Ager & Strang (2004[1]:11) called this feeling of isolation 'alienating and depressing'.

Barriers created by language problems for both men and women were identified by Barclay et al (2003:32-33), Ager & Strang (2004[1]:10) and Wren (2007:395). Becoming more proficient in English was seen by Mulvey (2011:36) as one of the most significant factors in improved quality of life. More generally, Ager & Strang (2004[1]:12) viewed educational experiences as places to mix and establish relationships and to gain skills and qualifications. They also rated participation in community-based activity as significant (Ager & Strang 2004[2]:9 &12-13). Mulvey (2011:136) found that accessing work was seen as one of the most significant factors in improved quality of life. Sim (2009:5) and Barclay et al (2003:32) discovered that the sometimes quite protracted period of enforced unemployment and dependence on State benefits whilst asylum seekers was devastating. They found that many refugees expressed their identity through employment, had always been in employment previously and had come to the UK to work. Consequently, the experience of prohibition from work had lasting effects.

Netto (2008:51) noted that Scotland was seen as having a stronger national identity than England but that it also failed to conceive of racism as a political problem. Ager & Strang (2004[1]:6) added that Glasgow had relatively little ethnic diversity or experience of integrating refugees. This situation was hindered by what Sim (2009:12) and Barclay et al (2003:8 & 39-40) reported as initial media coverage in Glasgow portraying refugees as people to be feared and local people as racists. Barclay et al (2003:39-40) discovered that the local community reacted to this negative portrayal by working to correct the impression of themselves as racists. Nonetheless, Barclay et al (2003:15) and Wren (2004:1) revealed that racist harassment was experienced by many and in Mulvey's study (2011:30) nearly three-quarters of the refugees felt they had been discriminated against. Refugees were aware, as noted by Ager & Strang (2004[1]:5), that they were very recognisable and this was a source of considerable embarrassment and distress. Barclay et al (2003:65) and Ager & Strang (2004[1]:9) found that some had been verbally abused and a small proportion were physically attacked. Many feared reporting incidents (Barclay et al 2003:65). In spite of these experiences, most of the refugees in Sim's study expressed their optimism about future prospects and demonstrated agency through the choice to remain in Glasgow (2009:7).

Theoretical Frameworks within which to consider Refugees' Experiences of Integration

In this part of the literature review, I will consider analytical critiques of specific theories which form a basis of my qualitative analysis: identity and belonging, social cohesion and social capital, transnationalism, and attachment.

Identity

Questions about identity are raised repeatedly in the literature. For example, Bauman (2008:92) argues that identity is linked to security and is only raised as an issue when 'individuality or belonging' is in doubt. Anthias (2006:21) then points to the ruptures experienced by refugees and contends that these also serve to induce the uncertainty necessary to question identity and belonging. The usual building blocks of identity, like 'place, belongings, work, relatives and friends' have been severed through the experience of becoming a refugee and Agier (2008:74) notes that they must mainly be re-built from the ground up. Additionally, Zetter (2007:190) attests that the identification of refugees with the label 'refugee' is indicative of societal concern with 'identity and belonging' and with the 'other'.

During the extremely bureaucratised asylum seeking process in the UK, Bohmer & Shuman (2008) highlight that refugees will have been obliged to prove their identity and in doing so, identity may come to have a special and corrupted meaning. Also, doubts raised can be psychologically damaging with persisting pain and guilt (Bohmer & Shuman 2008). Bohmer & Shuman (2008) also argue that the process of proving identity may become even more challenging as refugees are likely to have fled as a direct result of their political, religious or ethnic affiliations. Race and the place of minority ethnic groups in society, Bloch & Solomos (2010:6) argue, can form a basis for contemporary concerns about identity. Castles & Miller (2009:40) observe that refugees often are strikingly different from the settled populations in relation to being rural or urban, traditions, language, religion, culture and visible distinctions like features, hair-type or skin colour. Many of these differences are intrinsic and this is consistent with Ager & Strang's (2004[1]:5) findings (see above).

Netto (2011:123) presents a view that because identity is based on complex negotiations with others rather than on one single and unchanging fact, multiple identities are therefore possible. For refugees in particular, Anthias (2006:20) sees that these multiple identities are commonly in a state of flux which for Brubaker & Cooper (2000) suggests that the affiliations and categories are emergent properties (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). Brubaker & Cooper (2000:6) also identify that one of the problems with using the concept of 'identity' is that its use as a category of practice is confused with its use as a category of analysis and so identity is used in analysis *as if* it really existed. They offer an unpacking of the ideas embedded in 'identity' yielding the concepts of categorical commonality and relational connectedness. Brubaker & Cooper (2000:20) argue that commonality and connectedness together cannot produce 'groupness'. Groupness is an 'emergent' and 'contingent' property for refugees and can only be achieved when 'a feeling of belonging together' (called *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* by Max Weber) is present (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20). In my analysis, these ideas about 'a feeling of belonging together' acting as an impetus for groupness will be used in place of the more ambiguous term 'identity'.

Belonging and Non-belonging

I have called this sub-section 'belonging and non-belonging' with the understanding that the literature almost universally discussed the concept of 'belonging'. However, I also considered Yuval-Davis et al's concept of non-belonging which they argue is the 'modern infirmity' making belonging unattainable (2006:4). The memories refugees bring of having experienced belonging and non-belonging in their homelands has an impact on their subsequent experiences of belonging. These conceptualisations proved significant for me both in developing focused categories and in memo-writing about the relationships amongst these analytical categories identified from the data (see next two sections). In light of data emerging from my interviews, I also tested out this argument in respect of material focusing solely on belonging. Yuval-Davis et al (2006:1) argue that the connections or attachments sought by individuals may be within the frame of nation, religion, culture or ethnicity. These connections then engender the confidence and trust visible in a sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis et al 2006:1). Anthias (2006:20) observes that having a sense of belonging can be conceptualised as a 'precondition[] for quality of life, and not purely in terms of cultural initiation or cultural identity'. She also identifies a number of elements which comprise belonging: the emotions associated with social location that indicate being part of something larger, the practices and experiences of social inclusion, being part of the social framework, and the rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship (Anthias 2006:22).

Empirical work supports these theoretical models. For example, Ager & Strang present a continuum of refugee expectations concerning relationships from 'no trouble' through 'mixing' to 'belonging' (2004[1]:3). Belonging is also seen by Ager & Strang as expressed through 'relationships with family members, committed friendships and shared values' (2004[1]:6). In the following parts I will be drawing extensively on Atfield et al's study (2007) of refugee integration. It was commissioned by the Refugee Council in England and gains its authority partly through having been the first stage of work leading to new research commissioned by the Home Office (Migrant Rights Network Newsletter June 2012). They found that developing a sense of belonging is one aspect of the emotional component of integration and was seen as significantly more difficult to achieve than more functional aspects like getting a job or housing (2007:7). Atfield et al (2007:9) found that a feeling of belonging was most likely to be frustrated by poor English language ability which then impacted on the possibility of forming relationships with British people. For some refugees belonging implies befriending British people whilst for others it only implies being able to interact with British people. Belonging is seen as quite complex and sometimes separate from being accepted or fitting in (Atfield et al 2007:29). Some of the indicators for belonging found by Atfield et al (2007:29) are: 'immigration status and having a passport, mixing with British people, speaking English, feeling accepted, feeling safe, making friends, getting married, staying in the same place and knowing how to do things'.

Social Cohesion and Social Capital

As noted in the previous part about the UK context, both Hynes (2011:27) and Putnam (2002) view ideas about social capital as the source of policies about social cohesion. Anthias (2006:23) adds that social cohesion is produced when refugees become familiar with normative expectations. In her view, refugees abide by the values and culture of the dominant group and in return the dominant group respects individual and group differences (Anthias 2006:24).

