MAKING IT WORK
Refugee employment in the UK

Alice Bloch

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post: 30-32 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7RA, United Kingdom
telephone: +44 (0)20 7470 6100
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Preface

The successful integration of refugees into host societies is a challenge that faces policy makers the world over. This working paper begins with the premise that getting refugees into employment, and particularly into employment that matches their skills, is one of the most important aspects of the process of integration. The evidence on refugee employment in the UK presented in this working paper suggests cause for concern. Refugees often face high barriers to employment, experience high rates of unemployment, are frequently underemployed, receive low rates of pay, and work under poor terms and conditions. It is also clear that particular groups within the asylum seeker and refugee population are even more vulnerable: women, older people, those dispersed to regional areas, and those with low English language proficiency.

The issue of refugee employment also highlights an important divide in how refugees are perceived by host societies: between seeing them as having the potential to make an important contribution to the UK society and economy; and seeing them as drain on society. An important contribution of this working paper is to provide evidence for the former view. Refugees are, on average, younger than the overall population, bring with them a diverse range of skills and experience, and can fill critical labour shortages at both ends of the employment spectrum.

The working paper also presents a set of recommendations that will help ease the integration of refugees into the labour market. These include the need for better English language education targeted at the needs of refugees; more accessible training and re-skilling initiatives; facilitation of skill recognition amongst public bodies and employers; better child care provision; and more co-ordinated and accessible approaches by statutory agencies in assisting refugee job seekers. If carried out promptly and effectively, these measures will ease social exclusion, increase the contribution of refugees to the economy, and even go some way in addressing the perception that refugees are a drain on society.

Finally, on the more vexed issue of asylum seeker employment, this working paper presents a set of compelling arguments for why asylum seekers should be allowed to work or access employment services: it would prevent potentially long-term withdrawal from the labour market; boost skills and experience; ease the bureaucratic burden for potential employers; increase overall economic output; and potentially ease the public burden of providing for claimants.

Heaven Crawley & Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah

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About the author

Dr Alice Bloch is a lecturer in Sociology in the School of Social Sciences, City University. Her research interests include refugee migration, the social and economic settlement of refugees in countries of asylum and the impact of asylum policy. She has recently carried out research for the Department of Work and Pensions, Refugee Action and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). She has published widely in the area of refugee studies and is author of *The Migration and Settlement of Refugees in Britain.*

Abstract

This working paper presents an analysis of the position of refugees within the UK labour market, explores factors that affect participation and suggests ways improving access for refugees. It shows that, in spite of the skills and qualifications that some refugees have on arrival to the UK, refugees have much lower levels of economic participation (29 per cent) than ethnic minorities (60 per cent). Those refugees who are working are clustered in just a few types of employment, work unsocial hours and take home low pay. Refugees who arrive with skills in demand in the UK economy such as teachers, doctors and nurses often do not practice professions in the UK.

The working paper explores the factors that affect refugee employment and concludes that English language is key to labour market participation. However, there are other factors that also affect employment including levels of education (both on arrival and obtained in the UK), length of residence, migration aspirations, immigration status, participation in training in the UK and gender. Put simply, refugees in employment are most likely to be fluent in English, have been living in Britain for five years or more, have participated in education and/or training in the UK, have secure immigration status, be young and be male.

Refugees experience a number of barriers to employment, though the barrier mentioned most often was English language followed by a lack of UK work experience. These barriers can be ameliorated through targeted employment and ESOL services, but other barriers such as employer discrimination can be more difficult to address.

The paper concludes with a brief analysis of current policy approaches to refugee employment and with a series of recommendations that focus on the need for integrated, holistic services for refugees that recognise the structural and personal barriers that refugees can face entering the UK labour market. The policy recommendations stress the need for:

- better information collection and sharing;
- the recognition of diversity between and within refugee groups;
- the need to provide services that are gender sensitive;
- intensive and work-related ESOL provision that is accessed as soon as possible on arrival to the UK; and
- better recognition of overseas qualifications and more effective training provision, including training to transfer or 'top up' existing qualifications.

If refugees are to realise their potential in the UK, both economically and socially, then targeted provision that reflects diversity within and between communities in the form of early policy interventions is vital. The longer refugees – like others – are excluded from the labour market the more likely they are to lose self-esteem and struggle to participate in the longer term, which has negative consequences for both the individual and society as a whole.

Background

It is widely recognised that employment is a key component for the successful integration of refugees[1] in countries of asylum (Valtonen 1999, Bloch 2002a). Indeed, Colic-Peisker (2003, 17) notes that employment 'seems to be the single most important aspect of successful resettlement and social inclusion in general.' Employment increases both economic and social integration and, for refugees, offers the opportunity to gain self-esteem, to facilitate new social contacts and to learn or improve English language skills. The importance of assisting the access of refugees to the labour market in order to ensure their long-term integration is recognised in policy-making at the UK and European levels (see, for example, Home Office 2000, Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) 2003, European Commission 2003). In the UK, the commitment to increase the labour market participation of refugees sits within a broader strategy of increasing ethnic minority participation in the labour market (Cabinet Office 2003).

Any analysis of the factors and barriers underlying refugee employment as a mechanism for economic and social integration needs to be located within the context of wider asylum and migration policy development. Since 1993 there have been four pieces of legislation in this area. A fifth - the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants Etc) Bill 2003 - is currently going through the legislative process. The current Government has indicated three broad policy aims: to prevent abuse of the asylum system; to help refugees to integrate; and to open up the managed migration route (Hughes 2003). Flynn (2003) notes that this approach has led to a duality within the immigration system. On the one hand there has been a strategy of liberalising economic migration through formal means that recognise that migrants make a positive net contribution to the economy, especially in key professions and some unskilled areas, where the UK is suffering from a shortage of labour (Glover *et al* 2001, Castles 2003). On the other hand, there have been measures to restrict access to the UK as a country of asylum (with the aim of reducing the overall number of applications) and to limit the rights of asylum seekers once in the UK.

In terms of managed migration, the Government laid out its strategy in the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* (Home Office 2002), which formed the basis of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002. This included an extension of the work permit system, the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP) and the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Scheme (SAWS) to meet the need for short-term casual labour. Since then, SAWS has been expanded and the Sectors Based Scheme (SBS) introduced as part of efforts to reduce the demand for undocumented work and to manage the migration process (Crawley 2003).

Alongside tighter border controls, other measures - including legislation - have been taken to curtail the social and economic rights of asylum seekers once in the UK. These include regional dispersal, the introduction of a system of support under the National Asylum Support System (NASS) that is parallel to but more limited than mainstream welfare provision, and increased use of detention. Importantly for the concerns of this paper, in July 2002 the Government withdrew the

employment concession that enabled asylum seekers awaiting a decision on their application to apply for permission to work after they had been in the UK for six months. These measures are designed to make the UK a less attractive destination for asylum seekers by excluding them socially and economically and have been premised on the belief that access to welfare and the labour market act as significant pull factors to potential asylum seekers whose reasons for seeking asylum are economically rather than politically motivated.

This is despite the absence of any evidence that access to welfare benefits or employment are significant 'pull' factors influencing the decisions of asylum seekers to come to the UK (Thränhardt 1999). Research commissioned by the Home Office clearly demonstrates the lack of control that many asylum seekers have over their eventual destination, with many relying on agents' decisions about destinations. Robinson and Segrott (2003, 1) conclude that:

> There was little evidence that respondents had detailed knowledge of UK immigration or asylum procedures, entitlements to benefits in the UK, or the availability of work in the UK. There was even less evidence that respondents know how such features compared with other European countries.

