THE REFUGEE AND ASYLUM-SEEKER EXPERIENCES, TRUST, AND CONFIDENCE WITH POLICE SCOTLAND

Dr Nicole Vidal – Queen Margaret University

Bryony Nisbet – Queen Margaret University

Police Scotland, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) and the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) joined together to provide significant funding for projects and activities which meet genuine evidence gaps and support Police Scotland to further contact and engagement with all elements of our communities in Scotland, but particularly those groups which are seldom heard.

The term 'seldom-heard groups' refers to under-represented people who may be less likely to engage with Police for a variety reasons (such as race, religion, sexuality, disability, age, and communities isolated through geography or deprivation). A focus on understanding seldom heard groups will place more emphasis on Police Scotland and our collaborators to connect with these communities ensuring their voices are heard; their needs are met; and their perspectives are understood.

Published April 2023

Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

The Refugee and asylum-seeker experiences, trust, and confidence with Police Scotland

Executive summary

Project Summary:

This study builds an understanding of the quantity and quality of refugees' social networks, and their role in influencing public perceptions and engagement with the police. It applies the Social Connections Mapping Tool (SCMT) methodology, combined with in-depth interviews with refugees, asylum-seekers, police personnel, and associated services to identify refugee and asylum-seeker experiences, trust and confidence with Police Scotland and associated services.

Findings:

- *Visibility, trust & confidence:* Some participants had limited knowledge of Police Scotland or how to contact them. Confidence in Police Scotland is good despite negative experiences in their countries of origin. Most agreed increased police visibility is important.

- **Resources & Engagement:** Officers recognised the importance of engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers but highlighted the challenge of operational demands and resourcing.

- **Language:** Limited English language makes engaging with the police difficult, and ineffective interpretation and translation impacts on trust and confidence in the service. Police personnel agreed that language barriers can increase call and response times.

- **Gender**: Efforts are being made to improve the gender imbalance in the police workforce.

- **Racism and hate crime:** There was a general concern surrounding racism both at the hands of the community and the police, exacerbated by anecdotal accounts from others.

Recommendations:

- Engage with refugees and asylum-seekers to gain familiarity of their social networks.

- Increase community support and empower communities to develop solutions to problems.

- Utilise police officers' cultural insights to assist with understanding community issues.

- Equip all officers with community policing information and resources (e.g. cultural awareness training, working with interpreters, agreeing methods to support inclusion).

- Enlist support of refugee-related organisations, local community organisations and/or faith-based organisations; these can serve as a bridge between the police and communities.

- Work with the wider community to encourage knowledge sharing and mutual understanding of people's needs and expectations from police.

- Implement structured information sessions aimed to raise awareness of laws in Scotland.

- Work with offenders to identify effective crime prevention strategies and emerging threats.

- Counteract casual hostility and racism to benefit refugees' health and productivity.

Contents

Title

The Refugee and asylum-seeker experiences, trust, and confidence with Police Scotland

1. Project Background

This study acknowledges the valuable role of Police Scotland and its commitment to community safety, wellbeing and its foundation of positive community relations and policing by consent. Extensive research (Baillot et al. 2020; Strang and Ager 2010), notes that refugees and asylum-seekers are especially vulnerable to exclusion from social and public services. While policing services are indispensable for improving the safety and wellbeing of persons, localities and communities in Scotland, refugees and asylum-seekers are sometimes out of reach due to several intersecting individual, community, cultural and systemic barriers. Previous research conducted by Strang and Quinn (2019) with refugees and asylum-seekers has emphasised the importance of building community connections and trust. However, refugees and asylum-seekers may often feel a lack of trust or reluctance to access police services, perhaps due to limited understanding of the role of policing services in the UK exacerbated by previous experiences of oppressive or abusive agencies of state.

This study builds an understanding of the quantity and quality of refugees' social networks and their role in influencing public perceptions and engagement with the police. It applies the Social Connections Mapping Tool (SCMT) methodology, developed by colleagues at the Institute for Global Health and Development (IGHD), combined with in-depth interviews with refugees, asylumseekers, police personnel, and associated services to identify refugee and asylum-seeker experiences, trust and confidence with Police Scotland, and the associated structures and systems that work alongside Police Scotland (e.g. emergency services, third sector organisations, mental health services, local council services, etc.).

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand the different people and organisations that are most helpful to refugees and asylum-seekers when they have problems within their new communities. This is to aid understanding about the social connections that support the people who have had to move in order to stay safe. Specifically, this study aims to build an understanding of the quantity and quality of refugees' social networks and their role in influencing engagement with the police.

Exploring connections between police and refugees and asylum-seekers is often an overlooked and underutilised aspect in understanding and improving interactions and trust between communities, organisations, structures and systems. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the promotion of accessible and effective engagement between the police, refugees and asylum-seekers by meeting the following research questions and objectives:

Research questions:

•   Who are the people and organisations that refugees and asylum-seekers reach out to for help?

•   What is the role of policing and related services in their social networks?

•   What are the barriers hindering refugees and asylum-seekers from accessing and engaging with Police Scotland and associated services? and

•   What are the barriers hindering police personnel from effectively and meaningfully engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers?

1. Literature Review

2.1 Refugees and asylum-seekers in Scotland

Even though the UK as a whole only hosts 135,912 refugees, 83,489 pending asylum cases and 3,968 stateless persons in the UK (UNHCR 2022), Scotland has a long history of welcoming a high percentage of those refugees and asylum-seekers. The vast majority of refugees – 4 out of 5 – stay in their region of displacement, and consequently are hosted by low-income countries (UNHCR 2019). In 2011, the Scottish Refugee Council estimated that there were about 20,000 refugees, asylum-seekers and other individuals of concern to the UNHCR in Scotland (Shisheva et al. 2013). Since 2015, over 3000 individuals have been resettled throughout the 32 local authority areas of Scotland through the UK Government resettlement programme in collaboration with UNHCR. However, the number of refugees resettled in Scotland during the two years of the COVID-19 pandemic dropped to less than one-fifth of the average taken in the previous three years.

All refugees and asylum-seekers in Scotland are supported by the New Scots Strategy (Scottish Government 2018a). The definition of refugees according to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR 1951, p.14) is:

"A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

Asylum-seekers refer to those who flee their home country and make an application for asylum in another country. For now, in the UK, asylum-seekers have the legal right to stay in the country while they wait for a decision from the authorities. According to UNHCR (2022) figures, in 2021, the UK received 48,540 asylum applications from main applicants only. This is 63% more than the previous year and the highest number for almost two decades. This is likely linked in part to the easing of global travel restrictions that were in place due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and to a sharp increase in small boat arrivals to the UK, of which almost all attempt to claim asylum.

