Social networks, social capital and refugee integration

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Executive summary

With over 300,000 refugees living in the UK and more arriving each year much attention has focused upon refugee integration policy and practice. Whilst there is no agreement about what constitutes integration certain trends can be identified. These include the importance of access to employment and public services, and the development of social connections and the ability to speak English. It is recognised that integration is multi-dimensional and while not a linear process, does occur over time. Yet little research has focused upon how different factors combine to influence the refugee integration experience. Ager and Strang's (2004; 2008) integration framework was developed in a bid to bring the multiple dimensions together in an analytical framework. We utilise this framework looking in detail at the role of social capital in relation to the indicators identified by Ager and Strang.

Ager and Strang's Integration Framework

Means and Markers	Employment	Housing	Education	Health
Social Connections	Social bridges		Social bonds		Social Links
Facilitators	Language and Cultural Knowledge		Safety and stability	
Foundation	Rights and Citizenship			

Our aim was to increase understanding about the role of social capital in refugee integration. Our objectives are to:

- Investigate the role of different types of capital in refugee integration
- Isolate social capital from other kinds of capital
- Explore interrelationships with different integration indicators
- To inform integration policy and practice

Methods

We re-analysed the Survey of New Refugees (SNR) a longitudinal survey conducted with all new refugees between 2005 and 2009 exploring integration outcomes in four sweeps in the 21 months after leave to remain was received. Distinguishing between social networks and social capital we used factor analysis, bivariate analysis and multivariate analysis to model the associations between different types of networks, capital and integration outcomes. We also utilised the findings from an e-survey with 233 respondents to identify integration priorities of refugees, practitioners, researchers and policymakers.

Social network and capital profile

- Refugees in the SNR came from over 100 different countries.
- 37% were women, 21% lived with a spouse, and 25% with a child at the time their status was granted.
- 19% waited less than six months for a decision and 22% waited more than five years.

- Social networks and capital were multi-dimensional
- Regular contact with, or help received from, religious, co-ethnic and co-national groups significantly correlated to contact with other groups and organisations.
- Friends and relatives were the most consistent source of capital accessed.

Social networks and capital and employment and education

- Employment was not a high priority for e-survey respondents
- There were clear differences in the pre-migration employment and education profiles of refugees of different ages and countries of origin
- Women fared worse than men regardless of their pre-migration employment or education profile
- Refugees were over-qualified for work undertaken in the UK, a situation that barely changed over the SNR period
- Significant Muslim and African penalties in employment were identified
- Living with a partner in the UK, higher levels of pre-migration employment or education and length of residence in the UK significantly increased the chance of permanent employment by 21 months
- Those with managerial or professional or highly-qualified pre-migration profiles had the widest social networks
- Language fluency was important in accessing employment while literacy was important in accessing managerial and professional jobs
- Contacts with religious, national, co-ethnic and other groups enhanced the likelihood of getting such help
- Refugees with no social networks were the least likely to be employed

Social networks and capital and health

- Health does not emerge as a priority for e-survey respondents possibly as health only becomes a priority to those in poor health
- Women refugees have poorer subjective health than men and suffer limiting emotional and physical problems while being less likely to seek help
- Health tends to improve over time in the UK and with levels of pre-migration education
- Emotional and physical problems tend to be correlated with each other
- Living with family at the time that leave was granted has clear benefits
- Those living with friends were healthier than those in NASS accommodation
- Younger refugees tend to be healthier while those in contact with groups less likely to need help with emotional problems
- Good fluency and literacy at time of grant were associated with good general health
- Pre-migration managerial and professional status and being economically active in the UK is associated with good health

- Those in contact with friends were less likely to experience limiting physical problems while those associated with other groups were less likely to experience limited emotional or physical problems
- Having no social networks were significantly associated with poorer health
- The more frequently you meet or speak with friends and/or relatives the healthier you are
- Victims of physical or verbal attack, those experiencing difficulties with money, needing help with food, clothes or transport, waiting long periods for Jobseekers Allowance, or frequent house moves were less likely to experience good health
- Refugees who reported high levels of satisfaction with life in the UK, intending to remain in their current city and not wanting to change housing or receiving a positive response to their application for family reunion were most likely to report good health.

Social networks, social capital and housing

- Housing was rated second (above absence of physical or verbal attack) of all integration indicators
- Those in higher level occupations were most likely to live in self-contained private rented or owned accommodation with the unemployed or economically inactive most likely to be homeless or housed in temporary accommodation
- Overcrowding, under-furnishing, noise and lack of light were associated with poor health.
- Those living in private rented or owner occupied housing were most healthy.
- Refugees living in NASS accommodation at the survey baseline make more contacts with religious and other groups while those in non-NASS housing were more likely to be in contact with friends and family and less with religious and other groups
- Increasing length of residence reduces the scale of social networks
- Those who move more frequently obtain more help from other groups than those who were securely housed. Clearly stability reduces the need for support.

Language and other training

- Refugees rated the importance of learning English highly in the e-survey, higher than policymakers and researchers
- Language skills improve over time for all refugees regardless of gender
- Men were less likely to think they need formal classes than women and women were less likely to access classes even if they need them
- Between 36% and 48% refugees report no progress in ESOL classes
- The longer time refugees spent in the UK, the better their language skills and the more extensive their social networks
- Attendance at ESOL classes is positively correlated with frequency of help received
- Those arriving in the UK able to speak English fared best in the labour market
- Those with better language skills were less likely to seek help from other groups.

Discussion

The e-survey showed that refugees prioritise means and markers, family reunion and facilitators over social connections but analysis of the SNR demonstrates that refugees possess different kinds of social networks and access different types of social capital and that these have a generally positive impact on their integration. While the picture is mixed for access to employment and housing the importance of social networks and to a lesser extent, capital, for health and language ability is clear. The analysis of SNR demonstrates that different groups of refugees experience different outcomes with women, Africans and Muslims faring the worse and men from managerial and professional backgrounds faring the best. Living with family and being free from verbal or physical attack is clearly very important for good integration outcomes as is the avoidance of NASS (now UKBA) housing.

Recommendations

- Improve refugees' access to good quality language training
- Encourage all initiatives that enable network development
- Support NGOs that work with new refugees
- Support initiatives that increase refugees' economic activity rates and social mobility
- Actively protect refugees from verbal and physical harassment
- Signpost refugees to financial support to help avoid financial difficulties
- Offer asylum seekers choice of dispersal locations if they have friends or family in close proximity
- Prioritise integration initiatives for women and Muslims
- Promote family reunion

1. Introduction

With around 30,000 asylum seekers arriving in the UK each year around, and approximately 30% gaining refugee status as a result of being granted some kind of leave to remain (Home Office 2009) the numbers of refugees living in the UK continue to increase. Estimates by UNHCR (2009) put the number of refugees in the UK at around 300,000, about 3% of the world's refugees and 0.5% of the UK's population. Much attention has been focused upon the challenges associated with supporting refugees and the development of refugee integration policy (see Home Office 2002; 2005; 2009; CLG 2011).

Integration has long been the focus of debate, and although there is no agreement about what constitutes successful integration, certain trends can be identified in the literature. These largely concern the importance of enabling refugees to access public services and to develop social capital (also described as social connections and used interchangeably herein), and consideration of integration as a two-way process between newcomer and host communities, that is multidimensional, and multifaceted (Schibel *et al.* 2002; Fyvie *et al.* 2003). While there have been a number of qualitative studies looking at refugee integration (see for example Atfield *et al.* 2007) there is a dearth of quantitative research looking at the multidimensional nature of integration. This report uses data from the Survey of New Refugees, a longitudinal survey of refugee integration, to examine the role of different types of social capital in facilitating or hindering integration.

1.1 What is integration?

Integration as a term is often used in policy, practice and academia, but it can mean different things to different actors depending on their perspective, interests, assumptions and values (Castles *et al.* 2003). Favell (1998) conceives integration as an umbrella term under which sits a whole range of processes and domains. Work by social psychologists, and particularly Berry (1994; 1997), builds on the idea of integration as a process arguing that over time both migrant groups *and* host societies change and new identities emerge. For Berry integration is one possible dimension of the acculturation process. He argues integration occurs where an individual has an interest both in maintaining their original culture *and* taking part in daily interactions with other groups.

Moving away from socio-cultural cultural definitions of integration, some sociologists and social policy analysts have sought to identify different integration dimensions. Much has been written about the multidimensionality of integration (i.e. Portes 1997; Zetter *et al.* 2002), and the need to explore integration as a multidimensional process in which individuals, migrant and refugee community organisations (MRCOs), institutions and society all have a role (Ager and Strang, 2004; 2008; Schibel *et al.*, 2002). In a review of integration literature, Fyvie *et al* (2003) outline functional dimensions of integration, highlighting education and training, the labour market, health, and housing, as being critical to integration arguing progress in these areas is necessary for the integration process to start. Others have focused upon developing integration typologies within which they describe the range of different areas, such as functional, social and civic, which influence integration (i.e. Zetter *et al.* 2002). In policy, and to some extent academia, emphasis is generally placed upon tangible, quantifiable aspects of the process or a top down approach focused on structural and organisational elements of the system yet few systematic attempts have been made to explore the relationship between aspects of integration (Korac 2003). There is a clear need for research around refugee integration to focus on a range of dimensions, their

interconnectedness and the way that they are experienced (Korac, 2003; Schibel *et al., 2*002). Much emphasis in UK has been on research looking at dimensions of, and challenges to, integration, rather than how it might happen (Atfield *et al.* 2007). Little work has examined how different factors combine to influence settlement experiences. The lack of analytical framework to structure research across multiple dimensions may be one of the reasons why little research has explored interconnectedness.

Policy and integration
In the UK, refugee integration emerged as a key policy goal in 2000 when the New Labour Government set out its desire to make refugees '*full and equal citizens*' (Home Office, 2000). Integration policy, outlined in *Integration Matters,* the Home Office's (2005) strategy, and a recommitment to integration published in 2009, focused on the functional aspects of integration, becoming about the provision of opportunities (but not necessarily equal outcomes) and the encouragement of participation in civil society. They state

Integration takes place when refugees are empowered to:
- *Achieve their full potential as members of British society*
- *Contribute to the community and*
- *Access the services to which they are entitled*

This approach now dominates thinking in the UK.

Whilst there are some clear differences in the ways that policymakers and academics believe integration can be facilitated there is some agreement about the key importance of functional dimensions and the role of social interaction. A key problem is how to bring these aspects together in a way that is useful for policy development and evaluation. Ager & Strang (2004) were commissioned, by the UK's Home Office, to develop the *Indicators of Integration* framework. They sought to identify, following empirical research and a literature review, an operational definition that "*reflects commonalities in perceptions about what constitutes "successful" integration in a range of relevant stakeholders*" (p166). The framework was intended to be employed to help commission and develop services, facilitate policy discussion around integration, and provide an evaluation framework for initiatives. Table 1.1 illustrates the framework which consists of ten indicators that are organised into four domains.

Table 1.1: Ager and Strang's Integration Framework

Means and Markers	Employment		Housing		Education		Health
Social Connections	Social bridges			Social bonds		Social Links	
Facilitators	Language and Cultural Knowledge				Safety and stability		
Foundation	Rights and Citizenship						

The first domain, *Means and Markers*, is based upon functional indicators and includes employment, housing, education and health. These areas were selected because they are viewed both as a means to achieving integration and, because satisfactory outcomes in these areas can operate as markers of integration (Ager and Strang 2004; 2008). Taken from Putnam's (2002) work on social capital, and reflecting also Berry's (1997) ideas, the *Social*

Connections domain includes three dimensions of social capital: bonds within a refugee's own community, bridges with other communities, and links to institutions of power and influence. The third domain *Facilitators* covers language and cultural knowledge, argued to be the main barriers that prevent refugees engaging confidently within communities. This domain also includes safety and stability, reflecting to some extent the two-way nature of integration, in stressing the importance of feeling safe from persecution or harassment, and settled within an area. The final domain *Foundation* relates to the rights and responsibilities offered and expected by, and from, the state, other people, and refugees themselves. These include the presence of policies that facilitate integration, ensuring all parties understand their rights and responsibilities, and enabling a sense of equity. The four domains reflect many of the dimensions of integration outlined by academics and can be utilised from the perspective of refugees and host communities. The framework has the potential to provide an approach to understanding and measuring integration that addresses some of the concerns around complexity and multidimensionality outlined above, while providing a mechanism for testing the efficacy of policy initiatives.