These recent restrictive measures are worth noting for two reasons. First, and most importantly for the purposes of this paper, limitations on access to the labour market for asylum seekers have an impact on the long-term social and economic integration prospects of those who are eventually granted refugee status or humanitarian protection. Until recently it was not uncommon for asylum seekers to wait over a year to be granted permission to work and some were known to have waited as long as five years (Bloch 2002a). These initial periods outside of the labour market are thought to have longer-term adverse affects on the labour market experiences of refugees (Valtonen 1999). The result is that whilst the benefits of increasing the labour market participation of refugees with status to remain in the UK are clear – and indeed skilled refugees are able to fill some of the labour markets gaps which managed migration programmes aim to fill - there is a tension between this policy objective and the aim of limiting access to the labour market for asylum seekers.

While the shortening of processing times of asylum claims by the Home Office over the last year has reduced the scale of the issue, the broader issue of asylum seeker exclusion from the labour market remains important. It is essential to recognise that any period of exclusion and therefore deskilling is likely to have negative impacts. Stewart's research with refugee doctors confirms that it is crucial 'not to allow time to pass when people could become de-skilled because once in an unskilled position or on welfare it will become increasingly difficult to re-enter the medical profession' (2003, 9).

A second important consequence of the current approach is that the differentiation in policy between types of migrants has created a hierarchy of social and economic rights. While asylum seekers are not permitted to work legally, those with humanitarian protection and refugee status are able to work. Such a strategy reinforces the idea of the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' with asylum seekers located in the latter category (Sales 2002). However when it comes to the objective of increasing refugee employment, it is necessary to move beyond

this duality and recognise that asylum seekers, refugees and indeed some settled minority communities have overlapping needs. The early experience of asylum seekers is likely to have a profound impact on their preparedness as refugees to integrate into the UK economy and so early interventions may well be required, regardless of average claim processing times.

This paper explores the issue of refugee employment in the context of various and sometimes competing, objectives in policy development. In the context of these objectives it seems possible – and even likely – that different stakeholders will place the emphasis on different objectives and therefore prioritise different outcomes. Those within the Home Office - who perceive that access to the labour market is a 'pull' factor that increases the number of asylum applications from those who are actually economic migrants – will want to maintain the exclusion of asylum seekers from the labour market during the determination process. It is conceivable however, that even within the Home Office there may be tensions between those responsible for the integration of refugees and those responsible for controlling borders and processing asylum claims.

Similarly, on the temporal scale, the different timeframes involved may draw out these different emphases. This is particularly evident in relation to English language training: the use of such training to facilitate access to the labour market compared with its newly emerging role as an important criterion for accessing citizenship may result in a different focus of priorities and resources. This paper's overriding objective is to explore ways in which policies that impact upon refugee employment can be framed and integrated to improve outcomes for individual refugees and for society as a whole.

The empirical sections of the paper draw on data from a survey of 400 refugees with access to the labour market carried out for the DWP. A report of the survey that includes the methods used is published elsewhere (Bloch 2002b). Respondents came from the Somali regions, Iraq, Turkey, Kosova and Sri Lanka and were living in five regions in England (London, Yorkshire and Humberside, North West, North East and the Midlands). The data presented in this paper will be used to explore refugee participation in the labour market and the factors that affect participation. After presenting the employment situation of refugees and the factors affecting participation, the paper will consider the implications of this evidence for policy development in this area.

Labour market participation

A recent report on *Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market* produced by the Cabinet Office (2003), examines the costs of the high rates of unemployment and under-employment experienced by some ethnic minorities in the UK. The report finds that underachievement affects self-esteem and confidence. High rates of unemployment and comparatively low levels of income for those who are working have adverse consequences not only for national income and economic growth but also for the social and economic inclusion of the individual. Refugees are even more likely than other ethnic minorities to be unemployed or clustered in a few sectors with low pay and poor employment prospects, therefore the negative impacts identified in the Cabinet Office report are magnified for them.

There is little quantitative work available on the labour market experiences of refugees. However, what little research is available clearly demonstrates low levels of economic activity. Refugees have lower rates of employment than the population as a whole and lower than ethnic minority groups. Over time, refugees have consistently experienced lower than average rates of employment. A national survey of refugees in the early 1990s found that 27 per cent were working (Carey-Wood *et al* 1995). A decade later, in 2002, the DWP study found that only 29 per cent were working compared with 60 per cent of people from ethnic minorities as a whole.

One-quarter of refugees who were working at the time of the survey were employed in temporary posts and just over one-third were working part-time (35 per cent). More than half (55 per cent) of those refugees who were working part-time were doing so because they were unable to find a full-time job. Just under half (47 per cent) were working anti-social hours – that is before 8.30 in the morning and after 6.30 in the evening at least twice a week and less than half (47 per cent) were entitled to holiday pay.

Respondents in the DWP survey were asked about their pay. The survey found that average rates of gross weekly pay among refugees are less than those among ethnic minorities in the UK: £244 and £335 respectively. The weekly earnings are affected by the larger numbers of refugees working part-time compared to people from ethnic minorities. However, an analysis of the hourly rates of pay received by refugees shows a lower level of pay than that commanded by people from other ethnic minority communities: £7.29 an hour and £9.26 an hour respectively. This compares with the UK-wide average hourly rate of £11.74. Thus on average, refugees were earning only 78 per cent of the hourly wages of other ethnic minority people, and 62 per cent of the average UK hourly rate. More than one-tenth (11 per cent) of refugees who were working were earning less than the National Minimum Wage.

Levels of pay were affected by qualifications and the place where qualifications were obtained. Having a degree or post-graduate level qualification from a British university increased the level of earnings substantially. The average gross hourly rate of those respondents with a degree or higher from a British university was £12.10 compared to an average rate of £8.23 among those who had obtained a

degree from elsewhere. Studying at a high level in the UK helped to reduce the disparity between refugees and others but not to eliminate it.

Occupational concentration once in the UK contrasts with the diversity of the sectors in which refugees were engaged in prior to coming to the UK, as shown in Table 1. Some of the areas of employment (for example, agriculture) are difficult to replicate in the UK but others are clearly in demand (for example, teaching, medicine and nursing).

Ten per cent of those who were working before coming to the UK were employed as teachers. Other research has also identified large numbers of refugee teachers (Bloch and Atfield 2002). There are also refugee doctors and nurses not working in their chosen professions. It is estimated that there are between 500 and 2,000 refugee doctors in the UK (Stewart 2003) as well as a large number of nurses (Dumper 2002). The loss of occupational status among refugees is apparent and, in turn, affects social status and emotional well-being (Colic-Peisker 2003).

The DWP survey found that, for those refugees who were working, the largest area of employment was catering, with 18 per cent working as waiters, fast food chefs and kitchen porters, or in fast food delivery. The other main areas of employment were in interpreting/translating (15 per cent), working as shop assistants or cashiers (14 per cent) and administration and clerical work (13 per cent). Sixty per cent of refugees in the study who were working were located in these four broad types of employment. Moreover, they are in jobs with very few opportunities for progression and with poor terms and conditions of employment.

Table 1: Most recent employment before coming to the UK (Bloch 2002b)

	Frequencies
Shop owner/Shopkeeper	24
Teacher	20
Office/administration/clerical	20
Tradesperson: carpenter/welder/builder/mechanic	17
Farmer	14
Catering	14
Shop assistant	13
Driver (taxi/truck)	11
Laboratory technician or environmental worker	8
Medical 'other' (including anaesthetist and blood analyst)	6
Engineer	5
Textile worker	5
Factory worker	5
Manager	5
Nurse	4
Doctor/dentist	3
Interpreter/translator	3
Accountant	2
Photographer	2
Domestic	2
Financial advisor	2
Community/social worker	2
Other (jobs carried out by only 1 person)	13
Total number of jobs	200

Missing: 1

Factors affecting refugee employment

This section explores in more detail the specific factors that affect refugee employment. Research carried out in the UK and elsewhere has found that proficiency in the language of the country of asylum has the greatest impact on labour market participation (Wooden 1991, Carey-Wood *et al*. 1995, Bloch 2002a, 2002b). Other factors that can be influential include education and qualifications, length of residence, immigration status, aspirations for the migration, age, gender and social and community networks.