I am presenting the following definitions of social capital taken from Atfield et al (2007) in some detail as they proved invaluable in my qualitative analysis. They identify three types of social capital: bonded, bridged and linking. Bonded social capital relies on networks which are communities of contact with people who share a nationality, culture or language. These networks are most useful for information and resource sharing and for emotional support. They are the most enduring of the networks formed, work best to meet the needs of refugees and can serve as a foundation for integration. Bridged social capital relies on thin networks. These are connections formed amongst people with different identities in the workplace, educational environments, childcare activities, with neighbours, through churches, mosques or temples, and through volunteering. These networks encourage involvement in the wider community. Bridged social capital is then seen as producing more socially cohesive outcomes. However, refugees may find it difficult to access bridged networks due to lack of material resources, lack of fluency in English, lack of understanding of the local culture and discrimination. Linking social capital is that which relies on governments to intervene with refugees to help them gain access to resources.

There are many who criticise how ideas about social capital and therefore also social cohesion have been employed. Cheong et al (2007:15) argue that social capital is more likely to spring from 'social and ethnic inequalities', therefore it is unlikely to produce social cohesion and the unity desired. Another critique is from Yuval-Davis (2008) who objects on the basis that British values are not shared. Zetter et al (2006) also argue that some in government see the idea of social capital as problematic in refugee research since social capital is prioritised over material resources and informal support replaces state support. Additionally, they see that refugees may be being forced to develop social capital defensively due to the adverse climate and discrimination against refugees. Despite the criticisms of ideas about social capital, several influential empirical studies, for example Atfield et al 2007 and Mulvey 2011, find the concept useful in their analyses. Whilst aware of the drawbacks, I too, found ideas about social capital useful in analysing the networks to which my interviewees belonged.

Transnationalism

As Nolin (2006:151) argues, globalisation has transformed the attitudes and behaviour of refugees. It is increasingly possible for refugees to stay connected with family and friends in their homelands or dispersed to other countries, although these connections are often forcefully disrupted and then re-established. Transnational connections are identified by Kivisto (2001) as about social relationships, economic prospects, religion, culture or politics. He also proposes a conceptualisation of transnational social spaces derived from Faist (2000:191) that incorporates both assimilation and ethnic pluralism Kivisto (2001:566). In this model, the social space is said to be not just about multiple locations but also about the ‘subjective images, values, and meanings’ ascribed by migrants (Kivisto 2001:566). The experience of transnationalism is said by Garapich (2008:136) to engender ‘multiple senses of belonging’ (2008:136) typical of the ‘triadic relationships’ identified by Vertovec (1999:449). Transnationals’ ‘double-consciousness’ can be perceived as a threat by some people in the media, some people in government and some people in the community because it is seen to indicate a lack of commitment to the locality where the transnationals live (Nolin 2006). However Wong (2008) and Atfield et al (2007) contest this claim with data suggesting that the maintenance of social, economic and cultural connections facilitates becoming part of the new community (Wong 2008).

There are competing conceptualisations of transnationalism. Vertovec (1999) offers a specific and clear model. He notes the defining features of transnational relationships as ‘intensity’ and ‘simultaneity’ (Vertovec 1999:448). Vertovec (1999:449-456) then sets out six ‘conceptual premises’ for transnationalism: ‘social morphology’, ‘type of consciousness’, ‘mode of cultural reproduction’, ‘avenue of capital’, ‘site of political engagement’ and ‘(re)construction of “place” or locality’. Two of these premises proved useful in my fieldwork analysis: social morphology as the establishment of communities that cross national borders and type of consciousness as identifying with being at home in multiple locations and so cognisant of ‘decentred attachments’.

Attachment

The concept of attachment also proved significant in my qualitative analysis. Attachment theory was originally formulated by John Bowlby in the 1950s with significant additions by Mary Ainsworth in the 1970s (Bretherton 1992). It draws upon psychoanalysis and developmental psychology. Individuals develop internal working models of the world based on their early experiences with parents and carers. Consistency and trust produce secure attachments and inconsistency and neglect yield ambivalent attachments (Bretherton 1992:770). Attachment theory has also been used to understand the experience of refugees (Bretherton 1992:759). For example, Narchal (2008:14) uses the framework of attachment styles to consider the help-seeking behaviour of refugees. Also, Zetter’s (1991:51) work on labelling refugees and its effect on identity points to the significance of ambivalence and alienation. The observation that refugees have contradictory emotions yielding ambivalent attachments to their homeland is explored by Uehling (2002:388). These refugee studies share a common view that while ambivalent attachments can produce resilience and passion, they can also induce doubt, anxiety, stress and uncertainty in refugees.

Empathy

This part draws exclusively on the work of Richard Sennett. As part of my literature review, I sought theoretical models which could contribute toward understanding how refugees can live together with people who are different and develop a 'feeling of belonging together'. Sennett's work on the role of empathy in developing this feeling stood alone in this respect and proved most useful in my concluding argument. Sennett contends that empathy strengthens people in dealing with difference (2012[1]).

The sort of inequality experienced by refugees is seen by Sennett (2012[2]:7) to produce 'social distance' and de-skilling. He also sees the structure of modern society as encouraging individualism and inhibiting cooperation producing a 'silo effect' (2012[2]:8 & 280). To counter this, Sennett proposes that people need to develop skills to create a social medium in which individuals from different ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds do more than co-exist (2012[2]:279). Sennett argues that these skills are developed most effectively through openness to an ambiguity in which empathy 'deploys curiosity and wonder to become oriented to the other'. This openness is seen as necessary for dealing with difference in liminal territories like the ones occupied by the refugees (Sennett 2012[1]). Furthermore, Sennett (2012[1]) proposes that these liminal 'edges' are environments which are most conducive to developing the empathy necessary to belong together. He introduces the psychological concept of autonomy as the 'authentic self' seen in relation to others and notes that this autonomy arises from interactions with others (2012[1]). These interactions with others also constitute the demonstration of agency and as such were also important in my analysis of factors which facilitated the development of empathy in my interviewees.

Conclusion

In this literature review, I sought theoretical and empirical foundations for my qualitative analysis of refugees' experiences of belonging and non-belonging. I explored selectively the UK, Scottish and Glasgow contexts relevant to refugees. Much of the empirical work I reviewed was based on small samples and since dispersal of refugees to Glasgow has a relatively short history, no longitudinal work was available. As Mulvey (2009:46) notes, there is a lack of comparative research in Scotland, and in particular, comparing refugees with other groups. This is especially significant in my work since I have no way of knowing how beliefs held by the wider community about belonging and non-belonging compare to refugee beliefs. There are also few cross-border comparisons with other countries in the UK and so the significance of different attitudes and policies in Scotland is not known. Little research has been undertaken in Scotland about the significance of, for example, gender, age or social class, each of which I expected would be salient factors in my analysis. However, empirical work in Glasgow and Scotland did offer a set of benchmarks against which to measure responses from my small sample.

The various debates about identity and belonging, social cohesion and social capital, transnationalism, and attachment were considered. I attempted to disentangle some of the arguments to produce usable models for my analysis. While I drew most from the sociology corpus, it was necessary to delve into sub-sets and other disciplines like ethnomethodology, psychology, social policy, politics, philosophy and law. A holistic approach to understanding the experience of refugees was mainly absent from the literature. My analysis section attempts to use a model based on a more multidisciplinary approach.

Methodology and Methods

Research Methodology

My primary interest was in the quality of the experience of refugees and in particular, the optimum factors for ensuring that refugees develop ‘a feeling of belonging together’ (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20) in Glasgow. The focus was on refugees rather than asylum seekers since I anticipated that this group would have been more advanced in the process of integration. My aim was to construct an understanding of the social world of refugees by analysing their way of seeing their own experiences. Therefore, an interpretivist epistemological approach was indicated (Bryman 2008:16). Since I assume that social characteristics of the experiences of refugees are constructed through social interaction, then my ontological position is a constructionist one (Mason 2002:15). To reflect these qualities, I chose qualitative research methodology.