In recent times much attention has been paid to the role of different types of social connections in integration and the development of community cohesion (CIC 2005). Concern has been expressed that some kinds of social connections, namely intra-community connections or bonding capital, are detrimental to integration and cohesion (CIC 2005; Cantle 2005). Policymakers have encouraged the provision of multi-ethnic services arguing that single ethnic provision, in the form of Migrant and Refugee Community Organisations (MRCOs), promotes separatism, rather than integration. While it has been suggested that the rate of social capital acquisition has an impact on refugee employment status and English language ability, and vice versa, little research has been undertaken to explore the role of different types of social connections in refugee integration, or to examine what kinds of approaches to facilitating integration are effective. Studies undertaken to date lack a robust analysis of the interrelationships between integration variables, in particular the role of different kinds of social networks and the ways in which social connections affect refugee integration across a range of domains.

1.2 Aims and objectives
The aim of the research reported herein is to increase understanding about the role of social networks and social capital in refugee integration and to disseminate the findings to academics, policymakers and practitioners.

Our objectives are to:
- investigate the role of different types of social capital/connections in refugee integration,
- isolate social capital from other kinds of capital /connections
- explore interrelationships between social capital/connections and different domains of integration
- inform integration and cohesion policy and practice.

1.3 Data and Method

The Survey of New Refugees (SNR)
The SNR is a longitudinal study of refugee integration in the UK. The survey was conducted between 2005 and 2009 with new refugees over 18. The questionnaire was administered by post and involved four sweeps of data collection: baseline (one week after leave to remain granted) (S1), after 8 (S2), 15 (S3) and 21 (S4) months. A total of 8,254 baseline questionnaires were distributed and 5,742 refugees responded, yielding a 70 per cent response rate (Cebulla *et al* 2010: 4). Late responses were dropped from the overall achieved sample and only 5,678 baseline questionnaires were included in the analysis. While the SNR is the first and only longitudinal survey of refugees in the UK providing rich details on a range of integration outcomes, it suffers from the usual attrition problem of longitudinal studies. By the third follow-up at 21 months (S4), the sample was reduced from 5,678 to 867 respondents. This limits the number of explanatory variables we include in the statistical models. Cross-sectional and longitudinal weighted are applied in all analyses to adjust for non-response and attrition. Full details please see the weighting strategy in the technical notes produced by the Home Office (Cebulla *et al* 2010). However, as noted in Cebulla et al (2010:4), "attrition may still have affected the results of the later sweeps, potentially skewing results in a limited number of areas".

Table 1.2: Sample Size of Survey for New Refugees

Sweep Number	Time after asylum decision	No. of respondents in each sweep	Number of respondents included in longitudinal panel
1	1 week	5,678	
2	8 months	1,840	1,826
3	15 months	1,259	1,173
4	21 months	939	867

Source: Table 1 in Cebulla et al (2010: 4).

In the original analysis of the SNR Cebulla *et al* (2010) undertook some multivariate regression analysis of the data, looking at the factors associated with housing, employment and language. Their analysis did not examine the relationship between different kinds of social and family relationships and integration variables, nor did they isolate social connections or capital from other forms of capital to establish the importance of the role of social capital in integration.

The SNR sheds some light upon a range of aspects of integration. Much attention is focused upon the role of employment. Yet there are many questions that remain unanswered. For example in what ways are different types of social capital or social interaction associated with English language acquisition, health or access to housing? The extensive rich details on different types of social capital and social networks in the SNR were not fully exploited.

Social networks and social capital in the SNR
In this project we analysed the SNR focusing on different types of social networks and capital and their roles in refugee integration. We used the Home Office's definition of integration and thus utilise evidence of employment, secure housing, educational attainment, language acquisition and participation in volunteering as evidence of integration. Our proposed

analytical framework goes beyond the standard operationalisation by distinguishing between different types of capital (see the ESDS guide on social capital 2011). Although we originally planned to use the Putnam's (2000) model, subsequently adopted by Ager and Strang (2004/2008) ambiguous questioning in the SNR meant that we needed to develop different indicators. We also distinguish the concept of social network from that of social capital. Social network is measured by how frequently contacts are made with friends, relatives, and a range of organisations from more than twice a week to never. These include places of worship, national or ethnic community and other groups or organisations. In addition to the frequency, the SNR also asks the type of contacts with friends and relatives such as speaking on the phone or meeting with them. Using factor analysis, five types of social networks are identified in S1: (1) Friends, (2) Relatives, and (3) National or ethnic community, (4) religious groups and (5) other groups and organisations. Strong ties with social networks may not necessarily generate resources. By the same token, the commonly used bonding and bridging social capital concept does not tell us whether these strong or weak social ties with co-ethnic groups or indeed out groups would lead to any resources, help and support. Following Foley and Edwards (1998) we argue that social capital is the concrete help and resources garnered from networks.

The analysis
The analysis proceeds in three parts. First, we operationalised the different domains of integration: housing, health, language, social connections and employment using key questions from the SNR as set out in Table 1.3.

Second, we used a series of bivariate analyses to examine the nature and patterns of social connections and the three dimensions of integration: means and markers; facilitators and foundations. We pay particular attention to gender, region of origin, class (based on occupation in country of origin), education and religion of refugees. It was necessary to collapse countries into world-regions due to the small sample size of the final follow-up.

Third, drawing on a battery of questions from the SNR and using factor analysis, we identify the underlying dimensions of different types of social network and social capital. For example, questions on the frequency of contacts with friends and relatives and organisations were used to develop a measure of social networks and was operationalised by questions on contacts and access to organisations and groups. The 'factors' derived were used in multivariate analyses to model the associations between different types of network and capital, and integration outcomes such as employment, controlling for other forms of cultural and human capital such as formal qualification and language ability. The hypotheses tested are too numerous to list here but include

- Length of time in the UK is positively associated with the range of social networks
- Types of social connections will impact on the types and quality of employment
- Types of social connections will impact on health status
- Refugees with strong social capital are more likely to report over-qualification in their jobs
- Refugees with a wide range of social networks or capital will improve their language skills more quickly than those with fewer

Table 1.3: Operationalising integration indicators

Domain	Indicator	Questions in SNR	Limitations
Social networks	Friends	responses to questions about the existence and frequency of connections with friends	Impossible to distinguish between co-ethnic and other friends
	Relatives	responses to questions about the existence and frequency of connections with relatives	Sufficient detail to identify the existence of bonds with relatives
	National or ethnic groups	responses to questions about connections with national or ethnic groups	SNR does not ask which networks were most useful
	Religious groups	responses to questions about connections with faith and religious groups	SNR does not ask which networks were most useful. SNR does not distinguish between "in-group" and "out-group" religious activity
	Other groups	responses to questions about connections with "other" groups	SNR does not ask for specific information about "other" organisations
Social capital	Friends	responses to questions about frequency of help received from friends	Impossible to distinguish between co-ethnic and other friends
	Relatives	responses to questions about frequency of help received from relatives	Sufficient detail to identify the existence of bonds with relatives
	National or ethnic groups	responses to questions about frequency of help received from national or ethnic groups	SNR does not ask which types of help were most useful
	Religious groups	responses to questions about frequency of help received from faith and religious groups	SNR does not distinguish between "in-group" and "out-group" religious activity
	Other groups	responses to questions about frequency of help received from "other" groups	SNR does not ask for specific information about "other" organisations
Means and markers	Employment	Questions about previous and present, status and security of employment	Comprehensive questions are asked. It will not be possible to assess whether jobs are in the so-called ethic economy
	Housing	Responses to questions about stability, and security (how many moves) and type of housing	Comprehensive responses. We can tell how many times respondents have moved but not the distance they have moved
	Health	Graded response to questions about general and emotional/psychological health. We distinguish between emotional/ physical and general health	Responses are very subjective and not sufficiently detailed to identify
	Education	Extent of acquisition of UK qualifications. Currently in education or training	Records details of qualifications received but not the usefulness of qualifications for gaining work
Facilitators	Language	Language at arrival and acquisition since arrival in UK. We distinguish between fluency (spoken) and literacy (written) to create two indicators	Measures are based on self-assessment of language ability so are difficult to compare
	Safety and security	Whether respondent has been the victim of crime or an attack	Severity of crime/attack not recorded
Foundations	Citizenship	Application for Visa or family reunion	Very basic information but will enable us to identify if refugees have begun to exercise rights

With cross-sectional data, it is often impossible to establish whether stronger social ties lead to positive integration outcomes or vice versa. For example, do refugees gain employment using their social networks or does employment provide access to a wider set of social network? A key strength of the longitudinal nature the SNR data is that we can be more certain of the direction of causality. Our analysis compares if, and the extent to which, these integration outcomes change over time. However, integration is an active, on-going dynamic process which can take years or may never be achieved. We are cautious of the conclusions we draw based on an observation window of less than two years. More robust work with a longer period would be necessary, a point which we will return to in the conclusion.

Integration e-survey

No question in the SNR explores refugees' understanding of integration or the priorities placed on different integration indicators. In a bid to examine these issues and develop an index of integration, using a similar model to the Index of Local Deprivation we decided to undertake a small piece of primary research which would help us to understand integration meanings and priorities. An e-survey was conducted between July and October 2012 using Bristol Online Survey (see survey in Appendix 1). The survey was circulated via our own networks (academics, policymakers, migrant and refugee community organisations, NGOs), those of our Advisory Board, and listed on the refed[1], SPA and BSA listservs. Organisations contacted us from across the UK, Wales, Scotland, Brussels and Amsterdam asking if they could send the survey to their contacts. We monitored response rates and types of respondents and identified in August that response from refugees was low. In light of this we decided to boost the sample by printing off paper versions of the survey and employing Community Researchers to complete the surveys on a face to face basis with refugees based in the North West and West Midlands. Ultimately 233 surveys were completed, of which 40 were in the "booster" sample. The profile of respondents is set out in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Respondent profile of e-survey (column %)

Respondents Profile	Women	Men	Unweighted N
Refugee	27.4	50.0	86
Refugee worker	57.0	36.7	113
Policymaker	5.2	4.1	11
Academic researcher	10.4	9.2	23
Unweighted N	135	98	233

Our 86 refugee respondents came from 29 countries. While this is by no means a representative sample of the refugee population in the UK, it reflects the diversity of country of origins of this group of immigrants.

The overall priorities given to different integration indicators were calculated and are used herein to indicate the relative importance placed on different aspects of integration. Ultimately we will use the priorities data to develop the integration index and also plan to use

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[1] The refed listserv is used by individuals working with refugees, primarily but not exclusively, in the field of education.

the qualitative data collected about the meaning of integration to undertake a content analysis of integration meanings. These will be reported elsewhere.

1.4 General methodological notes on statistical findings
All statistical results significant at p <0.05 level are, unless stated otherwise, denoted by bold typefaces in the tables. For parsimony and ease of reading, non-significant coefficients with small coefficients (i.e. < 0.10) are not reported and denoted by "-". Both cross-sectional and longitudinal weights are applied where appropriate. Weighted percentages and unweighted number of cases are presented. Where more than one weight is used in the analysis, additional weight information is given at the bottom each table. Many results in Sweep 4 fail to reach statistical significance due to the small numbers of respondents remained in the sample.

We now move on to discuss findings from our analyses focusing first on profiling the social networks and social capital of respondents. Where Pearson's correlation coefficients are reported, weak correlations (r < 0.2) are presented in standard typeface, moderate correlations (r = 0.3 to 0.5) are *italicised* and strong correlations (r > 0.6) are underlined.

2. Social Network, Capital and Refugee Profile

This section brings together data from the SNR and e-survey to examine the types of social network and capital possessed by refugees and the priorities they place on different types of network. It begins with a profile of the refugees who participated in the SNR.