English language

Proficiency in the language of the country of asylum is fundamental for the social and economic integration of refugees. Those with fluency in the language of the country of asylum have a greater range of employment options. Those who lack fluency are limited in their employment possibilities either to those within their own community or to those that do not place a premium on language. These tend to be low-skill jobs. Both these situations limit opportunities for refugees to interact with members of the country of asylum and to develop language skills (Valtonen 1999).

Figure 1 demonstrates that those refugees who are in employment are likely to speak English fluently or fairly well[2], have arrived in the UK with a qualification, have obtained qualifications in the UK, have participated in training in the UK, have been resident in the UK for three years or more, have received a positive decision on their case, feel more settled in the UK, be under 35 years old and be male. There are also differences by country of origin. Cramers V scores for this data show that the level of association was strongest for English language proficiency and employment and weakest for aspirations for return migration and employment (Figure 2).

In the DWP study, the data demonstrated the impact of language proficiency on employment. Most of the 22 respondents who spoke English either slightly or not at all and were working were in low-skilled jobs or in jobs that did not require English. More than half (14) worked in catering, factory, construction, building and decorating, or cleaning and four worked as shop assistants/cashiers.

English language and literacy skills on arrival in the UK vary by country of origin and will depend, in part, on colonial or protectorate relations because this will influence whether or not English language was taught in schools. This was borne out by the DWP study, in which respondents from Sri Lanka, Iraq and Somalia were more likely to arrive in the UK with English than those from Turkey or Kosova.

Figure 1. Percentage of refugees who are working by explanatory variables (base number within brackets)

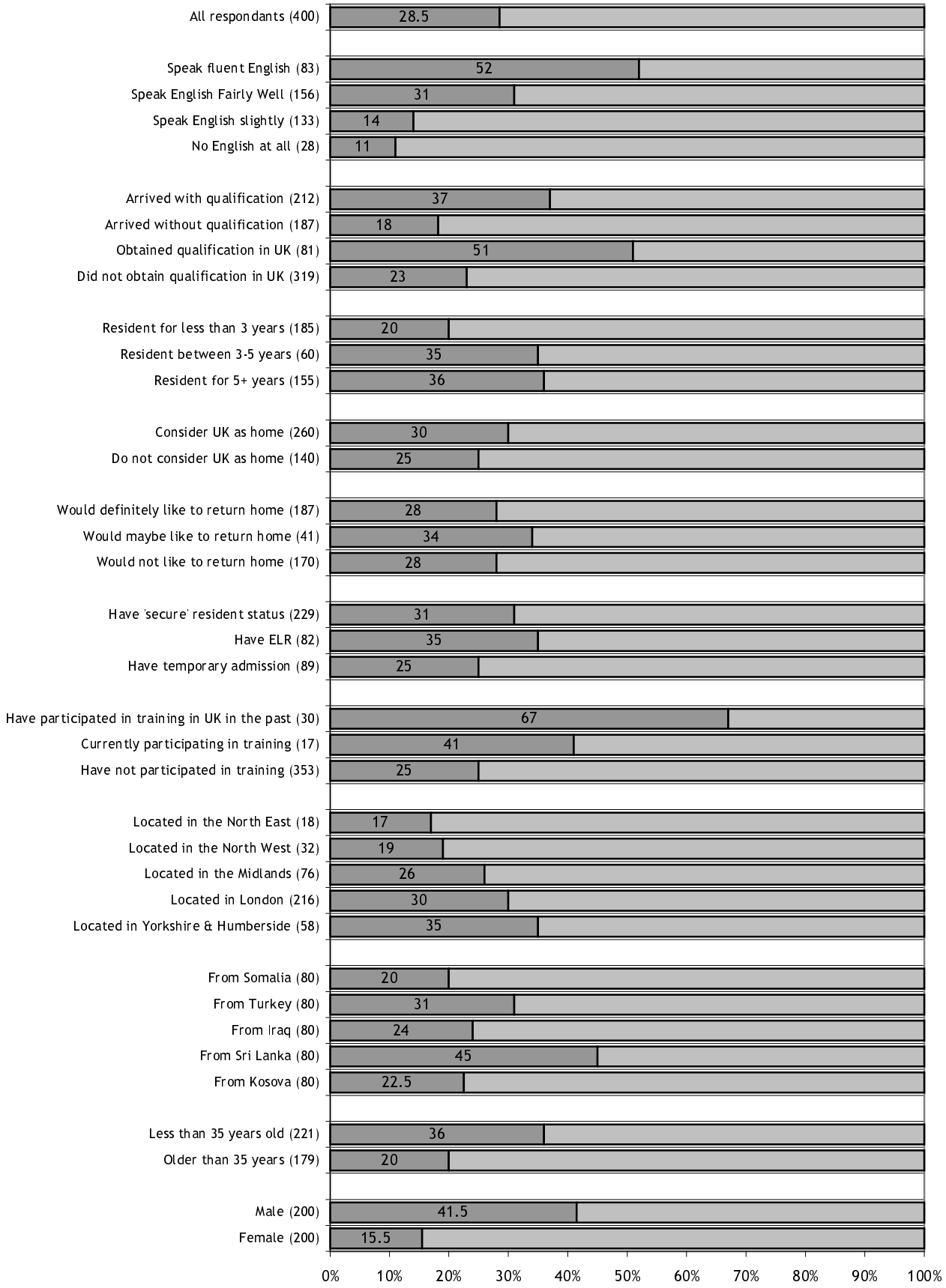
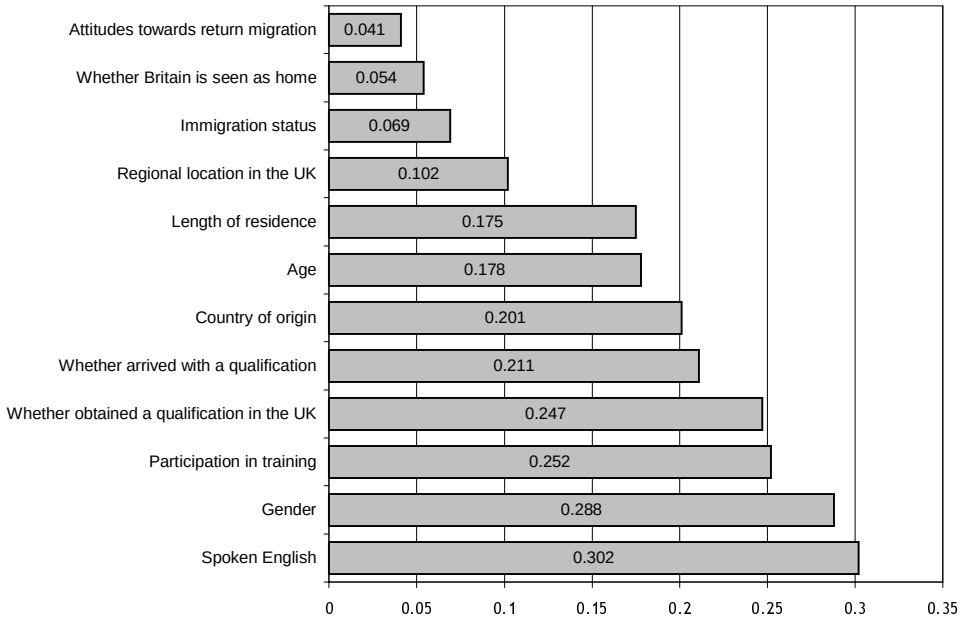


Figure 2. Association between refugee labour market participation and other variables



(a statistical measure of association between two variables where 0 suggests no association and 1 equals perfect association)

There is also a gender differential in terms of English language skills on arrival because women from certain countries may have little formal education and low levels of literacy in their first language. This is particularly so among Somali women who on the whole have less formal education than their male counterparts. Research with 200 Somali nationals in the UK shows that 59 per cent of Somali women could read Somali fluently compared to 90 per cent of men, that 14 per cent of Somali women had received no formal education and that 29 per cent had been educated only to primary school level (Bloch and Atfield 2002).