The number of people in the UK waiting for an initial decision on their asylum claim are currently at a record high. According to Home Office (2020) Statistics gathered for the year ending 2020, there were 60,548 people awaiting an outcome, most for over 6 months (Refugee Council 2020). Some applicants wait for more than 2 years for an outcome. During the long process of seeking asylum, the asylum application may be withdrawn or refused. Refusals can be appealed but in recent years almost 40% of appeals have resulted in refusals being overturned (Refugee Council 2021). Under the Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999, the UK Government's dispersal policy was created allowing for the distribution of people applying for asylum to be housed in local authority areas across the UK whilst their claim is being processed. Historically, Glasgow has been the only asylum 'dispersal' area in Scotland. However, since the Afghanistan Resettlement Scheme and the war in Ukraine, refugees and asylum-seekers are now

being accepted into more local authority areas, with 16 local authorities already resettling refugees from Afghanistan. Whilst awaiting an outcome, asylum-seekers and their dependants do not have recourse to public funds, and the majority of asylum-seekers do not have the right to work in the United Kingdom. Therefore, they must rely on state support. Whilst housing is provided, asylum-seekers cannot choose where it is, and it is often 'hard to let' properties which Council tenants do not want to live in. Cash support is available, and is currently set at £39.63 per person, per week, which makes it £5.64 a day for food, sanitation, travel and clothing (Home Office 2020).

An arguably positive decision to the claim of asylum results in either a grant of protection or other leave to remain. A person is granted leave to remain either on discretionary grounds or if they are unaccompanied refugee children. A grant of protection is provided in response to a successful claim for asylum or for humanitarian protection. If the claim is granted by the UK government, the person will then become a refugee and will be granted refugee status and five years' leave to remain in the UK. However, they would then have 28 days to vacate their government granted temporary accommodation, apply for mainstream benefits and secure new accommodation. The extent and impact of these issues which often result in a period of destitution have been documented widely (Christie and Baillot 2020; Strang et al. 2016; Strang et al. 2017; Doyle 2014).

Protection is also granted to applicants under a number of different UK resettlement schemes. Recent resettlement schemes include the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS) for Syrians and the Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS) for children affected by armed conflict in the Middle East. Others include the Gateway and Mandate programmes as well as the Dubs scheme, community sponsorship scheme, the Afghanistan resettlement scheme (ACRS) and the Ukraine resettlement scheme. The current UK Government's VPRS and VCRS, of which Scotland and its Local Authorities have played a leading role, have supported over 3,000 people to resettle throughout the nation since 2015 (Scottish Refugee Council 2020a). Under the ACRS, The UK Government has aimed to resettle more than 5,000 people the first year, and up to 20,000 over the coming years. People arriving through resettlement are recognised by the UK Government as refugees and thus have refugee status on arrival and access to mainstream benefits and services (Christie and Baillot 2020). Provision of support differ across these different refugee groups, with the most comprehensive support package available to refugees settled under the VPRS and VCRS schemes.

2.3 Refugee and asylum-seeker integration, social connections, and wellbeing

Much of the literature on immigrant and refugee mental health has focused on the interconnectedness of loss, trauma, depression, and anxiety (Hameed et al. 2018). Studies of postmigration refugees have indicated that many witnessed and/or experienced a high number of traumatic events, including torture and loss of loved ones. Indeed, new losses may be experienced during the adjustment to a new life such as more ambiguous losses, like the loss of social connections, changes to financial status and in many cases, poverty, or the erosion of one's identity. As a result, some people may experience emotional difficulties including post-traumatic stress, depression, and anxiety, which hinder their efforts at settlement and integration (amongst also experiencing the hostile and changing government policy environment). As evidenced by one such study in the UK, specifically, those who had higher levels of traumatic experience reported greater emotional distress, which in turn was associated with difficulty in adapting, finding separation from family very difficult, reduced social support, and loss of culture and support (Carswell et al. 2009). Furthermore, this anxiety is often related to a number of uncertainties. These can relate to residency and ability to positively settle in the new country, difficulties accessing health and social care and benefits, poverty, lack of language support, difficulties finding employment or having no right to work, concerns about the families in their home countries and about separation from them, loss of culture and support including loneliness, isolation, and access to familiar foods.

The asylum process has also been subject to criticism for increasing rather than easing the emotional distress experienced by asylum-seekers (Independent Asylum Commission 2008). Some of the

concerns include the use of detention, poor decision-making on asylum claims and difficulties accessing support. More recently there has also been criticism around the lack of accountability for poor treatment of asylum-seekers, and there have been calls to improve the process. In Scotland, one of the key concerns focuses on the limited authority and decision-making power of local authorities over the accommodation and support provided to asylum-seekers. The aforementioned points exemplify why recent studies, such as Quinn et al. (2011) indicate a worsening of emotional distress post-migration, attributed to asylum-seeking and integration experiences in the UK as well as lack of family and support systems (Strang and Quinn 2019).

Taking a multi-disciplinary and holistic approach to integration, the Indicators of Integration framework identifies ten domains through which to understand and analyse the process of refugee integration, distributed across four dimensions of markers and means, social connections, facilitators and foundation (Ager and Strang 2008). In 2019, the Home Office together with partner academics and practitioners produced an expanded version of the Indicators of Integration framework (UK Government 2019).

Figure 1: Indicators of Integration framework

As the framework demonstrates, social connections emerge as a crucial component of the integration process. The Indicators of Integration framework elaborates three key types of social connection: links, bridges, and bonds. Taken together they recognise the importance of relationships to our understanding of the integration process and elaborate different kinds of relationships that contribute to integration. Furthermore, they emphasise the importance of relationships between people as key to both the definition and achievement of integration. The Indicators of Integration (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019) framework draws on social capital theory and models of social exclusion to elaborate the types of connections that are crucial for wellbeing (Strang and Quinn 2019):

- Bonds (with people who share a sense of identity) – for emotional support and the sharing of informal local knowledge;

- Bridges (with people who have access to and can exchange different resources) – for access to services and the exchange of resources beyond those available from other people 'like' me.

- Links (with the structures and governance of society at large) – for access to rights and contributing to the shaping of society.

Social interactions such as seeing loved ones, meeting friends, colleagues, and acquaintances, engaging in the community, taking part in community activities, and developing networks with a wider group of people in the community, mitigate against social isolation and loneliness (BMA 2020).

Feelings of social isolation and loneliness have been further exacerbated by the COVID-19 lockdown measures in 2020-2021 as identified by Vidal et al. (2021). As the lockdowns disrupted the opportunity to build connections and networks, relationships, and social interactions, they also disrupted the many ways in which asylum-seekers and refugees come to know – and be known to – people in their local communities. Deprived of these opportunities, many reported feeling alone and were concerned that they might be (yet once again) forgotten, neglected or deprioritised in the new crisis. At the same time, difficulties with accessing the internet and mobile data meant that several asylum-seekers and refugees in the study also struggled to keep contact and connection with family and friends during the lockdowns.