Research Methods

The focus for my research on subjective elements of integration guided my choice of methods (Charmaz 2006:15). I wanted to enter into a research environment without prejudging outcomes. I also sought ways to gather data which is rich with deeper social and subjective meaning (Charmaz 2006:18). For these reasons, I chose to follow a grounded theory approach since this would offer me structure but also flexibility in constructing hypotheses once the data was collected. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the primary method for data collection as these would allow for both focus and the adaptability to pick up on themes raised by the people being interviewed. In this way, it could accommodate opportunities for participants to shape the course of the research and feel more involved in the process (Bögner et al 2010). The research questions I indicated in my original proposal, background reading and the Equality Measurement Framework guided my construction of an interview guide (Bryman 2008:442) (see Appendices 1,2&3). I also chose to use participant-observation as I hoped that the more naturalistic and context-sensitive data I gathered would provide triangulation (Bryman 2008:466&611) with data gathered in the interviews.

The split between the inventors of grounded theory, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, led to much controversy but the approach I followed was the one outlined by Charmaz (2006). Her focus on action fits with my understanding of social actors as active agents in their lives. This focus acquired particular significance in my analysis. Charmaz's method also accepts that data and theory are constructed by our connections with the participants in a research project and the process we follow (2008:15). Some of the criticisms of adopting a grounded theory approach arise from the practice of delaying conducting a literature search until after the fieldwork and coding is done (Bryman 2008:549). As described by Charmaz (2006:166), the delay seems illusory since experienced researchers already bring a depth of background knowledge of relevant literature. For me, as an inexperienced researcher, a literature review prior to the fieldwork was an essential pre-requisite for identifying what had already been investigated and even for determining the sorts of questions I wanted to ask in interview.

Other challenges included that for ethical approval I was required to identify possible effects of the project and this, too, is contrary to a strict grounded theory approach in which the data provides the direction for the explorations. Another difficulty was transcribing five interviews in a restricted timeframe. This short interval also meant that theoretical sampling was limited to the data gathered in one interview per participant and it was not possible to saturate the categories, conduct theoretical sampling or test the hypotheses (Bryman 2008:545). As such, a truly iterative process was not established. The process of coding may also have decontextualized the data in ways which may have led to misrepresentation.

Background to the Research

For the past three years, I have been a volunteer generalist advisor at a CAB in Glasgow. Between October 2003 and March 2012, this office hosted the first Project in the UK designed to recruit, train and utilise the talents of asylum seekers and refugees as advice-givers (Wilson & Lewis 2006:57).

Training and working beside people who are asylum seekers and refugees reinforced my previous interest in their experiences. As a natural outgrowth of just talking with fellow advisors who are refugees, the idea to interview them seemed to allow an opportunity for a much more focused and in-depth exploration of their experiences of belonging and non-belonging. The Project Co-ordinator agreed to act as gatekeeper, linking me with refugees who agreed to being interviewed. I also recruited a ‘key informant’ from the Project who offered me excellent advice about understandable terminology (Bryman 2008:409). The relative informality of using a semi-structured interview method appealed since I sought quite personal and sensitive information from refugees who had possibly been subjected to quite intrusive and bureaucratic interviews by the UKBA (Bögner el al 2010:532). Additionally, the CAB manager agreed to my acting as a participant-observer in the office (see Appendix 4).

Following the first few interviews, I realised in retrospect that recruiting participants from amongst other Bureau-associated people also served to lessen the sense of exploitation in two respects. Since both the researcher and research-participant were in the similar roles at the Bureau, there was a sense of commonality and equality (Mackenzie 2007 et al:303). I had concerns about participants’ sensitivities to questions about their subjective experience of some aspects of integration, in relation to the cultural expectations and norms and also in relation to my role as a female interviewer with men from particular cultures. I was also conscious being seen as an older White woman from a non-Scottish culture might have consequences for the nature of interview relationships (Charmaz 2006:27).

One of the first challenges to conducting the research arose after ethical approval had been granted but prior to the first interviews. The Project transformed into a similar Project but with a wider remit on 1st April 2012. The Bureau Manager explained to me that funding for discrete asylum seeker and refugee projects was increasingly difficult to secure and so the aims of the original project had been changed to reflect the Equality Act 2010’s protected characteristics. The ones which seemed to be most relevant were those of race, religion or belief and age. The Project staff determined to continue to offer the experience of being a CAB advisor to asylum seekers and refugees. The Project Co-ordinator remained unchanged and was still able to act as gatekeeper.

Initial Phase of Research Process

I began by gaining the consent of participants and I tried to ensure that this was an iterative process which was genuinely informed (Mackenzie et al 2007:302). This was done through individual negotiation with each participant and as much reciprocity as possible by circulating the plain language statement describing the research in advance and then discussing it with each participant (Mackenzie et al 2007:307). Electronic mail contact was initiated with each participant before and continued after each interview. I undertook this contact partially as an acknowledgement that refugees are often the object of research and they rarely see any benefits either personally or collectively (Atfield et al 2007). I was trying to avoid this sense of exploitation.

For each interview, I gained consent to digitally record the session and to write notes on my observations of non-verbal behaviour of the participant. My written notes provided me with another source of data from which I could deduce some of the more subjective elements of the interview, like the emotions associated with the words spoken. Each participant was asked at least once orally and in writing to offer a pseudonym by which they would be known in the dissertation to ensure anonymity. Subsequently, only one participant identified a pseudonym for himself and I chose the others in a pragmatic and hopefully sensitive way (Corti 2011:8).

Three venues were employed for the five interviews conducted: a seminar room on University of Glasgow premises, a CAB interview room and a training room in a high-rise block of flats housing asylum seekers. For both interviews conducted on University of Glasgow premises, I agreed to meet the participant in the local shopping precinct and proceed together to the University. I hoped this would make it easier to find and more comfortable to enter the premises. I assumed that the participant might feel self-conscious entering the University environment but I was wrong especially in the case of one participant who had been a student at another local university and was contemplating returning for a further degree.

Also at the suggestion of my supervisor, I arranged a pilot interview with the first participant, 'Bita'. She was unusual in the sample group as this interviewee was well-known to me previously. The purpose of this initial interview was to determine if the questions I identified were comprehensible and potentially would produce the sorts of data I sought, as well as to practice the more practical aspects of the interview with a person I knew (Mason 2002:44). Bita also agreed to discuss the questions with me following the formal interview. The first interview had the additional challenge of finding the booked seminar room occupied. I improvised and used an adjacent room but in retrospect I believe this was an error as I may have been anxious about being interrupted, possibly resulting in the shortest interview conducted. For the subsequent University-based interview, I took the e-mail confirmation of the room booking with me and determined to use the booked room. I taped paper over the window in the door to ensure privacy and provided bottled water and paper hankies to participants intending to offer a message that their comfort was important (Mason 2002:90).

My evaluation of the pilot was that on the whole, it provided me with worthwhile and useful information serving as theoretical sampling (Bryman 2008:415) and experience. I reviewed the feedback received from Bita in relation to which questions she did not see the relevance of, which questions might be overly sensitive and which questions required clarification (Mackenzie et al 2007:309). Since my initial interview guide did not produce data relevant to some of my research questions, additional questions were introduced and a second interview guide was produced for subsequent interviews (see Appendix 3).

Subsequent Semi-structured Interviews

I adopted a practice of e-mailing each participant to remind them of our appointment the day before and to thank them for participating the day after the interviews. All of the interviews took place within the month of June 2012. Each participant chose an interview location in which she/he expected to be comfortable. The high-rise block of flats housing asylum seekers was suggested by one of the participants who stated that he wanted me to see the facility and to meet other refugees. The interviews which took place at the CAB were in a windowless interview room. I chose the one room which could be arranged to ensure better eye contact and more equality between interviewer and interviewee in order to avoid any associations of the reproduction of the power dynamics of knowledgeable advisor and supplicant client. I also tried to ensure that all the interview environments were conducive to privacy and emotional comfort (Mackenzie et al 2007:304). Other unanticipated challenges were the work schedule of one participant, a very heavy rain shower necessitating the re-scheduling of an interview and the withdrawal of the final participant due to personal reasons. This was unfortunate as her participation might have ensured more gender and age balance in the sample.