One of the ways in which refugees acquire English skills in the UK is to attend English language classes. Nearly two-thirds (65 per cent) had attended English classes in the past or were attending English language classes at the time of the survey. However, some of those with the greatest need were not accessing classes. A third (32 per cent) of those who arrived in the UK with no spoken English had not attended a class, while 28 per cent of those who spoke English slightly on arrival to the UK had not attended a class. There was also a problem with non-completion of courses. Nearly a third (31 per cent) of those who had started a course did not complete it and childcare was the reason mentioned most often.

In terms of improving language provision, those who had experience of English language classes mentioned possible strategies of more contact hours and more courses most often (24 per cent and 12 per cent respectively). The other ways of improving language provision mentioned most often were: teachers from own community (11 per cent), different level classes (10 per cent) and closer links with employment (seven per cent). These findings reinforce the observations of a

Home Office study that found a 'noticeable lack of English for professional or vocational development' (Griffiths 2003, 6).

Education

Levels of education - both on arrival and obtained while in the country of refuge - affect labour market participation. However, Figure 2 shows that there is a stronger correlation between employment and educational qualifications obtained in the UK than those gained in the country of origin. The lack of recognition of some overseas qualifications at their equivalent level, as well as the necessity of having qualifications transferred, act as barriers to using qualifications obtained elsewhere.

Fifty-six per cent of respondents in the DWP survey who came to the UK aged 18 or over arrived with a formal qualification. Nearly a quarter (23 per cent) of those with a qualification had a degree or higher while seven per cent had a professional qualification. Those with professional qualifications included nurses and teachers.

Only a minority (15 per cent) of those with qualifications had tried to get them recognised in the UK. Of those who had tried to get their qualifications recognised, most (71 per cent) had been successful. The reason why those with qualifications did not try and get them recognised varied but mentioned most often were: lack of English (16 per cent), did not have certificates with them (16 per cent), did not need to get them recognised (16 per cent), did not know how to (12 per cent), no time or too busy to do so including with family (10 per cent) and did not think to (7 per cent). The fact that 16 per cent of respondents did not have their certificates with them reflects some of the problems faced by refugees when trying to gain access to education and employment commensurate with skills and experience, namely the lack of evidence of past achievements. It is not therefore surprising that those who had obtained qualifications before coming to the UK were more likely to be working though in jobs that did not for the most part reflect their level of educational attainment. Moreover, even when people did have their documentation, many professional qualifications are not given equivalent status so retraining is required.

Length of residence

Length of residence affects labour market participation, as is demonstrated in Figure 1. Those who have been resident longer are more likely to be employed than more recent arrivals, although the acquisition of English language skills was a key factor in explaining the differentials. Socio-economic conditions at the time a refugee arrives also affect employment prospects. Valtonen (1999) found that differences in employment outcomes among Vietnamese refugees in Finland and at two time points in Canada were explained, in part, by the time of arrival. The first cohort of Vietnamese arrived in Canada at a time of economic boom and were successfully integrated into the labour market while the second cohort arriving in Canada and those who arrived in Finland did so during an economic downturn that affected their job prospects not only at the time of arrival but over the longer term. The removal of the employment concession for asylum

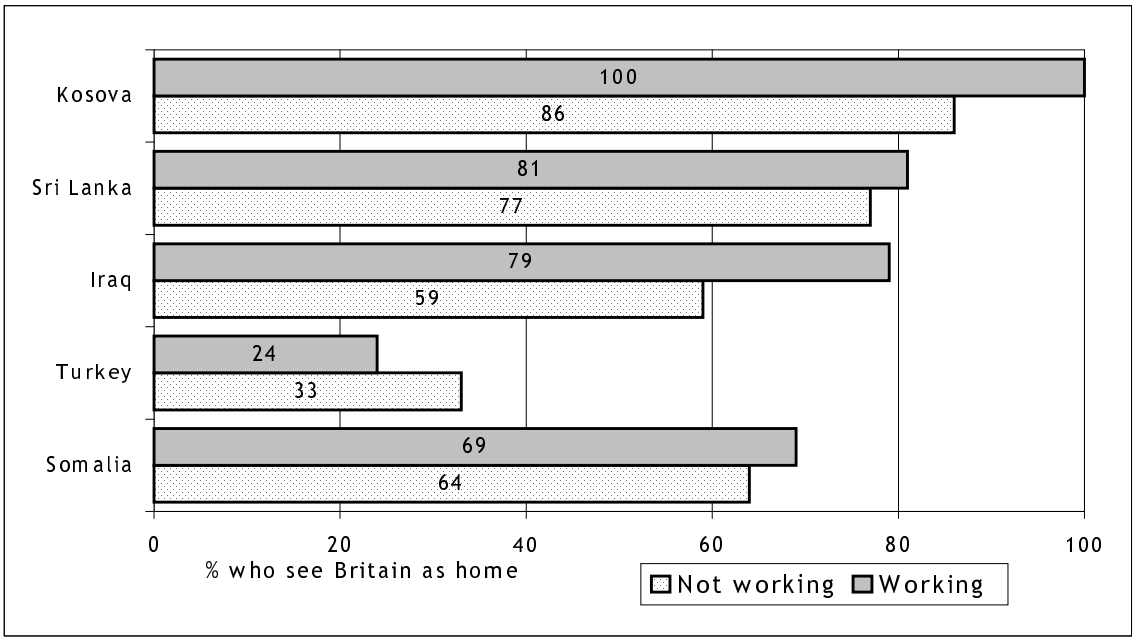
seekers in the UK in 2002 should be seen in this context. As noted earlier, an initial period out of the labour market can have a negative long-term effect and can result in some asylum seekers entering the undocumented casual labour market.

Migration aspirations

For all new migrants, attitudes towards the migration – that is, whether it is seen as a temporary sojourn or a more permanent move – will affect labour market participation. In the case of refugees, attitudes to flight, the homeland and the country of refuge will all affect settlement outcomes (Kunz 1981). Al-Rasheed (1994) notes that even after many years in exile, refugees still see their situation as temporary, holding on to the 'myth of return'. The intention to return to home countries can make refugees reluctant to invest in employment and training opportunities, because this implies a degree of permanency to their residence in the country of asylum. Research in east London found that a higher proportion of those who were working saw the UK as home than those who were unemployed, though the direction of the correlation was not clear (Bloch 2002a).

The DWP data shows that a slightly higher proportion of those who saw Britain as home were working than those who did not, though Cramers V (see Figure 2) shows a very weak association. Figure 3 shows that, with the exception of respondents from Turkey, others were more likely to see Britain as home if they were working, with the largest differential in attitudes among refugees from Iraq.