2.3 Police, refugees, and asylum-seeker interaction in the UK

The British Red Cross (2019) reports that the impact of hate crime on refugees and asylum-seekers is likely to be disproportionately high due to their experiences in their country of origin, their journey to the UK and their current circumstances. As previously mentioned, most refugees and asylum- seekers will often be facing isolation and loneliness, and some may experience poor mental health. Language barriers create difficulties for people understanding what is happening to them when a hate crime occurs, and in reporting the crimes. Having likely faced persecution or the risk or persecution in their home countries; feeling safe and secure will often be a priority. Asylum-seekers who have been fully refused are particularly vulnerable as their support for accommodation and financial aid is stopped and they may likely end up destitute.

The findings from the British Red Cross (2019) indicate that sadly many refugees and asylum-seekers are likely to face hate crime at some point in the UK which could range from verbal abuse to physical assault. British Red Cross staff also reported concerns that incidents of hate crime are under reported, even to Red Cross, and the scale of the problem could be much larger. Several barriers were identified, such as:

- Fear of authority/police based on experiences in country of origin;

- Lack of confidence to express oneself; and

- Fear of negative repercussions of reporting hate crime on their immigration status or asylum claim.

Other barriers mentioned were lack of awareness of what hate crime is and how to report and to a lesser extent, lack of confidence in the agencies involved to respond positively or fear of authority/police based on negative experiences of police in the UK and in countries of origin.

Indeed, exploring connections between police and refugees and asylumseekers is often overlooked. However, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) (2001) in England explained:

"…the Police Service has been presented with a major task of ensuring that, while their applications are being processed, asylum-seekers are afforded the same rights and protections as any other member of our society" (p.12).

This report looks at police interaction with asylum-seekers and refugees as victims of crime, offenders or witnesses and recognises that asylum-seekers, in particular, are among the most vulnerable members of society. Some people will be reluctant to report being the victims of crime, which may be

related to their immigration status or fears of those in authority. Crimes especially affecting refugees and asylum-seekers include, but are not limited to racism and violence, trafficking, and exploitation in the sex trade. Key recommendations were: to be mindful of cultural sensitivities, trauma and re-traumatisation in their interactions, that some people may have limited understanding of the criminal justice system, and to make greater use of interpreters..

2. Methods

3.1 Overview

To enhance our understanding of interactions between refugees and asylumseekers with Police Scotland and associated services, this project sought to develop a research design that would examine the lived experiences of both cohorts. To do so, the project and study plan comprised five main components:

1) Participatory Social Connections Mapping Workshop with members of the Scottish Police: This workshop aimed to introduce the project to all participating policing staff and identify policing resources. It provided an opportunity to present and discuss the rationale, outline plan, and implications of the project as well as to identify the social connections relevant to their interactions with refugees and asylum-seekers.

2) Participatory Social Connections Mapping Workshop with refugees and asylum-seekers: This workshop, which was co-led by Freedom from Torture, a third-sector partner providing specialist psychological support to refugees and asylum-seekers, provided an opportunity to identify social connections relevant to them and associated with police support.

3) Distribution of the Social Connections Mapping Tool (SCMT) online survey: The social connections elicited through the workshops informed the content of an online survey which aimed to probe the relationships between individual participants and their social connections.

4) Qualitative remote interviews: A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with refugees and asylum-seekers as well as personnel from Police Scotland and associated services to identify potential barriers to accessibility, enforcing safety, preventing crime and their experiences with police-refugee relations.

5) Development and delivery of a participatory knowledge exchange workshop with refugees, asylum-seekers and Police Scotland personnel (and associated services): This workshop provided a platform to share preliminary findings with members from both research cohorts. It emphasised person-centred communication strategies with the intention to maintain or improve trust, contact, and reciprocity between Police Scotland and refugees and asylum-seekers.

3.2 Ethical considerations

All research tools and activities were reviewed and approved by the Queen Margaret University (QMU) Ethics Committee including any arrangements necessary under COVID-19 pandemic guidelines. In keeping with COVID-19 precautionary measures, engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers across Scotland occurred remotely. Additional quality assurance and ethical issues were thus considered, largely concerning the consent process.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants of this study. For the SCMT online survey, a page confirming the participants' consent was required prior to continuing with the survey questions. For qualitative data, a detailed verbal description was read to the participants by the researcher at the start of each data collection activity (i.e. workshops and interviews). All participants were notified of their

right to decline participation or withdraw from the study at any stage without the need to provide an explanation. Assurance of their anonymity and confidentiality was explained and guaranteed both before and after each data collection activity. Further, as some of the issues discussed during the interviews or workshops may have been of a sensitive nature, participants were provided with contact details of an external network of support that they could approach at any time if needed. For example, one potential risk that was considered was whether participants would experience psychological stress from some of the discussions raised. Given the potential of raising sensitive topics such as experiences of hardship, it was important to be conscious of how to approach such issues during interviews in a way that would not cause emotional distress for the participants. This was managed by verbally assuring the participants that they were under no obligation to answer questions that they did not feel comfortable with and advising them that they could discontinue their participation at any time. Additional ethical considerations are discussed in regard to limitations of this research (Section 3.8).

3.3 Sampling

Respondents aged 18 and over were selected for participation with the aim to select an equal number of male and female respondents. These were determined using an opportunistic sampling frame, constrained by the finances and project duration as outlined in the research contract, with the aim to select respondents who cover the scope of the below criteria:

- Police Scotland and associated services: included all staff involved with community protection and support of refugees and asylum-seekers along with the wider communities of their jurisdictions (Police Scotland, emergency services, mental health services, local council services, etc.)

- Refugees and asylum-seekers: included a purposively selected cohort of refugees and asylum-seekers that aimed to cover the scope of experiences, trust, and confidence with Police Scotland and associated services such as the range of relevant social risk factors impacting accessibility of delivery of protection services.

3.4 Recruitment

All participants were recruited during the start-up workshops as well as through referrals from key contacts from both cohorts.

Most participants from the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort were recruited with support from Freedom from Torture who agreed to invite service users from their organisation to participate in this study.

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Social Connections Mapping Tool

Participants from the Police Scotland and associated services cohort joined an online workshop in January 2022. Six participants attended the workshop. The key aims of the workshop were to facilitate an open discussion amongst all attendees about their roles working in community policing and to develop a greater understanding of the people and organisations available to refugees and asylum-seekers should they need support or assistance for any incidents involving crime or community protection. To enable discussion, participants attending the workshop were asked a set of hypothetical questions based on scenarios relevant to potential police interactions, such as 'if the community in your jurisdiction experienced X event/crime, who would you refer them to for support?'. Three scenarios were introduced in turn:

- Refugees and asylum-seekers who have experienced terminated tenancy;

- Refugees and asylum-seekers who have experienced deep sadness or any other form of mental health episodes; and

- Refugees and asylum-seekers who have experienced theft.