2.1 Profile of Refugees in the SNR

The majority of refugees were under the age of 35 (70%)

Table 2.1: Age and Sex Profile of New Refugees in the UK

	Men	Women	All
		Percentage	
18-24 years	22	26	23
25-34 years	49	43	47
35-44 years	20	18	20
45-64 years	8	9	8
65 years or older	1	3	2
Total (%)	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3,575 (63%)	1,975 (37%)	5,550

Figure 2.1 Country of origin of New Refugees

Unweighted N=5631

9
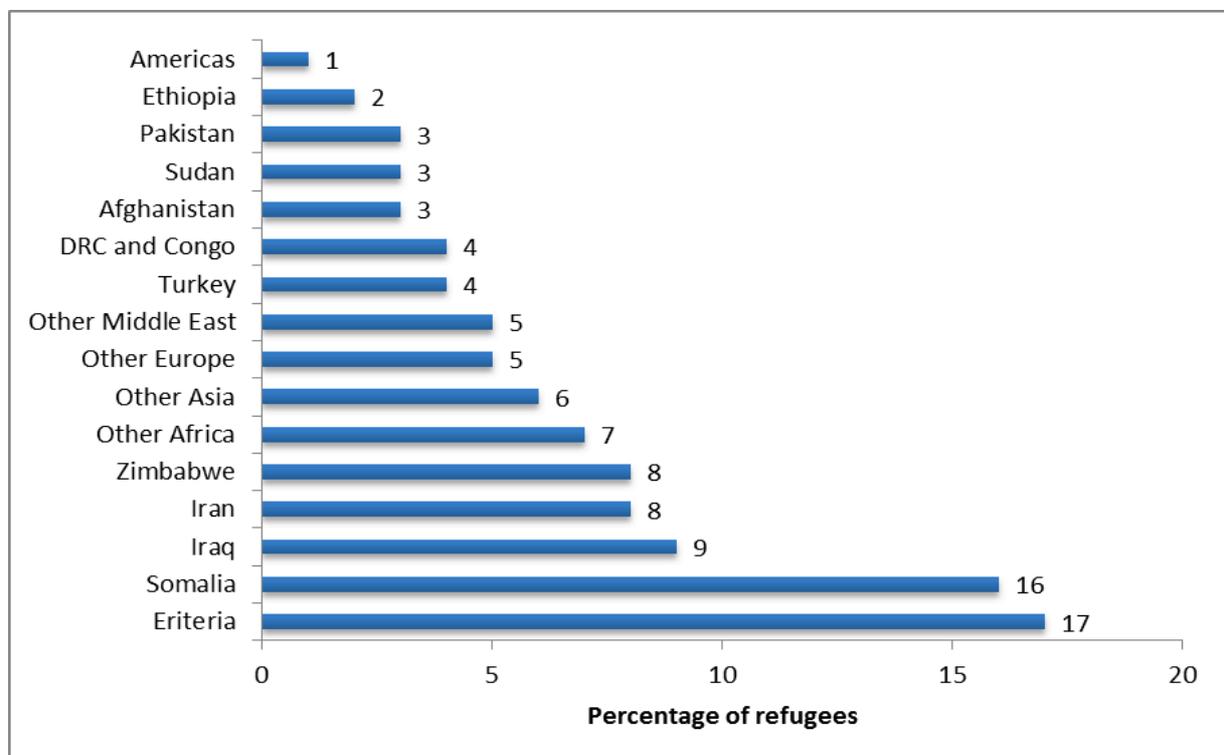
Refugees came from over 100 countries (see Daniel *et al* 2010) with the greatest proportions from Eritrea (18%) and Somalia (15%). Nine per cent of refugees were from Iraq, eight per cent from Iran and seven per cent from Zimbabwe (Figure 2.1). Almost half (49%) of refugees declared themselves to be Muslim and two-fifths (40%) Christian. Almost a third (31%) of refugees had spent less than six months living in the UK before gaining some kind of leave to remain. Almost a fifth (19%) of refugees had spent between two and five years living in the UK and more than a fifth (22%) had spent in excess of five years living in the UK before gaining their status. Some 21% of refugees lived with a partner or spouse in the UK at the time of grant.

Refugees from Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia were least likely to have been living with a partner or spouse in the UK at the time of grant. A quarter of refugees (25%) lived with children (aged under 18) in the UK at the time of grant. Refugees from Pakistan were most likely to have a child living with them in the UK at the time of grant. Of those refugees who lived with children, the majority (51%) lived with just one child, almost a third (32%) lived with two children and 11 per cent with three children. Almost two thirds (63%) of the refugees who had children living with them had at least one child aged under five.

2.2 Types of network and capital valued

We begin our analysis by exploring the types of social network and social capital that refugees possessed. Unlike those who are not forced migrants, refugees often have their social and family networks severed in the process of fleeing from persecution. Thus on arrival they have to start over, developing new friendships and perhaps at a later stage applying for family reunion. Findings from our e-survey indicated that refugees placed greater importance on other domains such as security and housing than on social networks or capital. However between the different types of network or capital refugees most valued, friends and then family were more important than religious, co-national and co-ethnic and other groups. Interestingly rights to family reunion rated higher than social networks or capital, perhaps emphasising the level of importance placed on family for those who had none in the UK.

Figure 2.2: Integration priorities from e-survey

	Employment **8.61**	Housing **9.29**	Health Emotional **8.85** Physical **8.42**
Means and Markers			
Social Networks	Friends **8.42** Family **8.16** Co-national or ethnic groups **7.49** Religious groups **7.74** Other organisational out-groups **7.61**		
Facilitators	**English skills** Speaking **9.11** Reading/writing **8.69**	**Safety and stability** Absence of verbal or physical attack **9.5**	
Foundation	Rights to family reunion **8.75** Citizenship **8.21** Volunteering **7.092**		

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of these domains in terms of integration priorities on a scale of 1 to 10. To develop a "weight" for each domain, e.g. employment or housing, we simply multiplied the score of each respondent by the number of responses. These scores are added up to obtain a total score for each domain. For ease of interpretation, we divide this sum by the number of respondents to obtain a "weight" from 1 to 10. This is effectively the average score of all respondents gave in each domain.

Table 2.2: Percentage of e-survey respondents giving the top score of 10 for types of social networks and capital

	Refugees	Refugee workers	Policymakers, researchers
Having contact with family based in the UK	58	27	32
Having contact with friends based in the UK	44	33	24
Having contact with an association or group from own ethnic or national background	30	13	18
Contact with other associations or groups	24	10	16
Contact with a mosque, temple, church or other place of worship	63	15	16
Having family you can ask for help	51	23	26
Having friends you can ask for help	50	33	26
Having an ethnic/national association or groups you can ask for help	38	13	16
Having other associations or groups you can ask for help	29	21	18
Having a place of worship you can ask for help	52	13	13
N	86	109	38

When we look at the types of social network valued by respondents in our e-survey (Table 2.2) we find that refugees value contact with a place of worship (63%), family in the UK (58%) and friends (44%) while those working with refugees and policymakers indicate that friends in the UK or family are likely to be most important. Refugees also rate help given by places of worship (52%), family (51%) and friends (50%) more highly than non-refugee respondents.

2.3 Types of network and capital accessed
The widely cited literature on bridging and bonding social capital (i.e. Cantle 2005; Putnam 2000) argues that contact with predominantly co-ethnic, national or religious groups and non-contact with out-groups is harmful to integration and can lead to further social fragmentation (Cameron 2011; Putnam 2006; see Finney & Simpson 2008 for detailed discussion). Our correlation analysis (Table 2.3) shows in Sweep 1 that refugees who maintain regular contacts with their co-national and ethnic groups also have more contacts with other-groups and organisations (r=0.45) and this is true for both men and women. Contact with religious groups is also significantly correlated with contact with other-groups and organisations. We find no evidence that 'bonding capital' is mutually exclusive with 'bridging capital'. The positive correlations between different types of contact in Table 2.3 provide compelling evidence against the argument that immigrant and ethnic minority communities are 'inward

looking' and only 'invest' in bonding social capital is unfounded. Had there been some degree of bonding capital preventing the formation of bridging capital, one would expect a significant negative correlation between contacts with friends and family, and contacts with other groups and organisations.

Table 2.3 Social Networks Profile at Baseline (Sweep 1)

	Sweep 1				
Social Network	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**
MEN					
National or ethnic groups	1				
Religious groups	**0.27**	1			
Other groups and orgs	*0.45*	**0.22**	1		
Friends	**0.22**	**0.04**	**0.16**	1	
Relatives	**0.18**	0.02	**0.08**	*0.35*	1
N	3407	3430	3389	3393	3369
WOMEN					
National or ethnic groups	1				
Religious groups	*0.32*	1			
Other groups and orgs	*0.39*	**0.24**	1		
Friends	**0.20**	**0.14**	**0.23**	1	
Relatives	**0.12**	0.00	0.03	**0.29**	1
N	1931	1946	1910	1925	1920

Note: *Weighted by baseweight.*

2.4 Relationships between social network and capital

Questions on frequency of contacts with relatives, friends, national/co-ethnic groups, and religious groups were asked again in Sweep 4 although no question was repeated on contacts with 'other groups or organisations'. Questions on speaking on the phone and meeting up with relatives (and friends) were combined in Sweep 4. Results once again show that social network is multidimensional. Refugees with regular contacts with their co-national or ethnic groups also maintain contacts with religious groups and friends. The patterns for men and women are highly similar.

Table 2.4 presents the correlation coefficients of the standardised sums of score of different types of network. It gives clear evidence that social capital, like social network, is multidimensional. Refugees who are able to harness their network and receive help from job and educational establishments also obtain help from housing and other organisations. There is no evidence that receiving help from relatives and friends (widely considered as 'bonding capital') is mutually exclusive with gaining 'bridging' social capital from 'out-groups' and more formal organisations.

Table 2.4 Social capital profile at Sweep 4

Social capital	Sweep 4 (3rd Follow-up at 21 months after grant)			
	Social Capital			
	Housing	Job & education	Other Orgs	Relatives & Friends
MEN				
Housing	1			
Job & Education	*0.53*	1		
Other Orgs	*0.55*	*0.54*	1	
Relatives & Friends	*0.34*	*0.38*	*0.38*	1
N	539	531	539	540
WOMEN				
Housing	1			
Job & Education	*0.34*	1		
Other Orgs	*0.52*	*0.41*	1	
Relatives & Friends	0.24	0.28	*0.35*	1
N	300	286	289	299

Note: weighted by F3_weight.

Table 2.5 Baseline social network and social capital at Sweep 2

Social Network	Social Capital (help received from)			
	Housing	Job & education	Other Orgs	Relatives & Friends
MEN				
National or ethnic groups	--	--	0.07	--
Religious groups	0.09	0.17	0.11	--
Other groups and orgs	--	0.07	0.11	--
Friends	-0.07	-0.10	-0.07	0.14
Relatives	-0.11	-0.15	-0.14	0.22
N	1093	1089	1091	1086
WOMEN				
National or ethnic groups	--	--	0.09	-0.09
Religious groups	--	--	--	-0.10
Other groups and orgs	--	--	0.16	--
Friends	--	--	--	--
Relatives	--	--	-0.13	0.24
N	627	625	628	626

Note: Weighted by wtL_B1.

Table 2.5 gives the correlation coefficients between standardized sums of scores of frequency of contact and help received from different types of organisations. These figures demonstrate that the associations between social network and help received are significant but not particularly strong. Interestingly contact with religious groups is positively correlated with help received from job and educational organisations, and other organisations (out-groups) indicating that contact with religious organisations can help support connections to other types of help. This pattern continues in Sweep 4. Males with friends or relatives in their social networks are less likely to gain help from housing, jobs and education and other organisations perhaps suggesting they gain the advice they need from their personal networks. The positive relationship between contacts with friends and family, and help

received from them suggest that this may be negatively associated with the development of linking social capital, which need to be more fully explored qualitatively.

Unsurprisingly contacts with relatives generate help from relatives. The relationships between capital and networks are similar for men and women. There are few changes in Sweep 3. In Sweep 4 patterns continue to be similar but with some clear differences between men and women. Male refugees with strong religious networks are more likely to receive help from job and educational establishments and other organisations while the more contact that women have with relatives, the less help they receive from organisations and groups.