The sample was typical of a convenience or opportunistic one (Bryman 2008:183), since the gatekeeper made the choices about participants using ‘refugee status’ as the only criteria. This very small sample demonstrated a range of the countries most frequently sending asylum seekers to Scotland. There were two women and three men in the sample of which two of the men and one of the women were middle-aged and one of the men and one of the women were young adults. Although, again, this was far from representative, it did seem to offer some lifecycle related differences. All but one of the interviewees is married and all but a different one have contact with extended family members. All of the participants shared the experience of having been asylum seekers, of having been granted some kind of leave to remain rendering them officially ‘refugees’ and of volunteering with CAB. In this final respect, the people in the sample were only representative of about slightly over half of the people in Mulvey’s study of refugees in Scotland (2011:29) in the activity of volunteering.

Each of the interviews in this phase lasted approximately one hour. I followed the interview guide, asked follow-up questions and invited the participants to share more about their experiences if they wanted to. After each interview, I enquired if the interviewee felt satisfied with the process and felt able to return the activities of their day and I always received a positive response. Additionally, there was a sense of a door opening rather than closing at the end of each interview since there was the real possibility of continuing the relationship begun in the interview process at the Bureau. Of course, if a participant had experienced the process of involvement in the research in a negative way, this on-going contact could prove counterproductive and I had not anticipated this in discussions with the gatekeeper. Once the draft transcriptions were completed, these were sent to the participants for comments, corrections and/or deletions if they wished to do so. Each was requested to respond within a fortnight but no responses were received and it is impossible to know how to interpret this lack of response. A subsequent request also received no written responses. I did have an opportunity to follow this up with Ja'far when I met him one day in the Bureau, but, he was satisfied that he had had an opportunity to comment (Mackenzie et al 2007:311).

Participant-Observation

I found many problems with using this method. Of necessity, the sampling was 'convenience sampling', reflecting which refugees were in the Bureau environments when I was present. My next problem was identifying refugees in the Bureau. I could have made assumptions or asked my gatekeeper, but I rejected both of these as ethically unsound. As a result, I was only confident making observations about people I personally knew to be refugees. My field notes were very brief, since I was simultaneously undertaking my role as a generalist adviser or co-volunteer in meetings or social settings.

Coding and Memo-writing

Following the transcription of the second interview, I began the process of initial coding, following the guide offered by Charmaz (2006:47). I reviewed the transcriptions line-by-line and broke them up into their constituent parts. Through using the language of action, it was possible to begin making sense of the data. These were then amalgamated into focused or selective codes. Initially I made the methodological error of grouping the selective codes using pre-existing categories like identity, integration and barriers, but quickly recognised that these extant groupings closed off the analytical process rather than opened it out.

The analytical categories emerging from the data that I identified were: losing control, looking in from the outside, imagining Scotland, treasuring family, offering prayer, living amongst strangers, facing violence and hatred, expressing distinctiveness, holding on and salvaging things from the homeland, starting over, wanting to fit in, letting go, confronting Scotland, proving oneself, and regaining some control. Each of the refugees I interviewed did not experience all of these categories. However, they do represent the predominant actions described in the transcripts. The categories reflect normative and temporal issues in which location and situatedness are significant. For example, the category of ‘wanting to fit in’ assumes some measure of societal agreement about norms for clothing, public behaviour or paying taxes. The category for ‘starting over’ implies a personal history and temporal displacement. The general tenor of the categories expresses optimism in the belief that life is possible and that quality of life will improve in Glasgow. The categories also suggest that refugees have agency as social actors both in conflict with aspects of the host society and by accepting Glasgow as at least their temporary home.

Continuing in a constructivist manner, I found that the memo-writing helped to illuminate how and why participants had responded as they had in determining meanings and actions relevant to the specific questions asked. Relationships and connections emerged from the focused codes through the memo-writing. I then clustered the categories by the relationships I had identified between and amongst categories. The most prominent relationships were contradictions and correlations. What seemed most clear from the memo-writing was that contradictions between the multiple examples of belonging and non-belonging produced tensions in different contexts and at different times. These tensions then had an impact on refugees’ experience of belonging and non-belonging at a more abstract level.

Theorising and Conclusions

The process of theorising enabled me to see the data from different directions and develop what Glaser (1998 cited in Charmaz 2006:135) calls theoretical sensitivity. Theoretical sampling was not possible in terms of the timeframe for completion of the work and so it was not possible to follow-up on some possibilities to strengthen the emerging theory (Charmaz 2006:96). However, I explored the processes underlying the narratives recounted. These undercurrents were used to construct interpretive frames. Through these interpretive frames, I aimed to increase my understanding of the social world of the few individuals included in the sample. The frames I identified are: multiple and different instantiations of belonging and non-belonging, ambivalent attachments, and developing empathy. These interpretive frames will be used in my analysis in the next section. Contradictions identified above are evident in the tensions amongst these instantiations. Feelings of ambivalence also manifest the contradictions expressed by the focused codes. The codes which were expressed as correlations produced the interpretive frame of developing empathy. Upon reflection, I found adopting a grounded theory approach to be viable since the sequential process worked organically and theorising was a natural by-product.

Analysis

Introduction

In this section I will explore multiple and different instantiations of belonging and non-belonging described by the refugees I interviewed. I will argue that the contradictions between and amongst the instantiations produced tensions, and the tensions in turn create and maintain ambivalent attachments to Glasgow and to their homelands. This leads to an argument that the complex and contradictory subjective environment described above, in the presence of optimism and the expression of agency, is conducive to developing what Sennett (2012[1]) calls the empathy necessary for living with people who are different.

The analysis which follows is based on the data derived from the five interviews conducted with refugees. Their actual words are important and these are complemented by the notes I took during the interviews about non-verbal communication. I was guided in my interpretations by the emphasis the interviewee placed on the words spoken, tone of voice, facial expressions, body language and gestures.

Multiple and different instantiations of belonging and non-belonging

Each of the people I interviewed expressed manifestations and concretisations of belonging in a number of different ways, places and times. They also described experiences of non-belonging including isolation and exclusion. I considered using the concept of intersectional identities as a category of analysis, but problems with using essentialist and reified categories to make non-essentialist claims persist (Davis 2008:68). Constructivists' views of identity as fluid and fragmented were also attractive in considering some of the data. However, Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) conceptual framework provided the most productive analysis. In this model 'identification and categorisation' by powerful external institutions is contrasted with 'self-understanding and social location' or 'situated subjectivity' in which an individual's sense of self and place determine her/his actions (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:15-17). These authors see individuals seeking categorical commonality through shared attributes and relational connectedness as the ties that bind people together. The missing element to achieve groupness is ‘a feeling of belonging together’ (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20). Saalim expressed this groupness when I asked him if he felt like part of his community. At first, he sought clarification about which community I meant, which is in itself significant, and then he responded that the first community he is part of is the community of people from his homeland.

> We do have regular social meetings and I go. My Dad has this charity that he is running sending food and stuff to [names his homeland]. There’s a huge community. I would say not as huge a community as in London, but Glasgow certainly is a big community. (interview with Saalim 2012)

This is offered as an example of groupness less on the basis of the literal content of the words, which could just indicate both shared characteristics and inter-personal relationships, than on Saalim’s warm tone of voice and facial expressions. This community has characteristics of being a bonded network based on the thick ties of language, culture and homeland (Atfield et al 2007:45). Saalim’s identification of the community of people from his homeland as his *first* community indicates his awareness of the tensions evident in his feeling that he belongs in other places at other times. For example:

> I went to College and I went to University for four years. And in that six years I made tons of friends. [I see them] from time to time for a coffee, lunch or dinner. (interview with Saalim 2012)

Saalim’s comments were offered more hesitantly and with less eye contact. These networks feature the characteristics of bridged ones though they did not seem to generate much social cohesion (Atfield et al 2007:8). Although Saalim shares some attributes and is in friendly relationships with these people, the sense of groupness with them was absent. I sensed an element of defensiveness which would fit with my hypothesis about the tensions experienced amongst the instantiations of belonging. Saalim seems to be recalling the collegiality of being a student, adding a temporal dimension, and being part of a student body, adding a locational dimension.