A similar workshop was held with participants from the refugee and asylumseeker cohort. Similar to the Police Scotland workshop, the workshop with refugees and asylum-seekers was designed to elicit from the target cohort the people and organisations to whom they could turn if they experienced problems in their lives. Participants discussed three hypothetical scenarios which are explored sequentially and framed as follows – 'to whom would you or someone in your community speak or go to for help if':

- You, or someone you know, had experienced terminated tenancy;

- You, or someone you know, had experienced theft; and

- You, or someone you know, had experienced deep sadness or any other form of mental health episodes?

The resulting connections were mapped onto a virtual flowchart (Section 4.2).

The connections gathered through the workshops were distilled into a list of those deemed most important by refugees and asylum-seekers. The list was then used to populate the SCMT online survey which, for each connection, asks respondents:

- Have you had contact with this person or organisation in the last six months?

- How much do you trust this person or organisation to help you? And

- Have you had a chance to offer help or support to this person or organisation?

The online survey included a series of demographic questions aimed to inform participant profiles. Upon completing a short set of demographic questions, participants are asked whether they have interacted in the past six months with each of the connections identified and if these connections have reciprocally sought their help (i.e. benefited from them as well) in the same time period. These two questions serve to establish a sense of the frequency and reciprocity of interactions, helping to gain a sense of the salience of specific relationships. Participants were also asked to what extent they trust the connections identified, which helps the research team gain a better understanding of how comfortable they would feel to mobilise these relationships to benefit from the potential types of social capital they could generate. Seven refugees and asylum-seekers completed the SCMT online survey (four of whom gave consent to be contacted to participate in a qualitative research interview). The responses were compiled and used to inform the interview questions to identify levels of contact, trust, and reciprocity.

Findings from the workshops, including examples of the flowcharts, and the online survey, are detailed in the findings of this report.

3.5.2 Qualitative remote interviews

Between March and June 2022, seven asylum-seekers and refugees living in Scotland (both those granted asylum after arriving in Scotland and those on the resettlement scheme) were interviewed remotely to gain insight into their experiences and opinions of policing in Scotland. Four of these participants were contacted directly following completion of the SCMT online survey. The remaining three were referred to the research team by partners at Freedom from

Torture and one other refugee support service. Furthermore, ten members of Police Scotland and associated services were also interviewed during this time.

All interviews were conducted via Microsoft Teams or Zoom depending on participants' preferences and supported by an interpreter as needed. Interviews followed a semi-structured topic guide inclusive of informed consent and ranged from 40 to 90 minutes. The semi-structured topic guide along with other research tools were developed by our research team and refined as needed during each interview.

3.6 Data storage and management

Workshops and interviews were recorded with the participants' permission on one of two online applications depending on which online platform was used: 1) Microsoft Teams recording function; and 2) a transcribing application (Otter) which was uploaded to the data collectors' mobile phones (which had been provided by QMU) for the purposes of this research. Audio recordings and exported transcriptions from the online apps, were downloaded onto each respective data collector's password protected laptop and stored onto the research team's password-protected cloud-based Microsoft Teams file folder.

Audio recordings were deleted upon completion of the final report.

3.7 Data analysis

Quantitative and qualitative data analysis links the set of social connections and clarifies the interconnections of trust and confidence between refugees, asylumseekers, Police Scotland, and associated services.

SCMT data was analysed using the SCMT social connections outputs provided by the SCMT online survey app and Microsoft Excel. A thematic analysis framework and coding system based on Braun and Clarke (2006) was developed for analytic comparison of the context, mechanisms and processes of trust and confidence experienced by participants before, during, and after potential interaction with each respective cohort. Table 1 below provides a useful list developed by Braun and Clarke (2006) of the steps of thematic analysis. They note that these steps should not be viewed in a linear manner. Analysis is instead iterative, repeating steps as necessary.

Table 1: Phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.87)

Phase	Description of the process	
1	Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2	Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3	Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4	Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5	Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6	Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

3.8 Limitations

The thematic analysis approach used provided means to position refugees, asylum-seekers, police, and associated services at the centre, highlighting the issues most meaningful to them. In doing so, the researchers were conscious to employ recruitment and data collection techniques that paid close attention to building rapport with participants, bearing in mind precautionary restrictions to face-to-face contact. This process was not without limitations, particularly as all contact, including research interviews, occurred remotely and with the use of interpreters for the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort. To minimise translation inconsistencies for the latter, only interpreters working professionally for an interpreting agency were used and were sent a written briefing on interview format and purpose prior to each interview.

Whilst our partnerships with Freedom from Torture provided invaluable insights and access to research participants throughout the project, it does mean that our cohort of participants represent only those refugees and asylum-seekers who were in receipt of support from this or similar services. This therefore meant that clients taking part in the study might feel obliged to respond positively about Freedom from Torture or the other refugee support service involved. This was mitigated by reassuring participants that their responses would all be confidential and anonymous. Additionally, we note that the sample size of participants makes generalisation difficult. Our aim, however, was to approach this study as a review rather than generalisation, of the experiences of participants, and apply this to aid understanding of ways to contribute to the promotion of accessible and effective engagement between the police, refugees, and asylum-seekers.

In addition to technical issues, such as delays and disconnected calls, video interviewing posed a barrier to building rapport. Body language nuances may be missed and there is also the reduced ability

to offer comfort or reassurance to the participant when discussing distressing topics, each aspect of which may be compounded by cultural differences. This was mitigated through the use of "deep listening" techniques (Pavlicevic and Impey 2013) involving careful listening, probing, and explicitly checking understandings of what research participants were trying to convey whilst in dialogue with them. These methods ensured systematic examination of participants' stories in their own words and through their own interpretations of their experiences.

3. Findings

4.1 Participant profiles

A total of 13 refugees and asylum-seekers, all based in or around Glasgow and Edinburgh, participated in at least one of the data collection activities of this study. Six refugees and asylum-seekers participated in the SCMT workshop and seven completed the SCMT online survey. Four of the seven who completed the SCMT online survey gave consent to continue as an interview participant. Details of participants from the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort who participated in interviews are included in the table below (Table 2).