2.5 Summary
- The key learning from our analysis of refugee social networks and capital include:
- Social networks and social capital are multi-dimensional
- No type of social network or capital precludes any other type
- Friends and relatives are the most consistent source of social capital accessed
- There are no striking gender differences in networks or capital

3. Social networks, capital, education and employment

Although access to employment does not emerge as a high priority to e-survey respondents who place it below housing, health, safety, language and access to family reunion when scoring integration indicators out of ten, after these basic needs are met, employment becomes more important. When respondents are asked to choose their top three integration priorities we see that employment features highly for refugees, indeed higher than for all other respondents (Table 3.1). In this section we explore the relationship between employment, education, social capital and social networks in some depth.

Table 3.1: Top three integration priorities in e-survey

	Refugees	Refugee workers	Policymakers, researchers
Most important			
Housing	33	24	37
Employment	22	9	16
English language	14	16	21
Feeling safe	12	37	24
Family reunion	8	0	0
2nd most important			
Employment	29	21	32
English language	20	15	26
Health	13	7	3
Housing	9	25	11
Feeling safe	8	14	26
3rd most important			
Housing	27	20	5
Health	14	13	11
Employment	11	17	37
Feeling safe	11	9	8
English language	8	21	13
N	86	109	38

3.1 Pre-migration education profile
Some 45% of refugees reported having a qualification before they came to the UK (Table 3.2). Men were slightly more likely than women to have gained qualifications before they came to the UK and that qualification was more likely to be a foundation degree or higher education certificate. Refugees from Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)/ Congo and Iran were more likely than other refugees have qualifications before arriving in the UK. Only 13% of refugees from Somalia, 27% from Afghanistan and 25% from Eritrea had any qualifications (see Figure 3.1).

Table 3.2 Highest qualifications[i] held by refugees before arriving in the UK (column %)

	Men	Women	All
No qualifications	54	56	54
Below GCSE	3	2	2
GSCE	15	16	16
A level	8	9	8
Diploma, foundation degree or higher education certificate	7	4	6
UG and PG qualifications	7	6	7
Not transferable to UK equivalent (not enough information)	6	6	6
Number of respondents (unweighted)	3,471	1,871	5,342

[i]*Qualifications coded to National Qualification Framework equivalents.*

Figure 3.1 Country of origin: refugees with qualifications
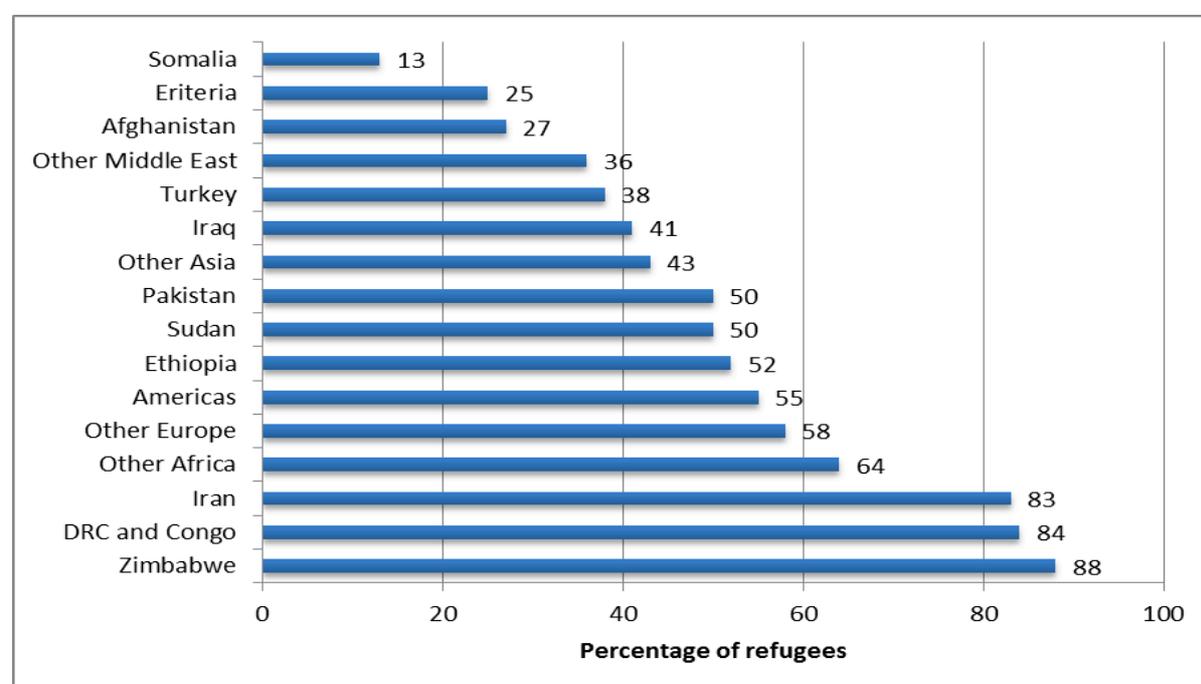
Note: Unweighted N (5526).

3.2 Pre-migration Employment Profile

Almost half of refugees (49%) were employed or self-employed before coming to the UK. Some 16% were students and a further 16% looked after home and family. Some 6% were unemployed and looking for work and 5% involved in other activities or retired. Men were much more likely than women to have been self-employed and women to have been looking after home and family. Refugees aged 35 or over were more likely than younger refugees to have been employed or self-employed. Zimbabwean refugees were most likely to have been employed, while those from Iran were more likely to have been self-employed (Figure 3.2). Overall, younger refugees, along with those from Eritrea, Somalia, Afghanistan and Pakistan,

were less likely than older refugees and refugees from other countries of origin to have been employed or self-employed.

Figure 3.2 Refugees' pre-migration economic activity status by country of origin
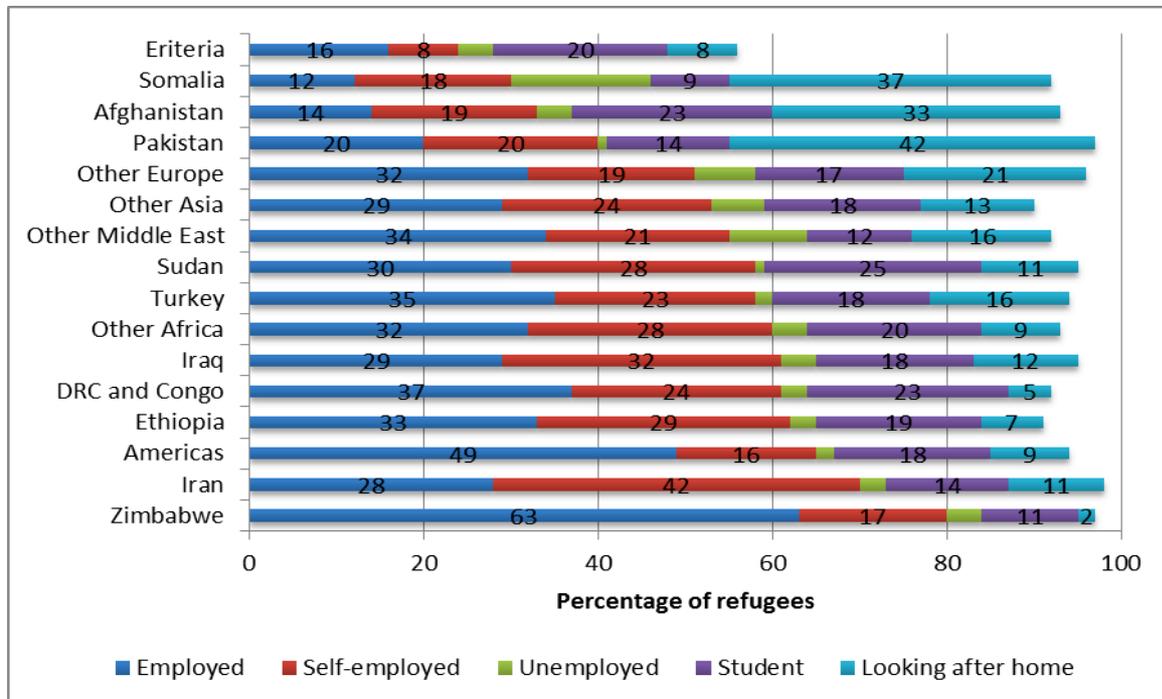
Note: Unweighted N (5532).

3.3 Refugees' employment and gender in the UK

Table 3.3 indicates that despite relatively high levels of pre-migration employment women fare much worse than men in all types of employment, across all sweeps. In occupation terms they are more likely to be found in feminised roles such as personal service, sales, and customer service, than men. They are also more likely to be students or homemakers and to work in human health or food or accommodation sectors. Levels of permanent employment and over-qualification are similar for men and women. Many men were employed in agriculture pre-migration and are clearly struggling to access jobs in this sector after arrival in the UK. However men appear to have benefited from training perhaps as evidenced by the big rise in jobs in transportation.

Table 3.3: Key Employment Characteristics and Gender (women/men: cell %)

	Pre-migration	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Economic Activity				
Full-time employment (FT+PT @S1)	24/31*	13/28	14/40	14/44
Part-time employment		6/12	8/15	10/14
Self-employed	14/25	1/3	2/4	2/4
Unemployed	5/5	20/26	14/19	7/14
Student	17/18	37/24	34/21	40/17
Looking after home/family	6/35	18/3	21/3	22/1
Permanent Job		60/55	59/62	66/65
Occupation				
Manager/professional	7/14	3/8	6/6	7/8
Skilled trade	7/28	4/15	1/14	6/12
Personal Service	6/2	39/6	42/7	34/5
Sales and customer service	19/9	15/9	10/10	15/8
Process, plant machine operatives		2/16	4/15	1/16
Elementary occupations	4/4	26/37	24/43	22/40
Job matches skills				
Yes		39/41	50/40	34/45
No – overqualified		57/57	46/57	63/52
Industry				
Agriculture	5/17	0/1	0/0	0/0
Manufacturing	5/8	5/30	6/27	10/25
Wholesale / retail	22/21	12/12	14/14	15/10
Accommodation / food service	4/1	14/17	12/18	15/17
Transportation/storage		3/4	1/4	1/14
Human health /social work	8/5	42/11	46/10	34/8
Education	22/8	4/2	4/2	8/2
Took part in work-related training		64/67	59/63	60/57
Satisfied with training		73/75	82/84	89/83
Visited Job Centre to get a job		79/80	60/64	47/49
N	5261	1744	1178	910

Note: Weighted by cross-sectional weights at each sweep. The N reported here is the total number of respondents in each sweep but some variables have fewer cases due to differential rates of labour force participation.

3.4 Pre-migration characteristics, Social Network and Capital

We begin by examining the relationship between pre-migration education and employment with English language skills. Table 3.4 presents the standardized sums of scores of self-reported English fluency and literacy for refugees who arrive with postsecondary or higher education. All such refugees have significantly higher levels of self-reported English fluency and literacy at S1 and S4. Those who had previously been in managerial and professional jobs also consider themselves more fluent and literate. Pre-migration education and occupation are significantly associated with higher level competences in English language, both at S1 and S4. Pre-migration employment, is only significantly associated with fluency and literacy at S1.

Table 3.4: Pre-migration education/employment and Language Competency

	English Fluency (S1)	English Literacy (S1)	N	English Fluency (S4)	English Literacy (S4)	N
Post-secondary/ degree	0.53	0.58	696	0.42	0.47	109
Below Post-sec	-0.08	-0.08	4582	-0.08	-0.08	713
Employed	0.15	0.11	2619	--	--	411
not in employment	-0.15	-0.10	2673	--	--	410
Managers / Professionals	0.50	0.51	616	0.44	0.44	106
Other occupations	-0.06	-0.07	4768	-0.08	-0.06	709

Note: Weighted by basewght at S1 and by WtL_B123 in S4.