An experience of the absence of commonality, connectedness and groupness is described more explicitly by Chandra with such animation that it also expresses the contradictions arising from her characterisation of belonging to one culture and her fear of exclusion and therefore non-belonging to another.

> I have been here more than twelve years but because I look like a cultural girl - not like a modern girl. Because I am Hindu from Asia – because I don't drink, I don't smoke, I don't have a lot of boyfriends and stuff – so when I talk to Glaswegian people, they usually ask about this stuff. 'Do you smoke?' and 'Come to the bar' 'Come to the club' 'Go dancing'. But, I'm not that type of girl. That's a barrier, too. I couldn't be able to make a lot of friends. (interview with Chandra 2012)

In this excerpt, Chandra asserts her distinctiveness through her appearance, behaviour, traditions and beliefs. The host community is then challenged to accept this cultural pluralism (Schuster & Solomos 2001:6). Chandra seems to be making assumptions that belonging in some contexts requires relinquishing a part of her distinctiveness. However, in the context of her temple where Chandra teaches the language of her ethnic group to children, she demonstrates that she sees this distinctiveness as precisely one mechanism through which to participate.

> I teach my language to small children who are born here. Because if they know my language, I feel that they can contribute to this country more than other people if they know two or three languages. (interview with Chandra 2012)

The emphasis Chandra placed on her description of the importance of retaining her 'Mother tongue' supports an analysis that her transmission of this within her temple solidifies her place and serves as an instantiation of belonging in that context. Significantly, she also views these language skills as solidifying her place and the place of the people she teaches in the wider community through the contributions they can make. This desire to participate is seen by many refugees and others as integral to integration (Ager & Strang 2008:180). These examples of wanting to fit in whilst also wanting to retain distinctiveness similarly demonstrate the contradictions leading to tensions amongst and between the instantiations of belonging and non-belonging.

The following section will explore ideas about how refugees experience the city of Glasgow as a cosmopolitan environment in which demonstration of difference is accommodated. Multiple and complex instantiations of belonging can also be achieved through a cosmopolitan environment although there are contradictions producing tensions through cosmopolitanism's acceptance of a them-and-us culture. The characteristic tolerance of a cosmopolitan society and culture can encompass and even value a refugee's experience of different manifestations of belonging (Yuval-Davis et al 2006:6). Two of the refugees speak explicitly about openness in a cultural sense and these extracts capture Nava's depiction of 'the emotions and imaginaries associated with cosmopolitanism as a structure of *feeling*..' (2006:42). One example is when Saalim talks about the changes he experienced since his arrival and his assessment of Glasgow as a cosmopolitan milieu.

> When I first got here, it was different. I think I did get some racist comments at the beginning. But now it's getting better because there's a huge population of minorities moving from different places to Glasgow. And especially if people don't experience another person's culture, they don't know what they're like. I think Glasgow is one of the cities that are trying to basically experience that other persons' culture. In that way I think they're becoming more tolerant of other persons' culture and stuff. They're doing a good job. (interview with Saalim 2012)

Saalim may also be reflecting influences from government and the media. Wren (2007:395) confirms Saalim's observations in reporting Glasgow's increased BME population following asylum seeker dispersal. As each refugee seeks some commonality with others in the dominant society as a mechanism to feel connected and fit in, so too the dominant society is changing in part through having become a home for refugees. This makes groupness both a possibility and an increasingly distant social location (Brubaker & Cooper

2000:20). Contradictions producing tension amongst the instantiations of belonging and non-belonging are also demonstrated by this excerpt.

A cosmopolitan environment has long been evolving in Glasgow and in Scotland. For example, Edward asserts that Scotland earned a reputation as an egalitarian country with progressive social legislation (2008:158). Hussain and Miller (2006 cited in Mann & Tommis 2012:7) found that Scots display a tendency to define themselves as 'not-English' and this provides 'some shelter for other "not-English" groups within Scotland'. Additionally, the Scottish National Party leadership has insisted upon a strong message of inclusiveness and finally Scottish nationalism is identified as 'civic' in nature compared to English nationalism which is identified as 'ethnic' (McCrone & Bechhofer 2008:15). These attitudes are reflected in Glasgow's motto as 'the friendly city' and this projects a cosmopolitan image of hospitality in which all people will find a welcome. However, even this motto demonstrates the contradictions and oppositions creating tensions arising from one of cosmopolitanism's pitfalls, that there is an elite and an 'other' in the welcomer and the welcomed (Yuval-Davis 2008:12).

Asawertino demonstrated agency in his resistance to being 'othered' by choosing his own identification in part with the BME community. His choice serves as a means to pursue aspirations for cosmopolitanism in Glasgow that will enable the acceptance and valuing of the social capital Asawertino brings. In this extract he demonstrates the contradictions implicit in his sense of belonging to the BME community and simultaneously to the refugee community.

> I think some BME communities have had problems in a place where they have not been mingling and it ends up with the police intervention. We have seen improvements as they get used to the BME community. It's better to put [refugees] in mixed communities. Then, when the [White Scottish] people are aware, I think it will be easier for everybody. (interview with Asawertino 2012)

This awareness mentioned by Asawertino resembles the hospitality, tolerance and even respect indicative of cosmopolitanism. Each of the interviewees echoed Saalim and Asawertino in describing significant changes in the attitudinal and social environment in the years since their arrival in Glasgow.

Another striking commonality of all the refugees I interviewed was that they had reached out to the people they met through educational, employment and volunteering experiences. However, almost universally, the people they met and connected with outwith their bonded networks, were people who had expressed a specific interest in the experience of refugees. A cosmopolitan environment enabled the development of these bridged network contacts as well as the experience different and multiple instantiations of belonging and non-belonging. However, cosmopolitanism's coolness produced contradictions which in turn created tensions amongst and between these instantiations. Furthermore, these tensions can give rise to ambivalent attachments.

Ambivalent attachments

People are forced to migrate for a multitude of reasons. These reasons will influence many aspects of refugees' lives, for example, emotional attachment to the homeland and realistic prospects of returning there. The transcripts provided graphic examples both of nostalgia for homelands whose occupants had forced the refugees to flee *and* a genuine warmth toward Glasgow and Glaswegians even in the face of occasional experiences with curt and unsympathetic salespeople, unhelpful civil servants, and racists and xenophobes. This observation is consistent with Uehling's work (2002:389) in which she found that migrants' ambivalent attachments to both their homeland and their country of residence constituted a new norm.

One source of ambivalence arose from contradictory discrepancies between these refugees' beliefs about Glasgow and Scotland and the contrast with their actual experiences. For example, Bita and others saw Glasgow as a welcoming place in which people are cheerful, generous, helpful and friendly.

> I'm very cheerful and I like to make a joke. I find Glaswegian people are also cheerful. They like to help and if they like you, they'll try to wind you up. (interview with Bita 2012)

Bita identifies with what she sees as Glaswegian attributes. Later in the interview, Bita acknowledges that she feels part of the Glaswegian community whilst also expressing her doubts.

> I don't know what THEY feel about me. But I do have a positive response from them, and that's why I feel part of it. (interview with Bita 2012)

I added the emphasis to 'they' above to indicate Bita's doubts about reciprocity because in the interview she caught my eye and gesticulated with her arms to express this emphasis. The confidence and trust Yuval-Davis et al (2006:1) claim are necessary to generate a feeling of belonging are in doubt. Later in the interview, these doubts were reiterated through Bita's use of the word 'foreign' to refer both to Glaswegians and to herself. However, she still expresses an optimistic belief based on her feelings of belonging.