Table 2: Refugee and asylum-seeker participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Country of origin
Shanar	Female	Iraq
Sefu	Male	Somalia
Samy	Male	Democratic Republic of Congo
Ismalia	Female	Gambia
Malia	Female	Afghanistan
Fairuz	Female	Afghanistan
Amina	Female	Syria

Shanar, from Iraq, is a single mother with two children. One is in primary school and the other is in secondary school. In her words, they have a "nice, simple and normal life". She has been studying in college for two years but does not feel confident in her English language ability yet, although she does feel she is doing better than some others because she has basic communication skills. Shanar does not have any other family nearby, but she does speak to her sister back in her home country when possible. Shanar feels she has a comfortable routine for herself and her family. She goes to college four days a week and sometimes socialises with people from her classes. She and her children live in temporary accommodation which they have been in for a little over a year. She would like to move into permanent housing but is not sure if or when this will happen. Aside from her children, infrequent calls to her sister, and only some socialising with her classmates, Shanar does not interact with many other people.

Sefu, from Somalia, is in his late 30 to early 40s. He lives alone and has been in Scotland for less than five years. He feels a little bit confident with his language ability and would like to be more proficient. He has very few social connections in Scotland.

Samy is from the Democratic Republic of Congo. He has been living in Scotland for over 10 years. When he first arrived in the UK, he did not speak any English. Back then, he knew that he would not make any progress with his life if he didn't learn the language. He dedicated his first few years to studying English as much as he could and now he feels confident communicating. Samy recognises the difficulty many refugees face, particularly without knowing the language. He now works as a volunteer ambassador for refugees, providing assistance and communication support as needed.

Ismalia, from the Gambia, is in her late 30s to early 40s. She lives with other refugees as housemates. She has lived in Scotland for seven years. She has several social connections, including relatives who also live in Scotland. She is proficient and feels confident communicating in English.

Malia, from Afghanistan, has been in Scotland for less than one year. She has limited English language proficiency but has been taking classes to improve. She has met a few friends through the two local refugee support organisations that she is registered with. She values the organisations and the friends she has made through them.

Fairuz has been in Scotland for nearly one year. Originally from Afghanistan, she now lives in a house share with other refugees. She has limited English proficiency but is taking classes and hopes to improve soon.

Amina has been in Scotland for less than one year. She was a doctor in Syria.

Her husband is also a doctor and works while she stays home with the children. She has been able to make a few friends in Scotland through English and craft classes hosted by her local council.

Ten participants from the Police Scotland and associated services cohort were interviewed. Six of the ten also participated in the SCMT police workshop. Participants from this cohort included those involved with frontline community policing and those involved with protection of marginalised communities including refugees and asylum-seekers. One participant from this cohort is external to and unaffiliated with Police Scotland. Details of participants and their job roles from this cohort are not included in this report to protect anonymity (Table 3).

Table 3: Participants from Police Scotland and associated services cohort

Participant ID[1]	Department
P1-PSC	Community Policing
P2-PSC	Community Policing
P3-PSC	Local Problem-Solving Team, Police Scotland
P4-PSC	Equality and Diversity Unit
P5-PSC	Equality and Diversity Unit
P6-Ext*	Refugee and Asylum-seeker Support (*external to Police Scotland)
P7-PSC	Community Policing
P8-PSC	Equality and Diversity Unit
P9-PSC	Community Policing
P10-PSC	Community Policing

---

1 Participant ID numbers were allocated in order of interview with "P" referring to "participant". PSC refers to Police Scotland Cohort. P6 is included in this cohort but is external (Ext) to and unaffiliated with Police Scotland.

Findings from both cohorts are integrated and provided throughout the remainder of the report.

4.2 Social connections and integration

One of the central aims of this study was to map the people and organisations that refugees and asylum-seekers reach out to for help. The social connections mapping exercises included in the workshops and online survey, along with the research interviews, enabled discussions about the role each connection plays in people's lives and the ways that they encountered or came to build a relationship with each connection. This allowed the research team to develop an understanding of people's various social connections as well as to ascertain the role of policing and related services in their social networks.

The below figures provide examples of flowcharts generated from the workshops with refugees and asylum-seekers (Figure 2) and Police Scotland (Figure 3), respectively.

Figure 2: Flowchart generated from workshop with refugee and asylum-seeker cohort using the scenario: deep sadness

Figure 3: Flowchart generated from workshop with Police Scotland cohort using the scenario: theft
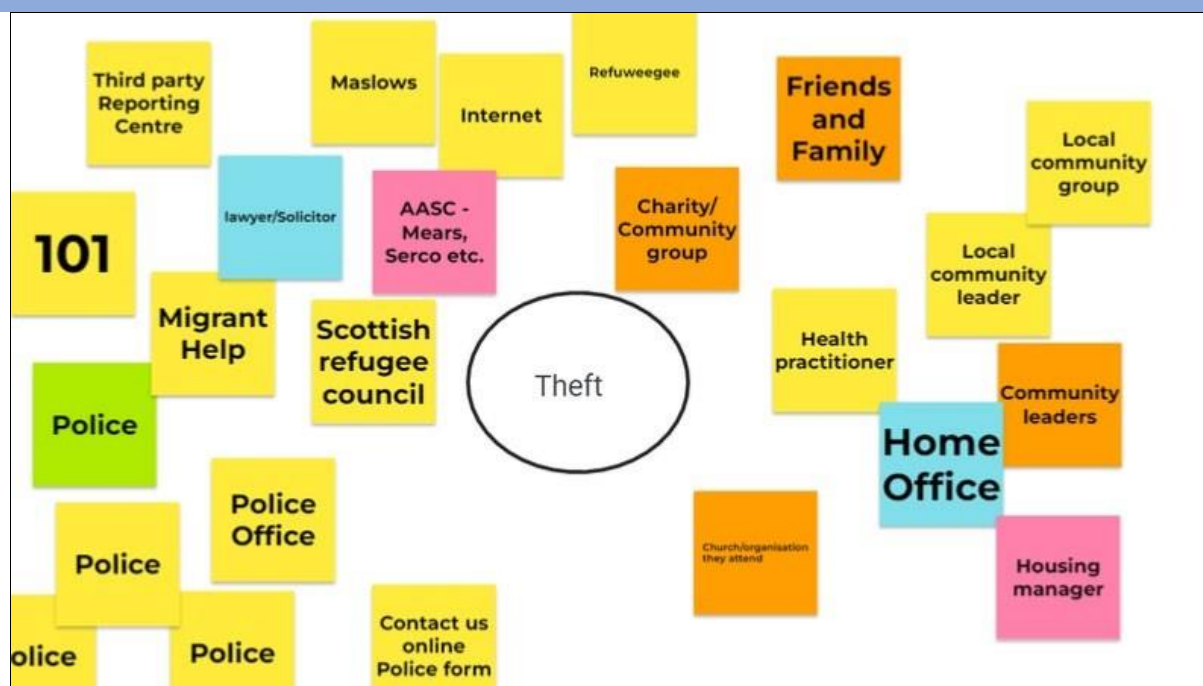
Both figures provide an illustration of some of the connections discussed. Figure 2 includes all the connections provided during one scenario of the online workshop with the cohort of refugees and asylum-seekers. The connections listed reflect all the connections that refugees and asylum-seekers would contact in the event they were experiencing deep sadness or other mental health issues.