We also explore whether the level of social network refugees have varies by pre-migration education and employment. Table 3.5 gives standardized sums of cores of contacts made with friends, relatives, different groups and organisations at the baseline survey. Having a post-secondary higher education makes no difference in the frequencies of contacts one makes with relatives and friends. This is unsurprising as we have no reason to expect qualified people connect with friends and relatives more often. However, our findings suggest that they are more likely to make contacts with formal organisations and less likely with places of worship. Pre-migration employment and professional/ managerial jobs both enhance refugees' contact with all kinds of network, as is the case for pre-migration post-secondary qualification who have higher levels of contacts with formal organisations and groups. It is possible that highly qualified refugees and those with high quality employment backgrounds are more likely to use these networks to access resources.

Table 3.5: Pre-migration education/employment and Social Networks

	Nat/ethnic groups	Religious groups	Other groups	Friends	Relatives	N
Post-sec/ degree	--	-0.09	0.17	--	--	696
Below Post-sec	--	0.01	-0.02	--	--	4553
Employed	0.06	-0.04	0.06	0.06	0.03	2611
not in employment	-0.06	0.03	-0.06	-0.05	-0.03	2643
Managers / Professionals	0.07	0.03	0.22	0.13	0.13	617
Other occupations	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	4766

Note: Weighted by basewght.

3.5 Language competency and economic activity

There is a highly significant relationship between English fluency and literacy and employment and managerial and professional occupations at 8 and 21 months after grant (S2 and S4), suggesting that these two factors boost the employability of refugees (see Table 3.6). However, language ability seems to be less important in obtaining a permanent job, especially at S4 by which time refugees with low language ability may have made sufficient connections to access low skilled work that does not

require them to speak English. English literacy is crucial in accessing higher level managerial and professional jobs.

Table 3.6: English skills at S1 and S2 and Employment

	English Fluency (S1)	English Literacy (S1)	N	English Fluency (S4)	English Literacy (S4)	N
In work	**0.46**	**0.36**	577	**0.29**	**0.21**	403
Unemployed	**-0.11**	**-0.03**	384	**-0.39**	**-0.38**	91
Permanent Jobs	**0.55**	0.37	305	0.35	0.23	260
Temporary Jobs	**0.37**	0.38	236	0.24	0.19	132
Managers / Professionals	**0.99**	**0.93**	54	**0.70**	**0.56**	50
Other occupations	**0.43**	**0.31**	408	**0.26**	**0.17**	284

Note: weighted by basewght at S1 and WtL_B123 at S4.

3.6 Social network, capital and employment

When examining the associations between the kind social network and employment in Sweeps 2 and 4, we find contacts with friends and relatives in S1 are negatively correlated to help received with job and education at S2 (Table not reported). However, contacts with other groups and religious groups increases the chance of help with job and education, as well as housing and other organisations. Contact with national or co-ethnic groups is also positively associated help received from other organisations at S2. Most of these associations are weaker or insignificant at S4 except that contact with religious groups at S1 is still positively associated with help received for job and education, and from relatives.

Next we turn to the role of social capital and employment outcomes (Table 3.7). Social capital as help received from different organisations are grouped into four categories. Surprisingly, having received help from Jobcentre Plus (JCP), colleges, housing or other organisations appears to be negatively associated with being employed or getting a permanent job.[2] It is likely that those unemployed were more likely to seek and receive help from JCP. We are therefore mindful not to make any causal claims here.

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[2] In our statistical models, we tested the relationship between help received from JCP in the last 6 months and their employment status at the time of the survey. We found that help received in the 6 months *prior to* the respondents' current employment position are positively associated.

Table 3.7: Social Capital and Employment Outcomes in S2 and S4

Sweep 2					
	Job / Education	**Housing**	**Other Organisation**	**Relatives /Friends**	**N**
In work	**-0.23**	**-0.24**	**-0.19**	0.08	570
Unemployed	**0.20**	**0.20**	**0.12**	-0.01	385
Permanent Jobs	**-0.47**	**-0.34**	**-0.26**	0.06	300
Temporary Jobs	**-0.01**	**-0.16**	**-0.12**	0.12	238
Managers / Professionals	**-0.41**	-0.50	-0.14	0.38	54
Other occupations	**-0.21**	-0.20	-0.19	0.14	404
Sweep 4					
In work	**-0.34**	**-0.20**	**-0.15**	-0.06	379
Unemployed	**0.45**	**0.24**	**0.18**	0.06	95
Permanent Jobs	**-0.48**	-0.26	-0.22	-0.09	246
Temporary Jobs	**-0.09**	-0.18	-0.08	-0.01	127
Managers / Professionals	**-0.68**	**-0.37**	-0.27	-0.14	50
Other occupations	**-0.22**	**-0.15**	-0.11	-0.04	259

Note: Weighted by WtL_B1 at S2 and WtL_B123 at S4. Figures are standardized sums of scores of support received.

We also compare refugees with any social network with those who have none at all at S1 (figures not reported in table). Five per cent of refugees fall into this 'no network' group. Bivariate correlations show significant relationships between no network and economic inactivity at S2. Only 17% of these refugees were in employment and 34% were economically inactive, compared to 34% and 16% of those some social network. However, the absence of network does not matter in employment outcomes at S4.

To assess refugees' labour market integration, we use a series of binary logistic regression and multinomial logit models to estimate the impact of social network, social capital, language fluency and literacy on access to employment, and stable and quality employment at S2 and S4. Our dependent variables are: (1) *Access to employment*: in employment as opposed to being unemployed, in education and training or economically inactive; (2) *Access to stable employment*: in permanent as opposed to temporary job (3) *Access to quality employment*: in managerial, professional, or associate professional occupations as opposed to lower-skilled occupations. All statistical models control for language fluency and literacy, place of origin, age group, gender, religion, pre-migration education and employment, length of residence and housing. Table 3.8 presents the results of the multinomial logit models of employment outcomes.

The insignificant association of all three types of social network at S1 does appear to suggest that having frequent contacts with relatives, friends, religious or other civic organisations is not enough to secure employment at both time points. However social network only becomes insignificant after controlling for pre-migration characteristics

and language fluency and literacy. Indeed frequent contact with friends reduces the chance of a permanent job at S4. What is more important, in contrast, is the actual help and support received from these sources.

Help received from Job Centre Plus and educational groups actually significantly reduces the chance of employment at S2. However, by S4, help received from job and educational organisations improves the odds of employment and access to permanent work. It clearly takes time to find permanent work and eight months after grant is still relatively soon for the effect of these resources to kick in. A similar pattern can be observed for help received from housing and council, the association at S4 on gaining access to employment is reversed and becomes positive. It is possible that, in the early stages after gaining leave to remain, refugees are more focused on getting help to access housing, health and education services than on gaining employment. Over time, as they become more settled, they may be in a better position to seek help to access work.

Access to permanent employment and jobs commensurate with refugees' qualifications is an important consideration in fully achieving structural integration. Over half of the respondents (57%) said at S2 that their jobs were lower than their skills and qualification. This proportion drops only to 54% in the S3 and S4, suggesting that many refugees continue to be overqualified for their jobs. Table 3.9 gives the results of the logistic regression models of access to permanent jobs and managerial, professional and associate professional occupations.

Muslim refugees are less likely to access employment, although the effects are only marginally significant at S4. Earlier bivariate analysis (details available upon request) actually showed a highly significant Muslim and African disadvantage in unemployment. Controlling for age and gender, there is a significant Muslim penalty in accessing permanent jobs at S4. A similar penalty is observed for Africans in accessing managerial and professional jobs.

Living with a partner at S1 significantly increases the odds of permanent employment at S2. Pre-migration education and occupations are both highly beneficial in accessing high-level jobs. Similarly, length of residence in the UK significantly increases the chances of securing a permanent job at S4.

Table 3.8: Multinomial logit model of economic status at 15 and 21 months after grant (reference category: in employment)

	Unemployed		In Education/Training		Economically Inactive	
	Sweep 2	**Sweep 4**	**Sweep 2**	**Sweep 4**	**Sweep 2**	**Sweep 4**
English fluency	**0.85**	0.84	**0.75**	**0.68**	**0.78**	**0.61**
English literacy	0.95	**0.73**	1.03	1.12	**0.83**	0.98
Length of residence	**0.77**	0.91	*0.88*	1.02	0.89	1.00
Muslim	**1.63**	**2.01**	1.24	0.92	*1.45*	**1.94**
Women	**1.90**	1.28	**3.39**	**4.54**	**6.38**	**11.23**
NASS Accom at S1	**1.87**		**1.96**		**1.52**	
With Partner at S1	1.14	1.32	0.87	0.97	1.34	**2.15**
Origin (ref: Middle East/Asia)						
Africa	1.10	1.17	**1.95**	1.55	0.71	1.26
Europe/Americas	0.99	1.56	1.00	1.19	0.91	1.10
Age Groups (ref: 45-64)						
18-24	**0.50**	0.35	1.06	1.23	**0.22**	**0.13**
25-34	**0.49**	0.58	0.77	0.78	**0.33**	**0.24**
35-44	**0.41**	0.51	0.69	0.95	0.59	0.48
Pre-UK qual	1.07	1.68	0.87	1.74	1.02	0.54
Pre-UK employed	1.12	1.74	0.87	0.65	0.75	**0.12**
Pre-UK class1-2	0.78	0.78	0.83	1.26	*0.56*	0.64
Times moved /at Accommodation	1.01	0.94	*1.22*	0.83	1.13	0.62
Social Networks						
Relatives	0.96	0.95	0.98	0.82	0.95	1.03
Friends	1.06	0.99	0.98	0.85	1.02	0.77
Groups & organisations	0.99	0.93	1.04	*0.81*	0.94	1.10
Social Capital						
Job & Education	**1.25**	**1.97**	**1.55**	**1.96**	0.86	1.29
Housing	**1.44**	**1.28**	1.02	1.12	**1.33**	**1.63**
Other organisations	0.99	1.07	1.01	0.96	1.21	*0.92*
Relatives & Friends	0.88	0.82	**0.82**	0.78	1.08	0.84
Chi-square (d.f.)			598 (69)	354 (66)		
N (Weighted)			1416	598		

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Table 3.9: Binary logistic regression of being in permanent and managerial/ professional jobs eight and 21 months after grant

	Permanent Jobs		Managerial and Professional Jobs	
	Sweep 2	Sweep 4	Sweep 2	Sweep 4
English fluency	1.20	0.90	1.16	0.87
English literacy	*0.82*	0.89	1.15	**1.69**
Length of residence in UK	*1.20*	**1.55**	1.08	1.27
Muslim	*0.66*	**0.38**	0.63	1.05
Women	1.05	1.07	**0.36**	0.82
NASS Accom at BL	1.02		0.79	
With Partner at BL	**1.69**	*2.26*	1.77	1.30
Origin (ref: Mid East/Asia)				
Africa	0.72	0.77	1.03	**0.27**
Europe/Americas	0.80	**0.14**	0.66	0.86
Age groups (ref: 45-64)				
18-24	1.59	5.10	3.20	1.66
25-34	1.68	0.82	1.55	2.48
35-44	1.60	0.99	2.29	2.08
Pre-UK qualification	0.68	0.61	**7.03**	**6.19**
Pre-UK employed	0.83	*1.88*	1.81	1.23
Pre-UK class1-2	0.91	1.22	1.17	**2.87**
Times moved/at	0.88	1.09	0.74	**1.58**
Social Networks				
Relatives	1.16	0.89	1.08	0.77
Friends	1.00	**0.52**	0.93	0.93
Groups & organisations	1.08	0.83	0.85	0.96
Social Capital				
Job & Education	**0.64**	0.46	0.70	0.56
Housing	1.09	1.18	*0.60*	1.10
Other organisations	1.26	1.18	*1.66*	1.46
Relatives & Friends	0.92	1.16	1.08	1.46
Constant	0.61	2.86	0.01	0.03
Chi-square (d.f.)	58 (23)	79 (22)	72 (23)	73 (22)
N (Weighted)	490	308	434	274

3.7 Summary:

Women, Africans and Muslims are least likely to be in employment and access permanent employment

Refugees gain employment that is not commensurate with their qualifications or experience.