Refugees in the study demonstrated a passionate interest in the language, history and future of Scotland and a commitment to making a positive contribution through societal participation. As one example of this, Ja'far speaks about taking part in an ESOL class debate about Scottish independence.

> If I have to choose between independence or united, I prefer to vote for independence. Most of the people are not happy for independence because they are worried about after independence. They [the Scottish Government] have to prepare people to understand independence and why we have to be independent. (interview with Ja'far 2012)

Ja'far's attachment to Scotland is unmistakable, as evidenced by his use of the pronoun 'we' in the final line. Stewart and Mulvey (2011:23) highlight the importance of Scottishness as a significant element in the development of identity for refugees in Scotland. Ja'far's enthusiasm also resembles some of the attitudes highlighted by Sim (2009:45) in his study 'This is My Village Now'. However, his identification with Scotland is experienced simultaneously with the xenophobic harassment he described.

> I don’t know if you can call it racism. I was in the Sunday Market and someone (I think he was in the Army) found out I’m from [names his homeland]. He said that ‘Oh, you are from [names his homeland]? You are next!’ It means there will be an attack on my country. It was just speech. But, it was in my mind for some days. I was shocked. Why is he talking like this? (interview with Ja’far 2012)

The sort of conflicting loyalties evident above are identified by Mar (2004:7) as a source of stress and doubt. Ja’far was prepared to express his strong views about Scotland’s future to other migrants, but probably not in other contexts where he believes he is seen as a ‘foreigner’. The views expressed are consistent of views by other interviewees who felt strongly pulled in two or more directions, producing emotional attachments to two or more locations and cultures. Also, these animated emotions are said by Narchal (2008:14) to be typical of ambivalent attachments.

The following three contradictory extracts from Saalim demonstrate one way in which a belief about having a positive attachment to Glasgow can be undermined by a discrepant experience producing ambivalent attachments.

> I’ve been in this country for about 7 years now and I’ve got nothing to complain about. I do feel part of the community because I have a lot of friends that make me part of the community. I’m thankful for that. At the moment I do feel like I belong because I do have a flat, I do have a job in Glasgow, and I have friends in Glasgow. (interview with Saalim 2012)

The factors named by Saalim as influencing his positive beliefs about feeling at home in Glasgow coincide with factors identified, for example, by Sim (2009:4-5) as housing, employment and friendships. However, the hostility of some Glaswegians weakens this belief and serves as a source of ambivalence. I have included Saalim’s description of an incident of xenophobic or racist behaviour as it captures some of the emotional states described by each of the interviewees describing her/his own experiences of xenophobia or racism.

> I was coming back from basketball and I had my ball in my hand. Just me and my friends walking – a Kenyan guy and a guy from London - around 10 o'clock at night. For no apparent reason, people from the pub - and this is the scariest thing in the world – they started basically to just run at us. We just legged it – we just ran as far as we could. I didn't go out for about two months. (interview with Saalim 2012)

In this extract, Saalim identifies the injustice of the attack and the effect it had on his behaviour. An incident like this undermines Saalim's belief that he belongs in Glasgow and can induce both anxiety and resilience identified by Uehling (2002:388) as typical of the sort of ambivalent attachment expressed by Saalim in the following extract.

> I do have the opportunity to actually do that [pursue British citizenship]. But, I really want to go back to [names the country in which he was raised], as well. (interview with Saalim)

The incident Saalim described also raises issues about Glasgow's drinking culture as viewed by refugees. The problem of drunkenness in Glasgow was also referred to by Asawertino and Chandra as well, both in relation to the behaviour of the drinkers and also in relation to drinking as a source of exclusion for refugees whose religion/beliefs or culture prohibit drinking. Sim's (2009:46) study confirms that racism and anti-social behaviour induced by excessive drinking were the two most negative aspects highlighted by refugees in Glasgow. The convergence of racism and excessive drinking produced an experience for Saalim which significantly contrasted with his gratitude and positive feelings for those in Glasgow who had provided basic necessities for him and his mother upon their arrival. Refugees' negative experiences associated with Glasgow's drinking culture therefore serve as a further source of contradictory discrepancies and thus ambivalent attachments.

Ambivalent occupation of multiple social spaces can also be understood using some of the conceptualisations of transnationalism. As I identified in my literature review, two of Vertovec's (1999) premises proved relevant to the data I gathered. Transnationalism as social morphology was evident in the prevalence and prominence of bonded networks of people from the refugee's homeland here in Glasgow, in England, France and in sending countries. For example, Saalim telephones his grandmother in his homeland, Ja'far telephones and skypes his father, mother, brothers and sisters in his homeland and Chandra visits a close friend from her homeland who now lives in France. In the following extract, Asawertino expresses nostalgia for his homeland which is also seen as an impediment to forming a new attachment to Glasgow.

> When we got our independence, we were victims of our home-grown monsters. That's why we have the highest number of refugees in the world when compared to our population. I still think that it always has been said that wherever you go, always, you will be longing for the first house. It's very unfortunate that I am still attached. (interview with Asawertino 2012)

Asawertino identified himself as an elder in the community of people from his homeland which serves as a bonded network and source of status. As observed by Atfield et al (2007:11), these networks characterised by thick bonds offer social support and practical information but may also work to isolate some members. However, for Asawertino, these experiences boosted his confidence and optimism, enabling him to establish bridged networks as well.

> There was a conference of Scottish Refugee Council and I have to sit on a panel by the side of high-ranking people like Phil Taylor, who is the Director of the UKBA [in Scotland and Northern Ireland]. So, you feel that here people have rights. This gave me a boost of morale. It's good to be living in this kind of country. You think that you belong with these people. (interview with Asawertino 2012)

These two extracts from Asawertino illustrate both of Vertovec's transnationalism premises (1999:450). Asawertino demonstrates a type of consciousness associated with the sense of being at home in multiple locations whilst being aware of 'decentred attachment'. Social morphology is seen in his role in the community with links to similar communities in England. Refugees in the study demonstrated attachment both to Glasgow and to remembered locations and cultural contexts.

This raises questions about being both here and somewhere else emotionally. Stead (1996:217) and Hynes (2011:191) both use the concept of liminality which expresses the idea of simultaneously feeling displaced and emplaced. Hynes (2011:176) proposes a continuum between liminality and belonging for asylum seekers. However, I collected data that indicates an extension of liminality through many years of being a refugee and this liminality co-exists with a feeling of belonging. Despite my interviewees living in Glasgow between two and twelve years and longer in the UK and the fact that two of them were citizens of either the UK or an EU country, ambivalence remained in a climate of liminality.

> I'm trying to make roots. But, I'm always waiting for a day to return to my country. For now, I think I'm always a foreigner. (interview with Ja'far 2012)

Ja'far demonstrates that he still occupies an emotional terrain that is what Grillo (2007:199) calls 'betwixt and between'. Ja'far would rate highly on Ager & Strang's (2004[2]:3) objective domains to measure integration. He attests that he has rewarding employment, desirable housing and the company of his nuclear family, but still he feels drawn to the country he was forced to leave. I am hypothesising that Ja'far uses an internal working model based on his early relationships which produces ambivalent attachments to both countries (Bretherton 1992:770).

To sum up the argument so far, the contradictions creating tensions which characterise the relationships amongst multiple instantiations of belonging and non-belonging experienced by the refugees in my sample, produce ambivalent attachments both to Glasgow and to homelands. I will now complete the argument with a claim that the refugees I interviewed add optimism and the exertion of agency to this rich and paradoxical environment to produce a milieu in which development of the skill of empathy is possible.