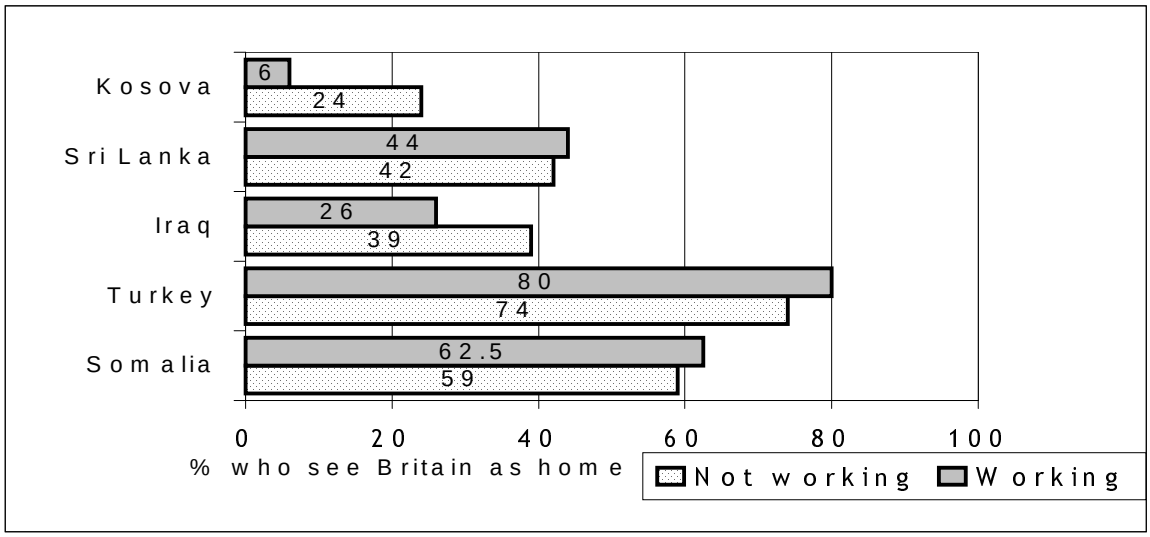
Figure 3 Percentage of refugees who see Britain as home by paid employment and country of origin



Base number: 261

A similar pattern was evident between labour market participation and aspirations for return migration with the two variables most closely associated among respondents from Iraq and Kosova as Figure 4 shows. Thus employment and aspirations for return migration did interact among respondents from some countries while having virtually no impact among others. This variation will be due, in part, to the circumstances surrounding exile and the relationship with the country of origin.

Figure 4 Percentage of refugees who would definitely like to return home by employment and country of origin



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Immigration status

Different categories of immigration status confer different social and economic rights and different levels of security in the country of asylum. Legal restrictions affect migrant settlement and - although the Government is trying to reduce the time taken to determine cases and has offered an amnesty to 15,000 asylum seeking families who arrived before 1 October 2001 - there remain thousands of asylum seekers waiting for their cases to be determined who have been in the system for years. At the end of 2002 there were 41,300 asylum seekers waiting for an initial decision on their case, a further 51,695 who had submitted an appeal to the Home Office and 64,125 who had submitted an appeal to the Independent Appeals Adjudicator (IAA).

In the DWP study there was a correlation between length of residence and status. Those who had been the UK for five years or more were most likely to have Indefinite Leave to Remain (43 per cent) or to be naturalised British or EU citizens (43 per cent). Conversely, those who arrived less than three years before the study were most likely either to be an asylum seeker on temporary admission (34 per cent) or to have ELR (30 per cent). However, it is a concern that six per cent of respondents who had been in the UK for five years or more were still on temporary admission, given the impact that this has on social and economic integration. All of those who had been in the UK for more than five years and were waiting for a decision on their case were Tamils from Sri Lanka. With the removal of the employment concession for those who have arrived since July

2002, delays in determining cases can leave asylum seekers without legal access to employment for extended periods of time.

Training

Training is one of the key strategies adopted in the UK more generally to get the long term unemployed back into the labour market. The data in Figure 1 shows that those who had participated in training in the past and those who were participating in training at the time of the survey were more likely to be working than others, though this is not surprising as some had participated in work based training schemes. There is a large demand for training among refugees partly as it provides a structure in the absence of paid work, although take-up is low, relative to the proportion of long-term unemployed.

A total of 12 per cent of respondents (47) had experience of training in the UK. Fifteen per cent had trained in the past and nine per cent were training at the time of the survey. Take-up of statutory training was low with only 13 people on named statutory schemes. There was however, a demand for training and 60 per cent of respondents said that they would like to participate. The main reasons for not training among those who were interested were lack of English language skills or wanting to learn English first (28 per cent); not knowing what was available (18 per cent); not having time (17 per cent); working (15 per cent) and a lack of child care (14 per cent). Women were more likely than men not to know what was available and to face barriers to training due to a lack of childcare.

Those who knew about statutory provision were, for the most part, aware of more than one scheme, although as Table 2 shows take-up was very low. New Deal was the scheme that the most respondents had heard of and, along with the Job Interview Guarantee Scheme was the scheme that the largest number of respondents had participated in. Those who had participated in a scheme had varying views about whether or not it had been helpful, though the largest group found them to be neither helpful nor unhelpful. In terms of employment outcomes, there is little evidence to suggest any correlation between the subject and area of training and employment outcomes.

Table 2 Knowledge, participation and views about statutory training provision (frequencies) (Bloch 2002b)

	Heard of	*Taken part*	*Helpful*	*Neither helpful nor unhelpful*	*Unhelpful*
Work Trials	14	1			1
Jobfinder Plus	12	1			1
Jobplan	8	0			
Programme Centres/Job Club	12	2	1	1	
Job Finder	13	4	1		3
Job Interview Guarantee	11	6	1	3	2
New Job Seeker Interview	16	5	1	4	
New Deal	20	6	1	3	2
Modern Apprenticeships	2	1	1		
Employment Service Direct	6	1		1	
Business Start Up	7	0			
Career Development Loans	2	0			
Help with Training	6	1	1		
Training for Basic Skills and English	11	1		1	
Time-off for Study or Training	2	1		1	
Travel to Interview Scheme	1	0			
Work Based Learning for adults	10	1	1		
Total number	**153**	**31**	**8**	**14**	**9**

Base number: 105

Regional differences

Prior to the introduction of dispersal under the Immigration and Asylum Act (1999), asylum seekers arriving spontaneously in the UK tended to cluster in areas where they had pre-existing kinship and community networks. In fact, around two-thirds were living in a particular locality due to such networks (Bloch 2002a). Under the 1999 Act, those asylum seekers requiring accommodation were dispersed on a no-choice basis co-ordinated by the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) regardless of whether they had family, friends or community ties elsewhere. Asylum seekers who do not want to be dispersed or abscond forfeit their right to accommodation (Mynott 2002).

Table 3 Asylum seekers supported by NASS in regions as at the end of December 2002 (including dependants) (Home Office 2003)

Government Office Region	*Subsistence only*	*NASS accommodation*
North East	210	6010
North West	925	10325
Yorkshire and Humberside	800	10225
East Midlands	1170	4540
West Midlands	1185	10305
East of England	1405	535
Greater London	28555	2605
South East	2445	1180
South West	590	925
Wales	180	1585
Scotland	335	5665
Northern Ireland	20	170
Total	**37810**	**54070**

Table 3 shows that 41 per cent of asylum seekers supported by NASS receive only subsistence support. Of these, 76 per cent are based in London. Potentially, such an arrangement can place a large burden on family and friends who often provide accommodation for these subsistence-only asylum seekers who are no longer allowed to apply for permission to work.

Dispersing asylum seekers can mean that they live in areas with high levels of unemployment and few opportunities. Ho and Henderson (1999) identified significant regional variations among ethnic minorities in terms of labour market participation due to local economic structures. Ethnic minorities in general are most affected by variations due to the hyper-cyclical nature of ethnic minority employment (Blackaby *et al* 1999). Once a positive decision has been given on an asylum case the individual is able to move to areas where there is employment. However, some refugees – particularly those with children – may find yet another upheaval to a new town or city particularly difficult.

Figure 1 illustrates regional variations in term of labour market participation. Levels of employment were highest in the Yorkshire and Humberside region, which at the time of the survey was experiencing a boom in the service sector, particularly in the city of Leeds. As one focus group respondent noted:

> In Leeds, there are lots of jobs in catering because it is such a boom-town for service industries at the moment…unemployment in Leeds is below the national average, its really quite low but the growth in jobs is in hotels and catering, take-away that sort of thing (Bloch 2002b, 93)

One of the concerns about the policy of dispersal is that it removes refugees from the informal networks that have historically been so important in terms of job seeking and employment within refugee communities. Research carried out prior to the introduction of dispersal found that two-thirds had found work through family, friends or community organisations, illustrating the dependency on - and utilisation of - informal contacts (Bloch 2002a).