There is no evidence of social mobility over the duration of the SNR

Those with high levels of pre-migration qualifications or professional work experience are more likely to have wider social networks

Language fluency and literacy are associated with those who have high levels of pre-migration qualifications or professional work experience

Language literacy is important in accessing managerial or professional work

Religious groups appear to have an important role in helping refugees access employment

Refugees without social networks fare worst in accessing employment

4. Social networks, capital and health

Health does not emerge as a high priority to e-survey respondents who place it below housing, safety, language and access to family reunion when scoring integration indicators out of ten. When respondents are asked to choose their top three integration indicators we see that health does not feature (Table 3.1). This is possibly because health only becomes a priority to those in poor health. The majority of refugees in our e-survey do not consider themselves to be in poor health. In this section we explore the relationship between health, social capital and social networks.

Table 4.1 Percentage of respondents reporting good or very good general health

	Sweep1	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Gender				
Women	56	55	54	59
Men	70	70	71	76
Age group				
Age 18-24	71	71	72	78
25-34	67	68	69	75
35-44	58	54	55	60
45-64	46	44	39	43
Continent (origin)				
Europe	57	49	50	60
Americas	78	63	75	78
Africa	69	70	72	76
Middle East	59	58	57	62
Asia	62	59	59	67
Religion				
Christian	68	70	72	75
Muslims	64	62	59	67
None	59	60	70	73
Others	59	52	59	67
Country of Origin				
Zimbabwe	82	84	82	83
Eritrea	70	71	77	81
Ethiopia	58	67	67	67
Sudan	56	72	71	83
Other Africa	65	64	65	69
DRC/Congo	59	66	61	60
Somalia	69	67	67	74
Iraq	74	68	71	69
Americas	78	63	75	78
Other Asia	67	62	64	70
Other Europe	57	57	51	61
Other Middle East	58	59	59	63
Pakistan	50	55	46	60
Iran	40	45	40	49
Afghanistan	65	62	56	68
Turkey	56	37	49	58

Note: Weighted by cross-sectional weights at each sweep.

4.1 General health and baseline characteristics

Female refugees have poorer subjective health with 56% reporting good or very good health at S1 as opposed to 70% of men. This pattern sustained throughout the survey period. Refugees from Europe reported a lower proportion of good health 49% (Europe); 63% (Americas) 72% Africa, 56% Middle East, 58% Asia. Turkey (37%) has the lowest proportion of subjective good health. Christians (70%), followed by Muslims (62%) were more likely to report good health, compared to those with no (60%) or other religions (52%) at S2. All groups improve over time, except Muslims who experience a dip in S3. Those with 13 or more years of education were more likely to report good health at S1 (67% compared with 63% of those with 0-6 years of education). Living with partner and degree qualification however makes no difference to self-reported health at S1 and S2 (figures not reported in table).

Women are significantly more likely to suffer from emotional problems, limiting emotional problems, and limiting physical health (Table 4.2). This is compelling evidence of a striking gender difference in emotional and physical health. However, when asked if they needed help with their emotional problems, only 33% women said yes compared to 30% of men, indicating that women may not seek help when needed. Unsurprisingly, emotional problems (feeling worried, depressed or stressed) are highly correlated with limiting emotional and limiting physical problems (r=0.69 and r=0.52). Limiting emotional and limiting physical problems are also highly correlated with each other (r=0.65). Living with children below the age of 18 has an adverse effect on health at S1 and S4 while those with greater numbers of under 15s are more likely to experience poor health. Living as part of a family at baseline has clear health benefits with 71% reporting good health in S2 and S4 while those who lived with friends also healthier but those who had lived in NASS provided accommodation the least healthy.

Table 4.2 Emotional, physical health and gender (% reporting good/very good health)

	Sweep1	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Emotional problems				
Men/Women				
Extremely	9/13	9/9	8/8	6/8
Quite a lot	23/34	20/27	19/25	17/24
Moderately	23/21	21/22	15/23	17/14
Slightly	20/18	25/25	29/25	29/30
Not at all	25/14	26/18	28/20	31/24
Limiting emotional				
Not at all	49/36	27/21	32/25	37/32
Limiting physical	31/20	48/38	53/39	52/40

Note: Weighted by cross-sectional weights at each sweep.

4.2 Emotional and physical health and gender

Overall, time in the UK is negatively correlated with all three health-outcomes (emotional, limiting emotional and physical, r=-0.08; -0.07; -0.04), suggesting the longer refugees are here the healthier they get. Although when using categories we

find refugees with the shortest and longest time in the UK were healthier than those in the middle. At S2, respondents in the UK for less than a year appear to be healthier (66%) and those with 2+ years or 5+years of residence (65%). In S4, those who have spent six months or less in the UK at time of grant were mostly likely to report good health (78%). This dropped to 64% for those in the UK between 6 months and 1 year again at the time of grant. Then it went up again to 68% and 66% for those in the UK for 1-2 years, and 5 years or more.

Age, gender, and area of origin are among the strongest predictors of general health at Sweep 2. The younger they are the more healthy refugees consider themselves to be. Women and Africans are less likely to report good health while those from Americas and Europe reported better subjective health compared to those from the Middle East. At S4 younger and male refugees continue to report better health than their older and female counterparts; so are those from Europe and Americas compared to the ones from the Middle East and Asia.

There is very weak negative association between social network and needing help with emotional problems. This suggests that those with any kind of social network are already getting emotional support, and there is no need for further help. Refugees in contact with groups, (except religious groups) are less likely to need help with emotional problems. These results all point to social networks are being positively associated with emotional health.

4.3 Language and emotional, physical and general health

Over time we find that baseline fluency and literacy are positively associated with good general health (r=0.26 for both) and as well as in S4 with the new language fluency (r=0.29) and literacy (r=0.24) measures at 21 months after grant. The association is strong at S4 when looking at both fluency and literacy measures.

Table 4.3 Formal language, Job-related training and general health

	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Formal English language training (Y/N/No need)	**61/67/78**	**63/65/83**	**69/69/84**
Training received helped improve language skills required to get job (Y/N)	**67/53**	**71/49**	**73/62**
Taken educ. or job-related training (Y/N)	**68/58**	**70/58**	**75/65**
N	1711	1173	883
Satisfied with educ. or job-related training	**0.15**	**0.24**	**0.14**
Training improved, understanding, speaking, reading and writing (composite scores)	**0.15**	**0.18**	0.06
N	1102	722	503

Note: Weighted by cross-sectional weights at each sweep.

Table 4.3 shows that refugees who did not need language training were most likely to report good general health. The difference between those who took part in formal English language training courses is not significant. However, those participated in educational or job-related training and those who considered training received helped improve their language skills required to get a job were more likely to report good health. Satisfaction with job-training training and reported improvement in English

skills are both positively associated with good health. Satisfaction with educational and job-related training is significantly associated with reported improvement in the four types of English skills (r= 0.23 at S2, 0.24 at S3 and 0.18 at S4). This is likely that they need to understand and speak good English in order to benefit from the educational and job-related training.

4.4 Education, Employment and health
The number of years spent in pre-migration education is weakly but significantly associated with good health in S3 but not in other sweeps. Pre-migration managerial and professional occupational status is strongly and positively associated with good health in S2 and S4 suggesting there may be a class dimension to good health.

Those who were in work or economically active were also more likely to report good/very good health. Refugees with employment (79% in S2 and 77% in S3 and 84% in S4) were more likely to report good/very good health compared to students (60% at S2), the unemployed (63% in S4) and those who were economically inactive. The last group are the least likely to have good self-reported good health (39% in S2 and 44% in S4). Those with jobs that match their skills and qualifications are most likely to report good health (85% in S2 and 91% in S4), compared to those whose jobs felt overqualified or under-qualified for their jobs. However those who said their jobs were higher than their skills and qualifications in S2 (only) were the least likely to report good health (36%). Possessing a permanent job was associated with good health in S2 and S3 but not in S4 while occupation was not significant. Intensive job search appears to be associated with good health in S2 and the number of jobs held over the research period also positively correlated with good health.

4.5 Social Connections and health
Contact with religious groups positively correlates with having emotional problems, limiting emotional and limiting physical problems, indicating that those in contact with such groups are more likely to experience these problems. On the other hand those in contact with friends are less likely to experience limiting physical problems, and with other groups less likely to experience emotional problems, and limiting emotional problems. Though significant, most of these associations are fairly weak (r < 0.10). To further examine the nature of contact with friends and relatives, we distinguish meeting from speaking contacts. The frequency ranges from never (1) to more than twice a week (5). The results in S2 for both speaking and meeting with friends are highly significantly. The more frequently you speak and meet with friends, the healthier you are. Meeting and speaking with relatives on a regular basis does not have the same 'health benefit' across all sweeps.

Contact with national/ethnic groups is weakly negatively correlated with help needed with emotional problems as is contact with other groups, friends (speaking and meeting), relatives (speaking and meeting), with the correlation being below 0.20. Contact with religious groups however is positive indicating that those who have some group contact are less likely to need help with emotional problems. The longer refugees are in the UK, the less likely they are to need help with emotional problems (r=-0.14). Having *no social network* at baseline (S1) is significantly associated with poorer health in all sweeps. Those with *any kind of contact* at S1 were more likely to

report good or very good health (65%); than those who have no friends or family in the UK and never contact any groups, co-national/ethnic or religious (53%). At S2 only help received from job and educational organisation is positively associated with good health while at S4 contacts with co-ethnic and national groups are positively associated on health.

4.6 Safety, Security and general satisfaction

Victims of physical or verbal attack were less likely to say they were healthy. This is unsurprising given that our e-survey showed that respondents rated absence of verbal and physical attack most highly of all integration indicators (9.5 out of 10). Those experiencing difficulties with money were more likely to experience negative health, the greater the difficulty, the more likely they were to have a health problem. Unsurprisingly good health is associated with satisfaction with life in the UK at all sweeps with 90% of those who are in good health saying they are very satisfied as opposed to 79% of those in poor health (S1). This finding is reinforced when the five-point scale of satisfaction with life in the UK is correlated to the five-point scale of health status, the results are positively correlated (0.26 at S2, 0.24 at S3 and 0.19 at S4). The number of times that individuals had moved is significantly associated with health with those who had moved the least healthy at all sweeps. Stability appears to be critical for good health with those intending to stay in their current city and those not wanting to change housing more likely to report good health.

Those who needed help with food or clothing and transport were less likely to be in good health compared to those who didn't need help (59% compared with 66%) and (60% as opposed to 66%). Those who needed help finding work were more likely to be in good health than those who did not need assistance. Those who received help from Jobcentre Plus at least once a week or never, had better health than those who received help once a month or less. It is possible that people who never needed JCP are the healthy ones anyway (they may already be in employment), and those who go there once a week are intensive job seekers and who are also healthier in the first place so they can go out to work. The longer that refugees had to wait to receive Jobseekers Allowance, the less healthy they were. Having problems with managing money or budgeting is associated to poorer health as is being in receipt of benefits at S2. Apart from age, benefit status by far is the strongest predictor of health outcomes in Sweep 4.

There was no relationship between voluntary work or applying for family reunion and health. Some 27% had applied for family reunion. Of those who applied, 62% were successful and 20% were waiting for a decision. Refugees who had received a positive response to their application for reunion were more likely to be in good health at S4.

4.7 Summary:
- Women experienced worse physical and emotional health than men
- All religious groups except Muslims experienced health improvements over time in the UK
- Those with higher levels of pre-migration education were healthier
- Those living with friends or family at baseline were healthier

- English fluency and literacy are associated with good health
- Refugees who are economically active are healthier
- Younger refugees are the most healthy
- The more contact that refugees have with friends and family the healthier they are
- Possession of social networks is important for emotional health
- Those in receipt of benefits, waiting extended periods for Jobseekers Allowance or experiencing financial difficulties are more likely to be unhealthy
- Those who receive a positive decision to the family reunion application are more likely to be healthy

5. Social networks, capital and housing

Our e-survey demonstrated that refugees rated stability, quality and satisfaction with housing (9.293) above all other indicators except absence of verbal or physical attack (9.5). Housing is also the top priority of e-respondents when asked to identify their top three integration concerns. In this section we examine the relationship between housing type, tenure and stability and social capital and network.