Developing empathy

The refugees I interviewed brought an openness and optimism evidenced in their beliefs about developing relationships with people in Glasgow, even in the face of some quite challenging circumstances. As noted in the literature review, this receptiveness is a crucial element in developing the skill of empathy which is essential to living with people who are different (Sennett 2012[2]:279). I hypothesise that one significant motivation for people to flee a homeland where they no longer belong, is the optimistic belief that life could be better elsewhere. Agency was demonstrated by the interviewees in many ways. For example, all but one of the refugees exerted an element of choice about coming to Glasgow and the one who had no choice felt that getting 'stuck' in Glasgow had enabled him to autonomously explore Glasgow and choose to feel positively about it. With varying degrees of success, the interviewees used their imaginations to gain a sense of people who were different from them. The agency expressed by all the participants resembles Sennett's concept of autonomy (2012[2]:1).

Empathy is evident in this extract from Ja'far who uses a template from his homeland to make a connection with Scottish people and language.

> They [Scottish people] are the same as me in speaking the English language because it's not their original language. I was thinking about this. They have to speak it. We have this problem in our country. We have a lot of different languages in our country. Each region in our country has its own language, but they have to speak [names the official language]. I'm familiar with this situation and I think maybe for Scottish people it's the same situation. (interview with Ja'far 2012)

Ja'far demonstrates correlated intellectual curiosity about Scottish people and their language and affinity to their perceived situation. The relative lack of contact Ja'far has with White Scottish people and culture, as participant observations and data from the interview attest, is indicative of what Sennett (2012[1]) calls the 'zoning out' of immigrants. Despite this marginalisation, Ja'far and other refugees overcome obstacles in developing the social skill of empathy.

Developing empathy also challenges both 'otherness' and seeing asylum seekers and refugees as a problem (Mulvey 2010:439). This empathy is based on trust and reciprocity (Putnam 1993 cited in Strang & Ager 2010:599), both essential to feelings of belonging (Yuval-Davis et al 2006:1). However, Putnam (2007:159) notes that cooperation and trust are 'easier' when the social gap between people is narrower and that conversely, people withdraw from neighbours who are different. Asawertino gives an example of an empathetic relationship with a neighbouring family whose social circumstances are similar to his own.

> We have a Palestinian family here who we knew since we arrived. We are living like one family. We take something from their home and they take something from our home. We live the same sort of life that we lived at home. Sometimes their children come and sleep with us and ours go there are well. We are living like intimate friends. It is a good experience for me. (interview with Asawertino 2012)

As Sennett (2012[2]:5) notes, cooperative relationships like these benefit all participants and require the openness of dialogism. Asawertino is explicit that he derives positive benefits from this relationship. The larger challenge is to use the skills developed to cooperate with people who are in conflict or more unequal in a variety of ways. The people I interviewed did not offer any clear examples of this type of empathy with one exception. Ja'far's pondering what the soldier said to him in the market is an approximation of this empathy.

Sennett (2012[2]:8) identifies the 'silo effect' and this could explain the relative absence of examples of empathy yielding cooperative relationships amongst people who are different. Upon their arrival in Glasgow, refugees were either allocated or independently obtained accommodation that was generally in small clusters and in areas of high social deprivation. The refugees I interviewed outlined descriptions of neighbours and colleagues who conformed to a 'new character type' identified by Sennett (2012[2]:8) of people who avoid 'arousal and conflict' and keep to themselves mainly in the name of individualism. These people are also said by Sennett (2012[2]:80) to be anxious about people who are 'other' or different (2012[2]:280).

However each of the refugees interviewed found a way to communicate a warmth and affection for Glasgow, a conscious decision to commit to it as their home (at least temporarily) and an optimism that the city has increasingly become a more amenable place for refugees and will continue to improve in this respect. There is some evidence that ingredients for developing empathy are present in Glasgow and that the refugees I interviewed were already using this skill to live cooperatively with people who are somewhat different.

Conclusion

I began my analysis by focusing on interviewees' concrete temporal and locational examples of belonging and non-belonging. I recognised that the quality of groupness was essential to feelings of belonging and its absence gave rise to feelings of non-belonging. My analysis continued with a consideration of the contribution of ideas about cosmopolitanism to feelings of non/belonging. While I do not see cosmopolitanism as a solution and some of the hazards with using this idea were considered, it did offer some advantages as a framework within which the interviewees' instantiations could be examined. I tested out the hypothesis that it was the contradictions amongst and between the instantiations of belonging and non-belonging which produced tensions that then induced ambivalent attachments by the refugees to Glasgow and to their homelands.

I then sought to explore the creation and maintenance of ambivalent attachments and I identified two possible sources for this ambivalence. The first of these were the contradictory discrepancies between refugees' accounts of their beliefs about Glasgow and Scotland and their actual experiences. I derived a second explanation for ambivalence from two specific conceptualisations of transnationalism.

Finally, I completed the argument by considering that the complex and contradictory environment produced by the tensions between multiple instantiations of belonging and non-belonging and ambivalent attachment to Glasgow and to their homelands could facilitate refugees developing the skill of empathy necessary for living together with people who are different. My findings centre on the two factors identified as significant for developing empathy: refugees' optimism and their demonstration of agency. An extended period of liminality was also found. This liminality resembles Sennett's 'edge' (Sennett 2012[1]) which is a territory amenable to the development of empathy. Whilst generalisations cannot be made on the basis of my small and unrepresentative sample, some of my observations were surprising and may indicate a need for further study.

Conclusion

In this final section, the conclusions of each of my previous sections will be summarised. The summaries present some reflections on the process and the outcomes of the project. This will include an account of my research findings including some limitations of the findings. I also explore how my findings confirm or contradict some of the theoretical and empirical work I reviewed and some gaps in the literature. This section outlines possible future research projects that could focus on some of the subjective elements of how integration is experienced by refugees. I conclude with some observations on the academic disciplines which do make valuable contributions to thinking about some of the subjective elements of how integration is experienced by refugees.

The literature review began by presenting an account of the increasingly politicised and racialised context within which laws and policies concerning asylum seekers and refugees are implemented. Differences adopted by the UK, Scottish and Glasgow governments were highlighted. The UK government's laws and policies seemed most affected by global insecurities about terrorism resulting in efforts to deter refugees from coming to or remaining in the UK (Hynes 2011:4). In contrast, the Scottish Government seemed motivated to reverse its population decline through increased inward migration (Sim 2009:24 & MacKenzie 2012:7). At the end of the last century, Glasgow was a city with declining population, a dwindling industrial base and a stock of houses which were needing repairs and up-grading and so uninhabitable (Wright 2004:7 & Wren 2007:405). These factors contributed to Glasgow City Council's decision to become a dispersal site for indigent asylum seekers at the beginning of this century.

A brief summary of findings of some of the major empirical studies about asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland and Glasgow was given. The particular features focused upon proved invaluable to me in deciding which factors I wanted to enquire about when I interviewed refugees. I also included a brief overview of the major policy approaches to integration. A simplified historical progression from assimilationist and monocultural models in the middle part of the last century to multiculturalism in the final decades of that century was shown. Policies in the new century swing between assimilationist and cosmopolitan ones. The arguments in favour and opposed to these policy drivers were presented.

The next section of the literature review featured the theoretical frameworks I found most advantageous in considering the experience of refugee integration. I critically examined issues relevant to the identity of refugees. The work undertaken by Brubaker & Cooper (2000) of unpacking the ideas bundled in with identity proved especially compelling for me in thinking about the data I collected. I then considered the arguments about belonging and non-belonging, drawing heavily on the theoretical work of Yuval-Davis et al (2006) and the empirical work of Atfield et al (2007). The importance I attached to the experience of belonging was confirmed through these readings. Drawing upon and from work by Putnam (2002), I explored the policy of social cohesion as achieved through the framework of social capital. These ideas and the critiques of them were presented in some detail since I later drew heavily on these ideas in my analysis of data.

I continued the literature review with a brief exploration of the concept of transnationalism. Since this concept has been used in multiple ways, I focused on a framework by Vertovec (1999) which proved most suitable for me in my analysis of the experiences of the refugees I interviewed. I then drew upon work from other disciplines in considering the concepts of attachment and empathy. These two sets of ideas together were synthesised to produce a set of arguments which form the foundation of my analysis section.