In the DWP study, there were some differences in the employment rates and successful methods of job seeking between those who lived in a locality because they had friends, family or because there was a community there and those who lived in an area not through choice but to which they were sent through the dispersal scheme or by a local authority prior to dispersal. First, those who chose their location were more successful in finding work than those who were dispersed without choice. Only 16 per cent of those who lived in an area because they had no choice were working compared with 26 per cent who lived in an area due to networks. Secondly, Table 4 suggests that those who lived in their area due to social networks were more likely to have found work through their social networks than those who had no choice over where they lived.[3]

Table 4 Means of finding current job by reason for living in locality

Means of finding Current job	*Living in locality because of social & community networks*		*No choice in locality*	
	Number	%	Number	%
Advert	10	17	-	-
Jobcentre Plus	6	10	3	20
Agency	2	3	-	-
Direct application	7	12	4	27
Own business	1	2	-	-
Someone working there	7	12	1	7
Friends	22	37	4	27
Relatives	3	5	-	-
Community group	2	3	3	20
Total	**60**	**100**	**15**	**100**

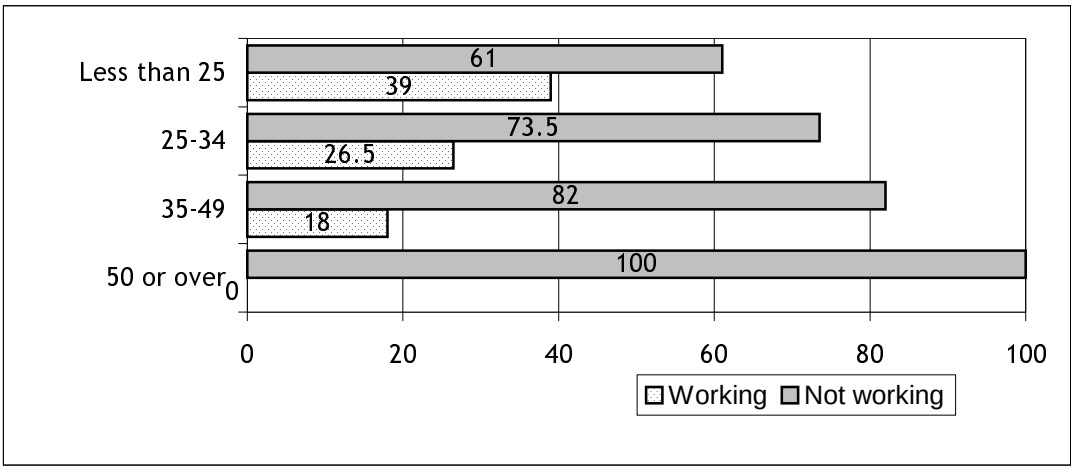
Age

Age is an important factor influencing both attitudes to and the prospects of obtaining employment. Both young adults and people over 50 have higher than average rates of unemployment and economic inactivity in the UK (Hasluck 1999, Ashdown 2000). This pattern is more marked for people from ethnic minority groups. For instance, only 40 per cent of Bangladeshi men and 62 per cent of Pakistani men aged 45-64 are economically active, compared to 78 per cent of White men (Owen *et al*. 2000). Research with refugees has found similar patterns with those in their 40s and 50s more likely to experience 'ageist' discrimination (Colic-Peisker 2003). In the DWP study, half of those aged 50 or over, who were looking for work said that their main barrier to employment was age.

The majority of refugees are relatively young on arrival in the UK. Home Office data on asylum applicants arriving in 2002 shows that 43 per cent were aged 24 or younger and that 24 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 29. Less than 3 per cent of applicants were aged 50 or over (Heath *et al* 2003). Due to the young age of asylum applicants some may have had their education disrupted by the situation in their home country or by their experiences of exile. In the DWP study, 29 per cent had been students before coming to the UK.

Older refugees also experience problems because they tend to be more established in their existing careers and may be more reluctant to retrain (Bloch 2002a). In the DWP study age on arrival made a difference to employment. Figure 5 shows a direct relationship between age on arrival and employment status.

Figure 5 Labour market participation by age on arrival



Base number: 400

Gender

Research has consistently shown a higher proportion of refugee men than women in employment (Carey-Wood *et al* 1995, Bloch 2002a, Bloch and Atfield 2002) and Figure 1 shows that the same pattern was evident in the DWP study. There are also more men than women in employment in the general population and among ethnic minority people specifically. However, the disparity between the number of refugee men and women who are working is greater than among ethnic minorities as a whole where, on average, 51 per cent of women are working compared with 68 per cent of men.

Lower levels of educational attainment, greater problems communicating in the language of the country of asylum as well as a greater likelihood of child care responsibilities will all result in lower levels of economic participation among women than men.

Some women also experience problems accessing the language or skills training programmes that would enable them to gain the skills that would in turn allow them to participate economically. This is due, in part, to the failure of some

language and training programmes to recognise the diverse needs of refugee women and their failure to provide appropriate services (Bloch *et al* 2000).

In the DWP study, 29 per cent of those who arrived in the UK speaking English slightly or not at all had been unable to access a language class. Women who did access classes had higher levels of non-completion than men, due to child-care and family commitments. Lone parents were particularly at risk of non-completion.

Women were less likely to be looking for work than men (22.5 per cent and 57 per cent respectively). More than half (52 per cent) of the women who were not looking for work said it was due to child care responsibilities while men were more likely than women to report health problems (40.5 per cent and 14 per cent).

Barriers to employment and employment aspirations

Refugees can experience a number of barriers to employment and these can contribute to low employment aspirations. In the DWP study all those who were looking for a job or a new job to replace their current job, if they were employed, were asked about barriers to the labour market. Table 5 shows that the largest proportion of respondents identified English language and literacy as the main barrier. However, lack of UK work experience was mentioned as the main barrier by nearly one-fifth of refugees and a barrier by 42 per cent. Other barriers mentioned most often were no qualifications, unfamiliarity with the UK system and employer discrimination.

Table 5 Barriers to labour market participation (Bloch 2002b)

	Main barrier (%)	*All barriers (%)*
English language/literacy	30	48
Lack of UK work experience	19	42
No qualifications	7	25
Immigration status or awaiting decision	6	10
Employer discrimination	5	21
Qualifications not recognised	5	12
Unfamiliarity with the UK system	5	24
Lack of information	5	17
Health problems	4	8
Age	3	5
Lack of childcare	3	9
Lack of work in area	2	7
Don't know	2	3
Not ready to work	1	4
No demand for skills	1	2
Lack of confidence	1	7
Lack of time	1	1
None	1	1

Base number: 149

There were some differences between groups in terms of the barriers they viewed as preventing them from getting access to the labour market or to a different job. Lack of familiarity with the UK system was mentioned as a barrier more often by those who had been in the UK for less than five years (28 per cent) than by those who had been in the UK for five years or more (14 per cent). Employer discrimination was also mentioned more often by those who had been in the UK for more than five years (36 per cent) than by those in the UK less than five years (13 per cent).

Research with refugee doctors has found discrimination at every level in the NHS as well as structural barriers that for many prevented access to their chosen

profession (Stewart, 2003). A system of penalty fines was introduced under the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act for employers hiring staff without the appropriate documentation. This adds an additional structural barrier as it can make some employers reluctant to employ refugees because of the burden of checking this information or because they are concerned that they might be in breach of the legislation (Brophy *et al* 1998, Refugee Council 1999).

One way of counteracting employer discrimination has been through self-employment (Metcalf *et al* 1997, Ho and Henderson 1999, Valtonen 1999). However, refugees face barriers setting up their own businesses, as this requires access to advice, capital and bank accounts, all of which can be problematic. The combination of barriers means that refugees experience low levels of labour market participation and for the most part are unable to use their pre-migration skills and experiences in the UK economy.