5.1 Housing profile and baseline characteristics

Looking at refugees' characteristics and housing profiles at baseline we see higher proportions of refugees from Africa (60%) and the Middle East (41%) are found in NASS accommodation (see Table 5.1). Refugees from Europe tend to live with family (27%) or in other (31%) accommodation while those from Asian are found with friends (31%) or family (30%). Refugees living in London or the South-East are least likely to be living in NASS accommodation (14%) while those in Wales and the South-West and the North-East and Yorkshire and Humberside are most likely to be living in NASS supplied housing (78%). While at Baseline the largest proportion of refugees are living in NASS housing by sweep 4 51% are living in social housing, 27% are renting privately, only 4% are owner occupiers and 19% are in "other" accommodation. At sweep 2, 67% are in self-contained accommodation. This figure rises to 80% by sweep 4 although 9% remain in B&Bs or hostels suggesting some refugees may be struggling to access secure housing almost two years after they gain status. Over time fewer refugees need help with housing (61% S2 vs. 38% S4) but it is clear that a substantial proportion of refugees still need assistance.

Table 5.1 Housing Profile and baseline characteristics

	NASS	With friends	With family	Other	N
Religion					
None	32	25	19	25	241
Christian	60	14	11	15	2135
Muslim	43	24	17	16	2437
Other	20	29	24	27	342
Origin					
Europe	20	21	27	31	490
Africa	60	16	12	12	2900
Middle East	41	27	15	17	1277
Asia	26	31	20	23	440
Currently living with partner	28	11	30	31	1056
Not living with partner	54	22	12	13	4046
With children in UK < 18	40	13	25	23	1292
No < 18 in the UK	51	23	12	14	3804
Region					
London, S East	14	34	28	25	1842
Midlands, E England	50	20	15	16	998
N East, Yorkshire & Humber	78	9	4	7	1046
N West	70	11	6	13	652
Scotland & N Ireland	70	6	10	15	131
Wales & S West	78	9	6	8	364

Note: Weighted by basewght.

Table 5.2: Social networks and the type of baseline accommodation

	Nat/ethnic groups	Religious groups	Other groups	Friends	Relatives	N
NASS Accommodation	-0.08	**0.09**	**0.04**	-0.06	-0.18	3322
Other Accommodation	0.15	**-0.16**	**-0.05**	0.12	0.33	1832

Note: Weighted by basewght.

5.2 Social networks and baseline accommodation

Turning to characteristics at baseline survey (Table 5.2), we find that respondents in NASS[3] accommodation made significantly more contacts with religious and other groups but less with friends and relatives than those living outside of NASS housing. This is unsurprising given that asylum seekers are dispersed around the UK to NASS accommodation on a no choice basis and so are unlikely to have established friends and family nearby and would need to turn to organizations if they required support. Conversely those in non-NASS housing were more likely to be in contact with friends and family and less with religious and other organizations, hardly surprising given that most "support only" asylum seekers live with friends and family and are likely to be able to turn to their kin for material, social and emotional support thus having less need for formal organizations.

There is a significant but weak negative association found between length of residence and contact with groups and organisations (not shown in Table). Perhaps contacts with organisations such as RCOs and housing are most likely to be made shortly after arrival. Over time such contacts and services are less likely to be needed.

5.3 Economic activity and housing

Table 5.3 Economic activity, occupation and accommodation type (Sweep 2)

	In work	Unemployed	Student	Inactive	Managerial/prof/assoc prof vs. other occ.
House/flat	70	66	58	77	82/67
Shared rooms	21	16	17	8	13/24
Hotel, hostel, BB	4	11	22	12	2/4
Homeless shelter on the street	1	3	1	1	0/5
Other	4	4	3	2	4/4
N	576	385	469	276	55/405

Note: weighted by F1_weight.

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[3] Asylum seekers making a claim for asylum in the UK are given a choice. They can stay with friends or relatives on a "support only" basis and receive financial support or they can be housed in, what at the time of the survey was National Asylum Seeker Support, housing and be dispersed on a no choice basis to housing across the UK wherein they will live with strangers if single or in self-contained accommodation if a family

There is little of interest to report in the relationships between social network, capital and housing profile. If anything, the results suggest that tenants in social housing have the most social capital, and owner-occupiers the least. This is possibly because owner-occupiers require less help than social renters. We also find that those who move more frequently or spent less time in their current accommodation appear to obtain more help from a range of groups or organisations. This may relate to a greater need for support when housing is insecure.

Economic activity is significantly associated with the type of accommodation at S2. Occupational status is also important with managerial, professional and associate professionals more likely to be living in a self-contained house of flat and much less likely to be in a shared room or being in homeless shelter or on the streets (see Table 5.3). Those who are unemployed, economically inactive and/or in low level occupations are most likely to be homeless or living in B&B, hostel or hotel accommodation. Students are also found in hostel and B&B accommodation.

Economic activity is also highly correlated with tenure (Table 5.4). Those in work are more likely to be owning or part owning their own home and much less likely to rent social housing. Furthermore those in managerial and professional roles are more likely to be home owners or private renting and less likely to access social housing or live with friends. Students were most likely to be living rent free.

Table 5.4 Economic Activity, occupation and housing tenure (Sweep 2)

	In work	**Unemployed**	**student**	**Inactive**	**Managerial /prof/assoc prof vs other occ.**
Own outright, mortgage, part own	**8**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**18/7**
LA rent, benefit council pay	**30**	**49**	**51**	**54**	**18/31**
Private rent	**42**	**21**	**15**	**18**	**49/42**
Rent free, other	**10**	**21**	**28**	**20**	**7/11**
With friends	**10**	**8**	**6**	**7**	**7/9**
N	577	382	462	274	55/407

Note: weighted by F1_weight.

Those on benefits at S2 are also more likely to be living in B&Bs and hostels and renting social housing and less likely to be owning their homes. Difficulty with money and budgeting for food and clothing limits access to quality housing but does not affect housing tenure. Those without any difficulty with money are much less likely to be homeless, living on the streets, or living in temporary accommodation (hotels, hostels or B&Bs).

5.4 Housing and health

Type and tenure of housing appeared to be associated with subjective perception of health status. Those living in a house, flat or shared rooms were healthier than refugees living in temporary accommodation or who were homeless (64-66%/30%). Owner occupiers (73%) and private renters (70%) were more likely to be healthy than

those living rent free (54%), this is possibly because this latter group relates to those who stay on in NASS accommodation, often leading to overcrowding and high degrees of uncertainty (see Phillimore 2004). There were indications that some problems with accommodation impacted upon health. These included structural problems (S2 only), overcrowding and under-furnishing (both S3 only). A clear positive association was noted between health and accommodation satisfaction (0.18 at S2; 0.16 at S3). Those originally accommodated by NASS show negative associations with good health at S2 as do those who have problems with noise and dark accommodation. On the whole problems with accommodation are not significant except at S4 overcrowding problems in accommodation is negatively associated with health.

The number of times refugees have moved is also associated with health (Table 5.5). Stability in housing is crucial for good health, so is the intention to stay in the same city. Those who want to stay are more likely to report good health (65 vs. 58%). Those who would not like to, and do not need to move at more likely to be healthier than those liking or needing to move at S4. Those living in houses, flats and shared rooms are much healthier than those in temporary accommodation and the homeless. Those living in private rented or owner occupied housing are also the most healthy.

Table 5.5 Housing tenure, accommodation type and general health

	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Times moved			
None	70	67	73
Once	63	76	75
Twice or more	63	57	63
NASS accommodation (Yes/No)	46/65		
Stay in same city (Yes/No)	65/58	-	-
Like/need to move	NA	71	71
Yes need to		68	62
Yes like and need to		56	65
No		66	76
Tenure			
Own outright, mortgage/part own	69	73	-
LA rent, council pay	62	64	
Private rent	71	70	
Rent free, other	57	56	
With friends	66	64	
Accommodation Type			
House/flat	64	66	-
Shared rooms	68	66	
Hotel/B&B/hostel	57	64	
Homeless Shelter, or on the streets	48	30*	
Other	71	33*	

*Note: Weighted by cross-sectional weights at each sweep. *base N < 10*

5.5 Summary

- Refugees with managerial or professional jobs are more likely to live in self-contained accommodation, owner occupation or private rented housing
- Those who are unemployed or in low level work are most likely to be homeless or living in hostels
- Individuals in receipt of benefits or in financial difficulty are most likely to be living in social rented or temporary accommodation
- Those living in self-contained accommodation or shared rooms are healthier than those living in temporary accommodation or who are homeless
- Those experiencing structural problems, over-crowding or under furnishing are less likely to have good health
- Refugees living in NASS housing at baseline are least likely to be healthy
- High levels of housing stability and/or satisfaction are associated with good health
- Those living in NASS housing are most likely to have religious networks and least likely to have friends and family

6. Language Skills, Formal Language Training, and Job-related Training

Ability to speak English was the third most important integration indicator in the e-survey with 70% of refugees giving it a score of 10 and 66% scoring ability to write English as a 10. Interestingly refugees scored English speaking higher than practitioners working with refugees (53%) and policymakers and researchers (45%). Language also featured 3rd in the top 3 priorities for all e-respondents and was the second most important priority in the second placed position (see Table 3.1). This helps to dispel some of the myths about migrants, or in this instance refugees, not wanting to speak English (Cameron 2011). In this section we examine the relationship between English language, social networks and social capital.

6.1 Language Profile of Refugees
Looking at the profile of refugees and their English proficiency we can see that Christians and those with no religion are most likely to be fluent and literate (Table 6.1). However there is clear evidence that refugees from all religions make progress with their language ability over time. Refugees from Zimbabwe and other Africa have the highest levels of English while individuals from Somalia and Turkey the lowest. English language skills improve overall for both men and women. Male refugees however have better language skills than females at S1 (3.3/2.87) and S4 (4.07/3.76) and both make progress over time.

Table 6.1: Language Skills by Religion, Country of Origin

	Sweep 1		Sweep 4	
	Fluency	Literacy	Fluency	Literacy
Religion				
None	3.37	3.09	4.25	3.90
Other	2.94	2.94	3.37	3.47
Christian	3.67	4.01	4.26	4.49
Muslim	2.70	2.64	3.74	3.64
Selected Country of Origin				
Zimbabwe	5.44	5.58	5.44	5.67
Other Africa	4.40	4.38	4.79	4.86
Americas	4.40	4.09	5.16	4.43
Other Europe	3.85	3.41	4.44	4.13
Eritrea	2.78	3.60	3.74	4.22
Afghanistan	2.79	2.65	3.79	3.75
Pakistan	2.88	3.21	4.15	4.44
Somalia	2.08	2.11	3.68	3.71
Turkey	2.19	1.70	3.11	2.41
N	5333	5340	875	892

Note: W*eighted by basewhgt (Sweep 1) and F3_weight (Sweep 4). Figures are self-reported sums of scores from 0 to 6.*

6.2 Access to language training
In addition to differences in ability we note important gender difference in access to language training. More men regarded themselves as not needing formal classes because their English was already adequate, than women. Roughly the same proportion of men and women took part in formal English training. However, over a

quarter of men and nearly a third of women at Sweep 2 who did not think their English was good enough but did not take any classes. More worryingly, these proportions increase over time. Among those who received formal language training, men are significantly more likely to benefit, 64% of them as compared to 52% reported that it helped improve their language skills required for jobs at Sweep 2 and a similar pattern is true at Sweep 3. This gender difference however is no longer significant at Sweep 4.

There is no significant gender difference in participation of educational or job-related training, or between language training and being in work, or in quality jobs. However, our employment analysis shows that women are significantly more likely to be unemployed, in education, economically inactive as opposed to be in employment when controlling for language skills.

Refugees who did not need any language training did best in obtaining employment. For example, at Sweep 2, 79% of them were in work as opposed to being unemployed, compared to only 52% who had taken part in formal English language training. Those who did not receive any language training were more likely (66%) to be in work. The patterns for getting a permanent job, or high quality managerial or professional jobs were very similar and consistent throughout all sweeps. In the main refugees did not think the training received helped improve their language skills required to get jobs, except in Sweep 2. However whether or not they are satisfied with the training makes very little difference in employment outcomes. More importantly, their subjective report tallies with the actual outcome: educational and job-related training makes no difference in their prospects of being in employment, obtaining a permanent job or a high quality job (managerial and professional occupation). Again this pattern is consistent throughout all sweeps.