From the refugee and asylum-seeker workshop, we ascertained that Freedom from Torture is a strong social connector and trusted contact for this cohort.

"If someone asked me about this organisation, I can say when I arrived in this country, in Glasgow, Scotland, I had lots of difficulties, but didn't know what I needed to do. I was in isolation. I had no way to communicate with other people. But once I registered with this organisation, I felt part of the society, and that has helped me and supported me. It is a really supportive organisation and makes me part of society actually and helped me be familiar with the society with the culture of the country. And I can say, I adjusted to the society very soon because of their support. This organisation is very supportive and can lead you very quick to be adjusted to the society in different aspects" (Malia).

We also noted that people generally have a positive view of Police Scotland, however, they had largely limited to no experiences with the police as well as a lack of understanding of the roles and structure of the police service.

Figure 3 includes the connections provided during a separate scenario of the online workshop with the Police Scotland and associated services cohort. The connections listed include people, services or organisations that refugees and asylum-seekers could contact or be referred to in the event they or somebody known to them experienced theft.

The workshop with the police showed that they are believed to be the first port of call for mental health related problems and call outs rather than crime prevention and intervention. This understandably takes up a significant amount of time and can potentially cause issues (i.e. delays accessing or receiving care) with refugees and asylum-seekers who need referrals to specialised services. From the full list of scenarios gathered during the workshops, the research team was able to review and refine the list to 22 connections (Table 4).

Table 4: List of connections

	Connections
	Connections
1	Freedom from Torture
2	Scottish Friends
3	Non-Scottish Friends
4	Neighbours
5	Family/friends living elsewhere in the UK
6	Family/friends living overseas
7	Local community organisations (e.g. Govan Community Project, Maryhill Integration Network, etc.)
8	Place of worship (e.g. church, mosque)
9	GP/doctor / health practitioner
10	Social Media groups (e.g. groups or contacts on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.)
11	Police
12	Staff at your children's school or nursery
13	Scottish Refugee Council
14	Migrant Help
15	Third-party reporting services (e.g. Amina, Bridges Programme, British Red Cross, etc.)
16	Lawyer/Solicitor/Immigration services
17	Maslow's Community Shop, Glasgow
18	Asylum Accommodation Provider (e.g. Mears Group, SERCO, etc.)
19	Refuweegee
20	Home Office
21	Housing Manager / Housing Association (e.g. Glasgow Housing Association, Loretto)
22	Community Leaders

Many of the connections generated were largely specific to the Glasgow region as this was where most workshop participants from the refugee and asylumseeker cohort were based. By asking specific questions about each of these identified connections, the online survey, enabled the research team to gain an understanding of how connected people were to these wider networks. The survey included questions designed with the following aims:

- To collect socio-demographic data on the participants (Table 5);

- To map the contact people have with the identified social connections (Figures 4, 5);

- To map the extent to which participants trust these specific social connections (Figure 6); and

- To map the extent to which these social relationships are reciprocal (i.e. the extent to which both sides of the relationship receive benefit from each other) (Figure 7).

Table 5: Participant demographic details gathered from SCMT online survey

What is your immigration status?	How confident are you when communicating in English?	How old are you?	What is your gender?	How would you describe your household where you live now?	How long have you lived in Scotland?
Asylumseeker	Fairly confident	35-44 years old	Man	I live alone	More than 10 years
Asylumseeker	Very confident	45-54 years old	Woman	I live with other adults who are not related to me	Longer than 5 years but less than 10 years
Asylumseeker	Moderately confident	35-44 years old	Woman	I live with my spouse / partner and one or more of my children	13 months – 2 years
Asylumseeker	A little bit confident	35-44 years old	Man	I live alone	Longer than 2 years but less than 5 years
Refugee	A little bit confident	35-44 years old	Woman	I live with my child / children	Longer than 2 years but less than 5 years
Refugee	A little bit confident	18-24 years old	Woman	I live with other adults who are not related to me	7-12 months
Refugee	Fairly confident	35-44 years old	Woman	I live with my child / children	Longer than 2 years but less than 5 years

Figure 4 below displays an example of a social connections map generated by the Social Connections Mapping Tool online survey app. This map displays all of the connections included in the online survey and reflects the levels of contact, trust, and reciprocity reported by one of the respondents.

Figure 4: Map representing the overall connections of survey respondents reporting services. Zero survey respondents answered that they had contacted Police Scotland, Refuweegee, or Maslow's Community Shop.

The interpersonal connections include: family/friends living overseas, a neighbour, family/friends living elsewhere in the UK, Scottish friends, nonScottish friends, community leaders, social media groups or friends, place of worship, and staff at children's school or nursery.
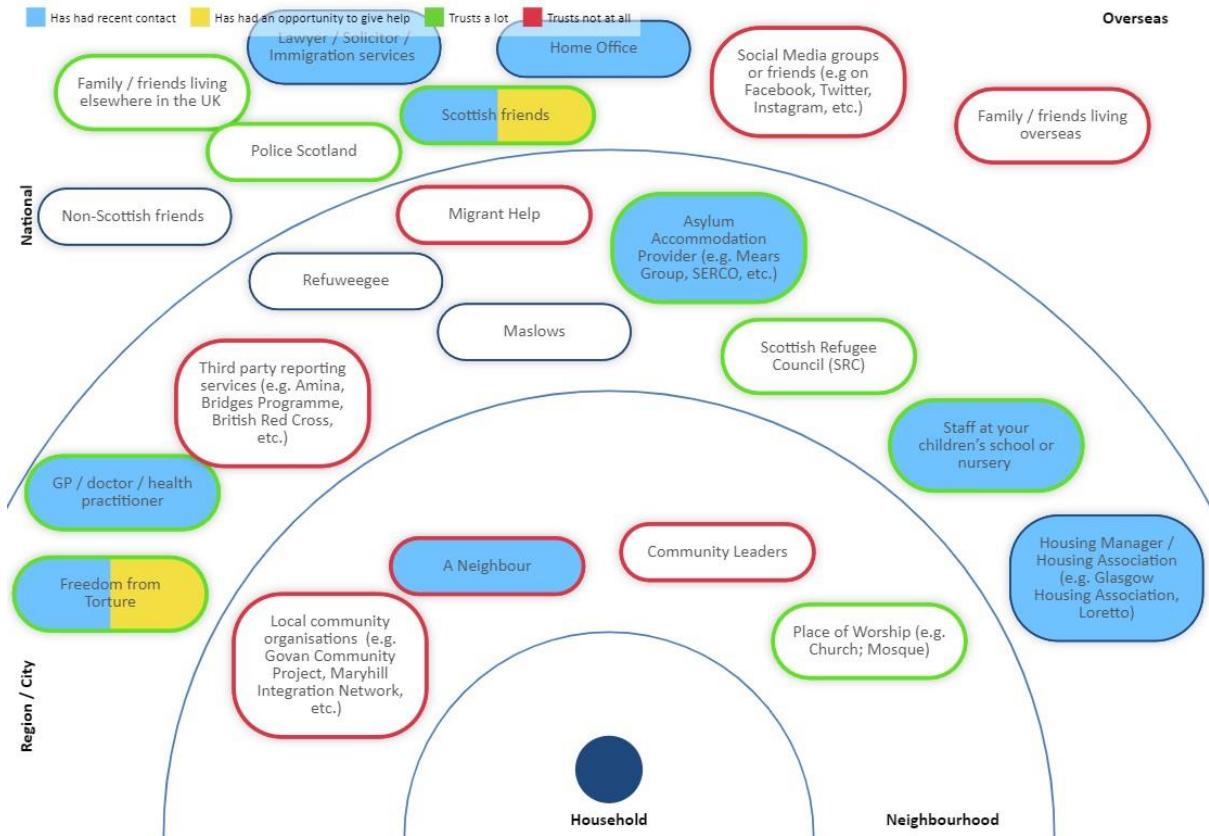
The following figure (Figure 5) shows the number of interpersonal and organisational connections by status. The organisational connections include: housing manager/housing Association, Freedom from Torture, Migrant Help, local community, Scottish Refugee Council, asylum accommodation provider, GP/doctor/health practitioner, lawyer/solicitor/immigration services, Home Office, and third-party