Table 1 showed the range of jobs that refugees had been engaged in prior to coming to the UK. These jobs included some skills that could be transferred to the UK as well as others that were more location specific. Respondents in the DWP study who were either working or looking for work were asked whether they had any skills which they had been unable to use in a paid job in the UK. Thirty-seven per cent of those who were working and 38 per cent of those who were not working said that they did have skills that they had been unable to use. The unused skills varied but it was striking that those with professional skills did not, for the most part, identify them as unused resources. For example, only four people said that they had teaching skills that they had been unable to use even though 20 respondents had been teachers before coming to the UK.

Given the lack of personal recognition of skills, it is not surprising that employment aspirations were low among refugees. Job aspirations were a greater reflection of refugee employment in the UK than in the country of origin. For example, people with degrees were looking for work in administration and those with A' levels or their equivalents were looking for work in shops. Table 6 shows that 15 per cent of respondents said that they were looking for any job. Other research has found a similar trend with refugees with professional qualifications and work experience looking for work that would downgrade them occupationally. These findings are supported by other studies and are shown to be partially determined by language skills but also to be a function of low expectation, based on the observation of earlier cohorts of refugees (Bloch 2002a, Colic-Peisker 2003).

Table 6 Type of work sought (Bloch 2002b)

	Percentages
Shop assistant/cashier work	19
Anything	15
Factory/dressmaking	13
Administration/clerical/office	6
Construction/building/decorating	6
Teaching	6
Nursing	4
Catering (including waiter, fast food chef and porter)	4
Social worker	3
Driver	3
Mechanic	2
Engineer	2
Security officer	2
Interpreter/translator	2
IT	2
Electrician/electronics	1
Carpenter	1
Hotel/housekeeper	1
Advice worker	1
Photographer	1
Accountancy	1
Shop manager	1
Quantity surveyor	1
Legal representative	1
Hairdresser	1
'Anything to do with medicine'	1
Total number	**100**

Missing: 4

Implications for policy

The data presented in this paper demonstrates that refugees experience high levels of unemployment and that there are a number of structural and personal characteristics that contribute to their low levels of economic activity. Some of the barriers require a change in government policy while others require some rethinking of local strategies and resource allocations.

The long-term impact on labour market participation on future economic activity caused by an initial period of unemployment or inactivity and the deskilling of refugees who arrive with professional qualifications has been emphasised. Allowing asylum seekers to work and access employment services on arrival would be the obvious solution to this problem and one that is supported by the evidence in this paper. However, it is recognised that such a radical deviation from the direction of recent policy is unlikely and so the remainder of this paper works within the current framework of labour market access, that is it is restricted to those who have received a positive decision on their case.

Current approaches

Recognising some of the issues identified in this paper, policy makers across a range of government departments have devised a number of new strategies aimed at getting refugees into the labour market. These stakeholders include the National Refugee Integration Forum (Home Office), the DWP and Jobcentre Plus. The Home Office has a strand of funding for projects concerned with refugee integration. The DWP (2003) has laid out its key strategies for helping refugees into the labour market in its document *Working to Rebuild Lives*. Jobcentre Plus is developing an operational framework document that will recommend how to improve access to and services for refugees. Refugees become eligible for these services once they have received a positive decision on their case.

DWP are currently working with Jobcentre Plus on two pilot projects. The first pilot is based in London and aims to provide a holistic service to refugees in the areas of welfare, housing and employment assistance. The second is an ESOL prototype pilot project that is exploring how best to deliver the ESOL curriculum within the context of Work Based Learning for Adults. The evaluation of these projects has not yet been completed and unfortunately it is not possible to report on their findings.

Key priorities that have emerged and are being considered include information collection, information sharing and an integrated approach between different departments and sectors. Other more practical measures have already been identified and include more ESOL classes and interpreters for those using Jobcentre Plus, as well as assistance with opening bank accounts, obtaining national insurance numbers and the recognition of qualifications. While the ideas underpinning current initiatives contain very useful developments to get refugees into work, in reality there is much ground to make up in order for refugees to

even draw level with the wider ethnic minority population. The analysis in the remainder of this paper suggests that many of these problems stem from the tension between the competing objectives across government departments that were alluded to in the opening section of the report. This also has implications for the timing of particular policy interventions.

While many of the key stakeholders with a policy interest in this area have acknowledged the importance of refugee access to the labour market and have taken several steps to improve access, there remain several ways in which policy could be made more effective. These changes need to include a more integrated, holistic approach to refugee employment, improved and more nuanced policy strategies and better targeted service delivery. This paper suggests that better policy intervention in this area can only be achieved through *integrated, early, intensive* and *targeted* measures.

Integrated approaches to integration

The centrality of labour market participation to the success of refugee social and economic integration within the country of asylum points to the need for an integrated approach.

Holistic services

Given that some of the barriers refugees face in gaining employment stem from non-employment related aspects of their lives, it is important that employment services are part of a holistic package that includes welfare, health, housing and other key services. An extension of the current pilot project, based on its evaluation, would be a very positive step.

There needs to be effective communication between relevant statutory and refugee-specific agencies. For example, for asylum seekers whose claims are accepted, the transition from agencies such as NASS to agencies such as Jobcentre Plus needs to be seamless. There is scope to increase the effectiveness of statutory employment services to refugees by working more closely with refugee community organisations.

One strategy that has been successfully used by some local authorities and the Benefits Agency (BA) has been outreach work carried out in community-based organisations and/or centrally-based 'one stop shops', using interpreters where needed. Though resource intensive, it helps to ensure that refugees have information about statutory employment services and can effectively access services, including training provision.

A focus on individual employability as well as systemic shortcomings

Strategies should focus on the employability of individuals as well as systemic measures to overcome both personal and structural barriers. Employment strategies like language training, local work experience and information need to be developed alongside systemic responses such as qualification recognition, addressing discrimination from prospective employers and improving service delivery.

Setting strategies within broader context of ethnic minority participation

There are some commonalties between the needs of refugees and other ethnic minority communities. Increasing refugees' participation in the labour market will involve overcoming some of the same challenges to raising participation as with other ethnic minority communities. If ethnic minorities in the UK face an 'ethnic penalty', then it could be said that refugees often experience an 'ethnic penalty plus'. There are important lessons to be learnt from a growing literature on ethnic minority participation in the economy, some of which should be incorporated into strategies for refugee employment.

Better information collection and sharing

Information about the profile and needs of different communities in different localities should be collected in order to ensure the formulation of appropriate policy responses. It is likely that such evidence-based strategies will need to be continuous and flexible to meet changing needs. The collection of data will involve collaborations between local authorities, NGOs and community organisations.

Information also needs to reach refugees in an accessible and culturally appropriate form. Information needs vary depending on first language and English language literacy as well as by cultural preferences for oral or written information formats. Again, advice about information provision can be obtained through the creation and development of more effective information networks to link community organisations, the voluntary sector and service providers.

In addition, links between English language providers, training providers and employers should be developed to ensure a greater likelihood of progression, as this is an area where refugees experience difficulties.

Recognition of diversity

Recognition of diversity between and within communities needs to be explored in relation to service provision. Agencies need to consult and work with refugee communities to ensure that the services they provide are appropriate and are reaching the most isolated groups. Particular work needs to take place in the dispersal areas where service providers have less experience and knowledge about the needs of diverse communities.

Services also need to recognise the diversity of skills, qualifications, literacy levels, English language skills and pre-migration employment experiences that refugees bring and provide services at different levels to reflect the diversity of need.

Mainstreaming gender sensitivity

It is clear that, as a group, women face considerable challenges in accessing the labour market and employment services. The strength of association between gender and employment in the DWP study was second only to English language skills. Moreover, the lack of English language among some refugee women and

their relative lack of participation in language courses make it important to target service provision to the needs of women. Yet, public policy on refugees sometimes fails to recognise the role of gender in shaping experiences, needs and therefore outcomes.

ESOL provision

The evidence presented in this paper indicates that English language skills are key to labour market participation. To increase the likelihood of employment, English language provision needs to be better targeted to reach excluded groups, offer more support such as childcare to enable completion of courses, and should be more orientated towards professional or workplace competency. There is also a need to link ESOL with specific workplace initiatives.