Table 6.2: Social networks and language competency

	Nat/ethnic groups	Religious groups	Other groups	Friends	Relatives	N
Baseline Characteristics						
English Fluency	**0.08**	**0.12**	**0.15**	**0.30**	**0.13**	5238
English Literacy	**0.09**	**0.21**	**0.15**	**0.20**	**0.05**	5244
Length of Residence	0.03	-0.15	0.05	0.40	0.28	5251

Note: Weighted by basewght. Figures are standardized sums of scores

6.3 Social networks and language competency
Self-reported English fluency and literacy at baseline survey are both significantly (if somewhat weakly) correlated with all types of social networks indicating that language competency is likely to support formation of networks. Perhaps the most striking finding is the strong correlation between contact with friends (0.40) and relatives (0.28) and length of residence in the UK. Length of residence and language ability are critical for the development of social networks. The longer time refugees spent in the UK the more friends they made. The positive association between language fluency and literacy and contacts with friends may point to the possibility that these are English-speaking friends. Unfortunately the survey does not reveal this information.

English skills at baseline are also significantly correlated with all kinds of social network. This association is strongest among contacts with friends for both genders. For women, English fluency and literacy are also more strongly correlated with contacts with religious groups and other organisations (out-groups) (see Table 6.3). By Sweep 4, language fluency or literacy no longer makes any difference in social capital possessed. The only exception is that it negatively correlated with help received from colleges and job seeking organisations (for men only fluency and both fluency and literacy for women, figures not reported). It is likely that refugees have obtained the language skills required to get on with their lives in the UK and their need for help declines over time.

Table 6.3 Gender, Social network and English skills

Social Network	English Fluency	English Literacy
MEN		
National or ethnic groups	**0.05**	**0.06**
Religious groups	**0.05**	**0.17**
Other groups and orgs	**0.11**	**0.11**
Friends	**0.30**	**0.17**
Relatives	**0.14**	**0.04**
N	3422	3424
WOMEN		
National or ethnic groups	**0.12**	**0.13**
Religious groups	**0.23**	**0.27**
Other groups and orgs	**0.25**	**0.22**
Friends	**0.30**	**0.24**
Relatives	**0.13**	**0.09**
N	1948	1953

Note: *Weighted by 'basewhgt'. Figures are correlation coefficient between standardized sums scores of frequency of contact and self-reported language skills.*

Table 6.4 English skills and Social Capital at Sweep 2

	Sweep 2			
	Social Capital (help received from)			
English Skills	**Housing**	**Job & education**	**Other Orgs**	**Relatives & Friends**
MEN				
English fluency	**-0.07**	**-0.12**	**-0.14**	**0.07**
English literacy	--	--	--	--
N	1093	1089	1091	1086
WOMEN				
English fluency	--	--	--	--
English literacy	--	--	--	--
N	627	625	628	626

Note: *Weighted by wtL_B1. Figures are correlation coefficients between standardized sums of scores of language skills and help received from different types of organisations and groups.*

Contrary to expectation, for men at Sweep 2, language skills are negatively associated with help received from different groups and organisations except friends and relatives. Perhaps those with poor language skills are more heavily reliant on such organisations while those are fluent are more self-sufficient (see Table 6.4). By Sweep 3 English fluency is positively associated with help received from job or education organisations for men but negatively associated for women.

6.4 English language training, Social Networks and Capital

Strong social networks with friends and relatives at sweep 1 are negatively associated with take up of ESOL at Sweep 2. However, refugees whose English was already good enough and need no further training have the highest level of contact with friends and relatives so this connection may not be causal. At Sweep 4, those who participated in ESOL in Sweep 3 have more frequent contacts with national/ethnic, and religious groups.

We examine participation in ESOL and social capital accessed in the subsequent sweep. In Table 6.5 we present the standardised scores of social capital of all three groups of refugees by their ESOL status simultaneously. The three figures in each cell represent respondents' social capital scores who (1) participated in an ESOL course (2) did not participate (3) did not need an ESOL course. The results show that generally participation in ESOL courses increases help received from housing, job and education, and other organisations in all three sweeps. There is clear evidence that ESOL at Sweep 2 broadens the range of social capital at Sweep 3, and increases the frequencies of help received from different sources. However, the pattern is slightly different in Sweep 4, while ESOL at Sweep 3 increases the social capital from different organisations and sources individually and the range of social capital overall, refugees with good English skills without any training needs also have a broad range of social capital (0.16) and are able to obtain help from other organisations (0.13).

Table 6.5: English Language Training (yes/no/no need) and Social Capital

	Sweep 2	Sweep 3	Sweep 4
Housing/council	0.06/-0.12/-0.06	0.08/-0.15/-0.22	0.10/-0.15/-0.11
Job/education	0.20/-0.37/-0.32	0.28/-0.52/-0.58	0.37/-0.39/-0.51
Other organisation	0.10/-0.19/-0.12	0.17/-0.32/-0.39	0.20/-0.27/0.13
Friends/relatives	-0.10/0.22/0.05	--	0.10/-0.09/-0.19
Range of social capital		0.26/-0.29/-0.35	0.10/-0.16/0.16
N	1707	897	817

Figures are standardized sums of scores of social capital (frequency of contacts with groups).

6.5 Summary:

- Christians, Zimbabweans and other Africans are most likely to have highest language competency
- Language competency improves over time for all groups
- Men are more likely to have better language competency than women
- Those who do not require language training have better access to employment
- Significant proportions of those with poor English skills are not accessing language training
- Access to ESOL does not help refugees develop the language they need to enhance their employability and does not aid access to employment
- Access to ESOL can help improve social networks and the availability of social capital
- The more networks refugees possess the better their language competency
- Women have better language skills when they associate with outgroups, men with friends and relatives
- Access to social capital has negligible impact on language competency

7. Discussion and Recommendations

This study has begun to address some gaps in knowledge about the relationship between social capital and integration offering us some insight into the complex connections between social networks, capital and other indicators. Although our e-survey indicated that refugees were much more likely to prioritise means and markers, family reunion and facilitators over social connectors it is clear that refugees possess different kinds of social network and accessed different types of social capital. Further these social networks and capitals influenced their ability to engage with the other indicators.

The more types of networks refugees have, the more potential for developing further and wider networks they are likely to have. Breadth of networks is affected by language competency and the amount of time they have been in the UK with the more competent and longer resident, having wider networks. There is evidence too that in the early stages of settlement contacts with religious groups, co-national and other groups increases the chances of receiving help with housing and employment. However the mere possession of networks is not enough to enhance access to employment, with the presence of networks showing no significant effects throughout the study. It is important to note though, that while there are no clear patterns of association of possessing social networks and employment, i.e. the effects are not statistically significant, refugees with no networks or contacts suffer from weaker employment prospects and poorer health. Thus the absence of social networks *does* appear to have a detrimental impact on access to work.

If as Foley and Edwards (1999) argue it is the access to resources that networks bring that can be described as social capital there is little indication that social capital is important. While social capital that might be described in Putnam's terms (2002) as linking capital, does impact upon access to work after refugees have spent some time in the UK, this and other forms of social capital, do not appear to impact on employability at earlier stages. Furthermore the type of social capital possessed by refugees appears to have no significant impact upon the permanency or quality of employment, and nature of housing. Rather it is the level of pre-migration qualifications and pre-migration employment quality, and time in the UK that are most important in accessing work and housing.

Social networks emerge as particularly important in relation to health and language ability. The more networks refugees possess the better their language competency. For women their language skills are better when they associate with out-groups, while for men contact with friends and relatives. Possession of social networks is important for emotional health. In addition the more contact that refugees have with friends and family the healthier they are. There is clear evidence in our analysis of the importance of financial resources and language competency in integration. Those with good language skills were likely to fare better in almost every domain while those with financial problems were likely to fare worse. Given the importance of language to integration, and literacy to social mobility, it is particularly worrying that despite refugees placing so much value on language competency many refugees with poor language skills were not accessing training or found that training did not help them develop the employment language they need.

A further issue of concern is the poor integration outcomes for women, Muslims and African refugees. Women undoubtedly fare worse in employment and health terms while there appear to be clear labour market penalties for Muslims and Africans. Perhaps unsurprising given that refugees come to the UK feeling persecution, absence of any kind of harassment was the top priority for refugees. Refugees who had experienced some kind of attack in the UK were the least healthy. On the other hand there was clear evidence that refugees living with partners or relatives, or who had secured family reunion were more likely to be healthy and employed. A final issue of note is the impact of the dispersal policy on refugees' employment outcomes and health. Those residing in NASS (now UKBA) housing fared significantly worse than those living with friends and family. This is possibly not surprising given that social networks with friends and family were more likely to yield social capital that any other type of network.

Our study does not provide a clear answer to the debate about the relative merits of bonding or bridging capital. Bonding capital does not have the negative impact predicted by some commentators (e.g. Cantle 2005) or the critical role suggested by others (e.g. Phillimore 2012) while bridging too appears to play little role. These findings may reflect the difficulties we experienced operationalising different types of capital emerging from the unclear and inconsistent questions in the SNR. There is clearly potential for further, more robust, research in this area over a longer timeframe which also focuses upon enabling clearer distinctions to be made between different types of social network and capital. Given the multidimensionality of integration (Schibel *et al.* 2002) it is likely that looking for relationships between pairs of integration indicators is too simplistic. There is a need for a more sophisticated approach that examines the interrelationships between a wider range of indicators. We are currently examining these relationships and hope to report further.

Recommendations

Evidence from our findings supports the case for improving access to integration initiatives for refugees, making changes to asylum and family reunion policy and prioritising groups that are multiply disadvantaged.

Language

Given the role of language improving refugees' access to good quality language training that helps them to develop the language they need in order to access employment is critical. In addition making lessons more accessible for women, perhaps by improving access to childcare, may improve outcomes for women.

Economic activity

Economic activity has a clear positive impact on refugee integration. Providing support for refugees should be a priority for employability and workfare providers. Furthermore given that refugees tend to be under-employed and demonstrate little social mobility support is needed to help enhance refugees' access to appropriate employment through recognition of experience and qualifications received outside of the UK.

Encouraging network development

Social networks are important for integration while the absence of networks is problematic. Supporting access to any kind of network or organisation is important. This might mean that efforts are made to direct new refugees to local community organisations to ensure that they can connect with people once they receive leave to remain. There has been some debate about the role of MRCOs in integration. These organisations can help to connect refugees who do not have access to friends and family to others and would benefit from support.

Women and Muslims

The groups appear to fare less well in integration terms than men and non-Muslims. Where integration activities are available they should prioritise support for women and Muslim refugees and explore the kinds of activity that can help them to access useful networks and capital.

Avoidance of harassment

There is clear evidence that experience of harassment has a negative impact on refugee integration. Much work is needed to give refugees a more positive profile to convince the public that they are genuinely in need of protection and ensure that individuals responsible for harassment and discrimination are dealt with appropriately. Refugees should be advised of the kinds of behaviour which constitutes harassment and how to report incidents. Given that refugees come to the UK to escape persecution, victims of harassment may benefit from counselling.

Financial advice

Refugees with financial difficulties did not fare well in integration terms. New refugees might be directed to organisations that can provide money management advice to help them learn how to be self-sufficient and to understand the UK financial system.

Dispersal

Refugees who had resided in UKBA housing as asylum seekers fared less well than those living with friends or family. Furthermore networks with friends and family provided access to a wide range of resources. Integration prospects are likely to be enhanced if asylum seekers can be offered choice of dispersal locations *if* they can demonstrate that they have friends or family in close proximity. Alternatively friends and family could be encouraged to house asylum seekers if they were given a contribution to their upkeep. Such an approach is likely to be more cost effective than dispersal.

Family reunion

Access to family has clear benefits in integration outcomes. Refugees could be better supported to apply for family reunion. The Government could consider reducing income levels for refugees given the positive impact on health and access to employment.

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