Figure 5: Number of connections by status
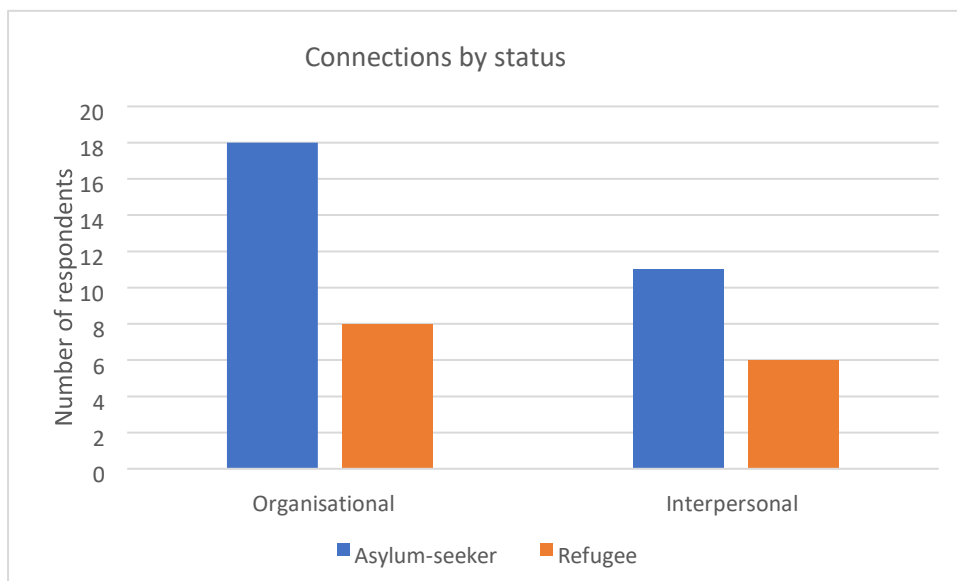
It is worth noting that asylum-seekers reported more organisational and interpersonal connections than refugees. However, two asylum-seekers responded that they were not connected with any of the interpersonal connections from the list. The asylum-seeker who has been in the UK the longest amount

of time only had one organisational connection (Freedom from Torture), and the other, who has been in the UK between 2-5 years, had 4 organisational connections (i.e. Freedom from Torture, Migrant Help, GP/doctor/health practitioner, and lawyer/solicitor/immigration services.

Figure 6 below compares levels of trust across all 22 connections named in the SCMT online survey, highlighting that the most trusted connections (i.e. those that were trusted 'a lot' were (in descending order): Freedom from Torture, GP/doctor/health practitioner, staff at children's school/nursery, Scottish friends, Scottish Refugee Council, lawyer/solicitor/immigration services, Police Scotland, places of worship, a neighbour, housing manager/association, asylum accommodation provider, third-party reporting services, friends/family living overseas, family/friends living elsewhere in the UK, Migrant Help, local community organisations, community leaders, Refuweegee, Maslow's Community Shop, non-Scottish friends, social media groups or friends, and the Home Office.

Connections that were not trusted (i.e. 'not at all') by at least one person include: friends/family living overseas, a neighbour, family/friends living elsewhere in the UK, Migrant Help, local community organisations, non-Scottish friends, community leaders, social media groups or friends, Home Office, and third-party reporting services. It should be noted that respondents were asked how much they would trust each connection regardless of whether they have had contact with them. This was to gauge the likelihood of who one might trust even if they have not had contact with them.