Before returning to the analysis, I used the second section of the dissertation to identify my research methodology and methods. My intention to build up an understanding of how refugees experience belonging and non-belonging in Glasgow was best suited to an interpretivist approach using qualitative strategies. My interest in some of the more subjective elements of integration called for research methods which would provide opportunities to uncover rich data. I was attracted to Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory approach as this promised discoveries through following the trail made by the data. As a result, the original research questions I had proposed formed part of the basis for my interview guide, but became secondary once I entered the analysis phase. The research methodology and methods section then gave an account of the reasons for my choice of research methods: semi-structured interviews and participant-observation. The former provided the bulk of the data I used in the analysis and the reasons why the latter provided so little data were explained.

The methodology and methods section then provided a description of the background and process of the research. The experience I had had as a volunteer CAB advisor and my relationships with staff within the Bureau proved pivotal in accessing refugees to interview, a room in which to conduct the interviews and a context for participant-observation. I offered some detailed analysis of the experience of interviewing and a brief account of the difficulties encountered in attempting to use the method of participant-observation. The detail of my experience of coding, memo-writing and theorising was outlined. I noted the list of focused codes I derived from the data and the next step of characterising the relationships amongst these codes. These relationships became clear through the experience of memo-writing. The groundwork was then established for theorising about the narrative frames used in the analysis section.

The analysis section presented data to support the arguments arising from the theorising. Initially, I presented concrete examples of the many and different ways in which the refugees I interviewed experienced belonging and non-belonging. The people I interviewed experienced a sense of groupness since there was the element of ‘a feeling of belonging together’ (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:20) at different times, in different places and in different ways. They also expressed feelings of not belonging, again through concrete temporal, locational and instrumental examples. It became clear to me that the inherent contradictions produced tensions between and amongst the examples given and that these tensions worked to create ambivalent attachments both to Glasgow and to the refugees’ homelands.

There was an abundance of data to support the experience of ambivalent attachments. The pull of ambivalence is both negative and positive and the refugees I interviewed uniformly emphasised the positives. Within this complex physical, structural and emotional environment, the interviewees surprised me with their resourcefulness, determination and optimism. They demonstrated most forcefully Sennett's (2012[2]) observation about particular environments being conducive to developing the skill of empathy necessary for people who are different to live together and his ideas about autonomy. This openness to and empathy with their neighbours, fellow students, employers, fellow volunteers and others in Glasgow was most striking and encouraging about the prospect of refugees living together productively with others in Glasgow. Thus, the two factors which emerged as catalysts to developing empathy were the agency demonstrated by the refugees and their optimism despite many barriers to integration. These components also served to motivate the interviewees to participate in and thus contribute to the wider community.

My findings are offered as tentative hypotheses based on a small sample of people who had already demonstrated a relatively high level of connectedness by virtue of being CAB volunteers. It would be advisable to test these further with a larger sample of refugees who are more representative of the refugee population in Glasgow. The remit and parameters of my project also did not permit comparative research of the experience of belonging and non-belonging by people in Glasgow who are not refugees, whether they are migrants of any type or people who are born in Glasgow. I would expect to find gender-specific and age-related differences, but my sample size could not yield these. Some of the data I collected from the people I interviewed also indicated a possible influence of class and ethnicity, but, these, too, were impossible to pursue. All of these topics should prove fruitful in future research.

My findings were mainly consistent with most of the empirical findings of studies in Glasgow and Scotland. The few exceptions I noted were that all but one of the refugees I interviewed were satisfied with their accommodation (see Mulvey 2011:16 or Barclay et al 2003:65) and that mosques or temples, whilst important as examples of bonded networks, did not promote integration (see Ager & Strang 2004[1]:7 or Sim 2009:6). I found little in the literature which mentioned the significance of the presence of hope or optimism. My finding of an extended period of liminality for refugees was also not wholly consistent with the literature. These were significant since in my dissertation I have argued that these factors served as catalysts and context for refugees developing the skill of empathy.

I began this study with a focus on the experience of individual refugees. However, I appreciated that these individuals operate within particular structures and the relationship between individual action or agency and structure is a crucial one. Nonetheless, following the data led me much more into the territory of demonstration of agency which in the end proved a pivotal factor in my arguments. In this respect, my focus on 'the actions of individuals' leading to a feeling of belonging corresponds closely with the findings of Hynes (2011:191). The refugees made very few references to the structures around them, even when invited to comment on the contribution of various organisations or what helped them feel like they belonged. Future research could investigate much more directly the relationships between agency and structure.

I found that trying to understand the experience of refugees developing a sense of belonging in Glasgow necessitated a holistic approach. The disciplines of sociology, social theory and social policy provided readings which were invaluable in this process. However, other disciplines like psychology, anthropology and even fiction could also offer significant contributions to understanding some of the more subjective aspects of integration. I had hoped to make some limited discoveries about the social world of refugees and my cautious hypotheses are offered in that spirit.

14,933 words

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Appendix 1

Original Research Questions

1. What are the objective markers for refugees achieving integration in Glasgow?
2. What is the subjective experience of developing a sense of belonging for refugees in Glasgow?
3. What is the relationship between the objective markers of integration and the subjective sense of belonging?
4. Is recognition significant in developing a sense of belonging?
5. What barriers, including xenophobia and racism, impact on the development of a sense of belonging and how can these be overcome?
6. What factors have a positive impact on the development of a sense of belonging?

Appendix 2

Equality Measurement Framework - indicators by domain

Education and learning

- Being treated with respect in education
- Basic skills
- Educational qualifications
- Participation in lifelong learning
- Use of the Internet

Productive and valued activities (A)

- Employment
- Earnings
- Occupation
- Discrimination in employment

Standard of living (A)

- Poverty and security of income
- Housing quality and security
- Quality of the local area
- Being treated with respect by private companies and public agencies in relation to your standard of living

Standard of living (B)

- Access to care

Productive and valued activities (B)

- Unpaid care and free time

Individual, family and social life (A)

- Availability of support

Participation, voice and influence

- Formal political participation
- Perceived influence in local area
- Political activity
- Taking part in civil organisations
- Being treated with dignity and respect while accessing and participating in decision-making forums

Individual, family and social life (B)

- Being free from domestic abuse
- Being able to participate in key social and cultural occasions which matter to you
- Being able to be yourself
- Being able to form and pursue the relationships you want

Identity, expression and self respect

- Freedom to practice your religion or belief
- Cultural identity and expression
- Ability to communicate in the language of your choice
- Self respect
- Freedom from stigma

Source: *How Fair is Britain? Equality, Human Rights and Good Relations in 2010: The First Triennial Review.* Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2010:688.

Appendix 3

Final Interview Guide

1. What is your country of origin?
2. How long have you lived in Glasgow?
3. When did you receive status to remain in the UK?
4. Are you working or in education?
5. Do you live near any family members?
6. Do you know your neighbours?
7. Have you made friends with other refugees?
8. Have you made friends with Glaswegians? if not, what do you think has prevented you?
9. Are you associated with a church/mosque/temple?
10. Who do you talk with when you need emotional support?

11. Do you find the Glaswegian accent difficult to understand?

12. Do you ever find yourself using Glaswegian words & phrases?

13. As your English has improved, do you feel more connected to Glasgow?

14. Are you happy living in your current flat/house/neighbourhood? if so, why? if not, why?

15. Do you feel part of your community?

16. Do you feel you can influence decisions on local issues?

17. Do you feel safe going out at night?

18. Have you experienced harassment, discrimination or racism? what happened?

19. Do you think you can hold on to the values you brought with you and still feel like you belong here?

20. Would you say that there are people here who really know who you are and understand and accept you?

21. What helped you to feel like you belong?

Appendix 4

Participant-Observation Guide

- social relationships and interaction
- level of involvement in the work
- use of language skills
- role performance
- use of space
- level of participation
- barriers to participation