ESOL provision needs to be extended to all refugees and needs to be of the highest quality. At present there is variation in contact hours, the length of courses, service providers, assessment prior to starting a course to ensure that people are studying at the right level, child care provision and help with travel costs. There is little or no co-ordination or collaboration between ESOL providers, therefore the quality, provision and support varies considerably.

Early provision

Given the positive impacts of English language skills and the negative impacts of unemployment, the provision of language training as early as possible is critical.

Intensive provision

Language training is likely to be more effective if carried out intensively. However, this will mean that refugees enrolled in Jobcentre Plus programmes will need to be exempt from limits on non-work related activities. To be effective, any increase in the level or intensity of provision will need to be complemented with better child care provision to help alleviate non-completion by women with child care responsibilities.

Work-related provision

Any ESOL provision is likely to be more effective in increasing refugee employability if it is specifically focused on work-related language skills rather than, say, on fulfilling broader objectives relating to citizenship.[4] Such dedicated work-related provision is likely to be more attractive to potential participants, more effective in securing employment (especially amongst those with previous qualifications) and may still result in the sorts of language skills that fulfil broader objectives.

Refugees can lack the necessary technical English language for some types of employment or have difficulties passing the professional linguistic assessments such as those required for doctors (Stewart 2003). English classes that are directly related to the needs of particular areas of employment and are therefore adapted to the needs of specific work places could help to ensure that refugees are able to use their pre-migration skills.

One ESOL initiative that has been successful in helping refugee nurses progress into the workplace, is a two-year project in East London aimed at improving the employability of 46 overseas qualified nurses, almost three-quarters of whom were refugees. The evaluation of this project confirms that integrating work-based ESOL provision and training has positive outcomes for labour market participation (Bird 2003). The language and communication skills most valued by most participants were those which were integrated with nursing content (for example, real nursing discourse and conventions).

Lessons from the DWP pilot project in delivering the new ESOL curriculum in the work context within Work Based Learning for Adults should inform future policy. Initiatives such as the posting of ESOL specialists in designated job centres to assess language and training needs may also be worth exploring.

Employment support

Ensuring that refugees fulfil their potential and enter employment that is appropriate to their skills benefits not just refugees themselves but society as a whole. As a result, employment support strategies need to focus not just on reducing unemployment, but also on the level and type of employment undertaken by refugees, as this currently tends to be very low and lacking in progression. This is one of the contradictions within employment services where the priority is to get people into jobs even if the jobs do not reflect skills and lack opportunities for progression. Refugees require support in obtaining the right kind of training and employment to ensure that they do not remain in casual or entry level jobs.

Better qualification recognition

The high number of refugees with valuable skills and qualifications who are unemployed or under-employed highlights the need for a more effective system of qualification recognition. A more co-ordinated strategy to assist with transfer of overseas qualification, provision of replacement documentation and 'top-up' training to meet local requirements would overcome some of the structural barriers that prevent employment. Such a strategy may be more effective if done in an integrated fashion. There is also a critical need to disseminate information to refugees about the potential to draw on previous qualifications and where to access help.

More effective training provision

Evidence from the DWP study suggests that respondents who had received some form of training in the UK were the most likely to be in employment. Where training results in an accredited UK qualification and improved language skills where needed, the possible benefits are compounded. Likewise, if such training is designed to 'top-up' previous qualifications where appropriate, it is also likely to improve the quality of refugee employment. This assistance to bridge the gaps between qualifications would ensure that refugees are able to pursue work in their chosen profession more quickly, thereby minimising the potential for deskilling.

Take-up of statutory training is very low among refugees, despite a large demand for training. Again, barriers include a lack of English language skills and the need to learn English before participating in training, lack of information about training and childcare commitments. These barriers could be reduced by a more integrated approach to information provision and service provision.

Employment services and voluntary work

As permission to work is unlikely to be given to asylum seekers, other strategies should be considered during the determination period. These could include training including work-based ESOL, work experience and participation in voluntary work that might include a formal skill exchange scheme like TimeBank[5]. There is evidence to suggest that refugees who volunteer in community organisations gain invaluable skills and experience that are then transferable to paid employment.

These sorts of 'bridging' measures would be a way to prevent the complete withdrawal of asylum seekers while their claims are being processed. It would also mean that those who received a positive decision on their case would be better prepared to enter the labour market and it would reduce the likelihood of deskilling among professionals. In cases where asylum seekers did not receive a positive decision on their case, the skills they had obtained in the UK through language learning, employment training or voluntary work could contribute to development in their country of origin.

An integrated solution?

An integrated solution could be provided by a **'one stop shop'** that would facilitate holistic service provision for refugees seeking to enter the labour market. Such a service need not replace existing provision but would instead act as an initial point-of-call for refugees.

The key to the success of such an initiative would be effective individual case management: an assessment of the specific needs that an individual may have and outcomes tailored to meet those needs.

Such a service could:

- provide direct employment-related services such as English language assessment, assistance with qualification recognition, job-seeking advice, and career counselling, as well as acting as a clearing-house for volunteering and training schemes;

- advise refugees on how to address all the barriers (such as child-care) that may prevent access to ESOL provision, training, and employment;

- provide some assessment and volunteering experience even to those whose asylum claims are still being processed;

- initiate an accreditation system for refugees who volunteer in community organisations, undertake training or carry out work-experience to 'top-up' existing qualifications where overseas qualifications are not recognised immediately or fully;

- work closely with local employers and voluntary organisations to design specific on-the-job training schemes to help individual refugees, perhaps with incentives (such as tax benefits) to potential employers;

- be best located within the Jobcentre Plus network; and

- be delivered through a competitive tendering process, perhaps by non-governmental agencies, but with Government funding .

An example from overseas that goes someway towards achieving this is the Australian government's Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS). The IHSS provides newly-arrived refugees and humanitarian entrants with intensive, on-arrival assistance, with IHSS services later integrated with other government-funded integration services and mainstream services. There may also be scope to streamline services to be provided for the UK's resettlement quota entrants with non-resettlement refugees.

Seminar participants

Name	*Organisation*
Jasmine Ali	London Asylum Seekers Consortium
Alice Bloch	City University
Heaven Crawley	ippr
Bernard Crick	Home Office
Susi Dennison	Treasury
Stephanie Dickinson	Department for Work and Pensions
Andy Gregg	Refugee Action
Carla Hawkes	Home Office
Francesca Hopwood	ippr
Anja Huebner	International Organisation for Migration
Jennifer Hurstfield	Institute for Employment
Vaughan Jones	PRAXIS
Carmel Kerr	Home Office
Kate Mavor	Language Line
Rachel Nicholls	Jobcentre Plus
Bharti Patel	Refugee Council
Peter Robinson	ippr
Azar Sheibani	Refugee Assessment and Guidance Unit, LMU
Nicola Smith	Cabinet Office
Danny Sriskandarajah	ippr
Patrick Wintour	Employability Forum
Deng Yai	Refugee Council
Wondimu Yohannes	Refugee Action

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Endnotes

[1] In this paper the term refugee is used to describe forced migrants with a range of different immigration statuses – Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR), Humanitarian Protection (HP), Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) and naturalised EU citizens – except where differences in terms of rights and experiences necessitate different statuses to be specified.

[2] English language standard was self-assessed

[3] The data should be interpreted with caution due to the very small numbers of those who were working and did not choose the locality where they were living

[4] While the emphasis on early and widely available ESOL provision within the 'Life in the UK' advisory group (Crick *et al* 2003) are reinforced by observations made in this paper, it is clear that work-related content should take priority over civic content where necessary in the short-term.

[5] TimeBank is a national volunteering campaign where people give time through voluntary work. TimeBank appeals to people with skills that are in demand but are not, for a variety of reasons, using them in paid employment.