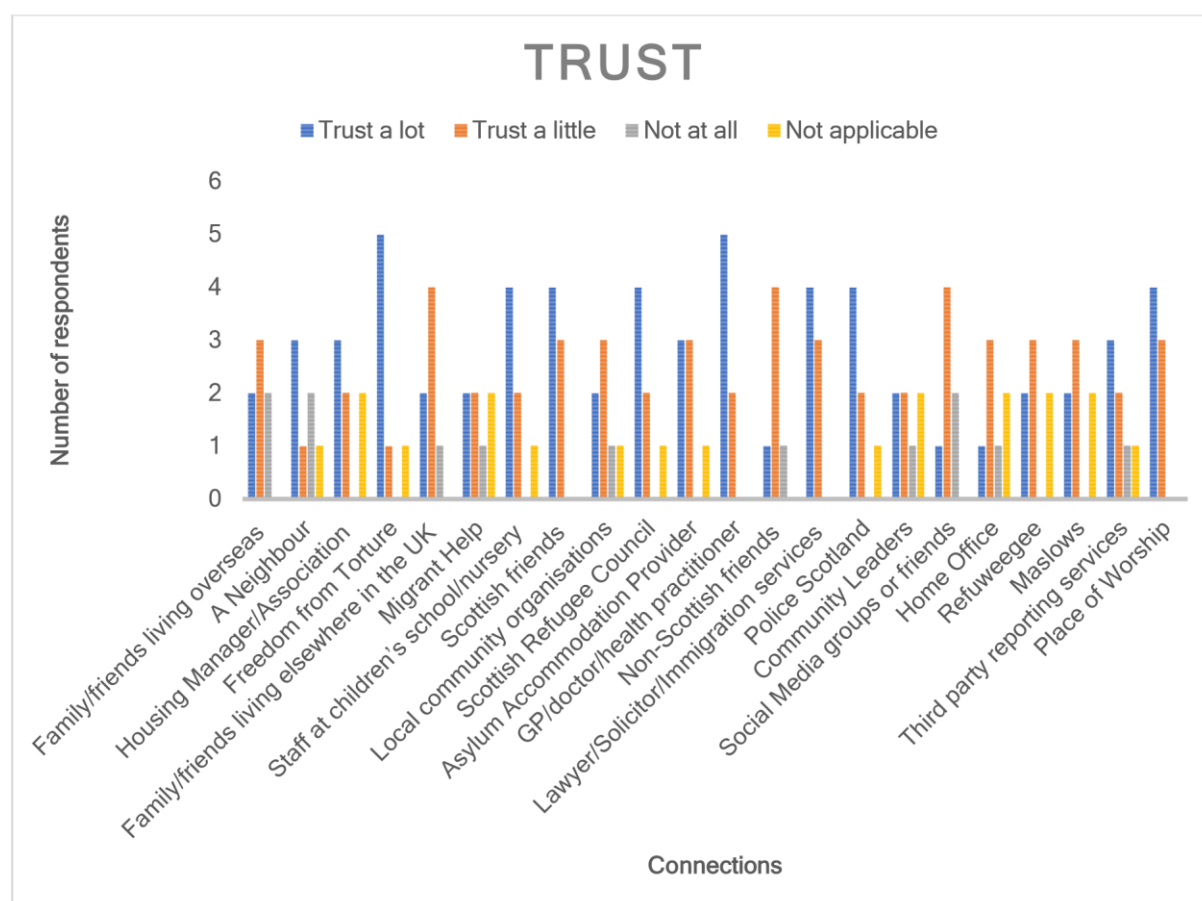*Figure 6: Connections that are trusted*

Figure 7 below shows that asylum-seekers had a greater number of reciprocal relations than refugees with both organisational and interpersonal connections. Respondents reported reciprocal relations with the following: family/friends living overseas, a neighbour, housing manager, housing association, Freedom from Torture, family/friends living elsewhere in the UK, Freedom from Torture, Migrant Help, staff at your children's school or nursery, Scottish friends, asylum accommodation provider, GP/doctor/health practitioner, non-Scottish friends, lawyer/solicitor/immigration services, community leaders, social media groups or friends, third-party reporting services, and place of worship.

Figure 7: Number of reciprocal connections by status
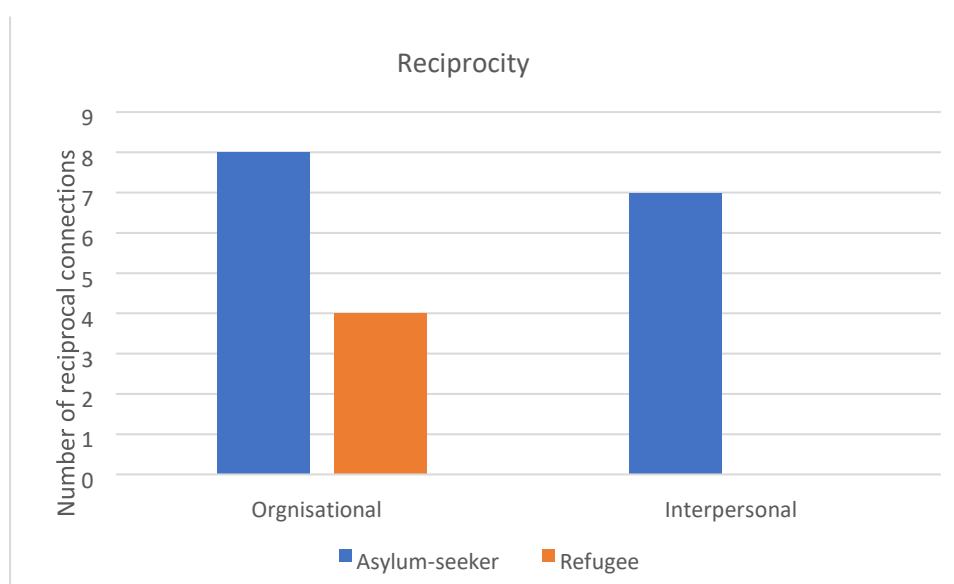
The data gathered from the online survey was then used to inform the development of the interview questions. The research team was also able to review the responses to the online survey during the interviews and together with the four survey respondents who participated in both data collection activities.

The remainder of the report is drawn from qualitative interviews primarily and triangulated with data compiled from the SCMT data.

4.3 Refugee and asylum-seeker perceptions of the police

Interviewees from the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort were asked to describe their knowledge of the role of Police Scotland. They were also asked to describe if they knew anybody who has benefited or not benefited from interactions with the police. The data suggests that refugees and asylum-seekers present unique challenges for community policing. As migrants to the UK in search of humanitarian protection, refugees and asylum-seekers may be new arrivals to their current location, they may often have limited English language proficiency or varying perceptions of police, depending on their previous experiences. Refugees and asylum-seekers might not be aware of the role of police, or they might hold negative perceptions based on experiences in their countries of origin. In exploring these factors, four interrelated themes emerged from participants accounts of the relationships between Police Scotland and refugees and asylum-seekers: 1) police visibility; 2) trust and confidence with police; 3) resources and operational pressures; and 4) socio-cultural barriers to service provision.

4.3.1 Police visibility

Scholars have shown that police visibility has an impact on confidence in police, people's perceptions of police, and concerns about crime. Some studies argue that the public may hold the police accountable

for crime and community safety, while others argue that concern about crime, and crime itself is influenced by confidence in police (Skogan 2009).

For the refugees and asylum-seekers participating in this study, experiences and awareness of police was varied, with some having limited knowledge of their role or how to contact them if and when needed. Others were familiar with their role and shared both positive and negative experiences.

Those who had limited experiences or awareness of the police attributed this to lack of police visibility. For example, the individual below shared that they did not have much knowledge about policing:

"I don't know. I don't really know much about policing, but I think if they get more into the community to be seen by people and are being seen helping others, that would give the public much more appreciation of what they do" (Ismalia).

While Ismalia above has not had much personal experience with police, she feels it would be helpful for public perceptions if they were more visible in the community. She feels positively about their services and availability as exemplified in a story she recounted of a refugee friend with limited English who called the police to report an abusive relationship. This person was supported by the police to leave her home, provided with safe shelter, referred to relevant support organisations and the husband was eventually sentenced with a nonharassment order. Ismalia felt that despite the difficulty her friend was facing, her contact with Police Scotland was helpful and supportive. She said:

"Scottish police are very friendly. Although if you are coming from a different background [and not used to seeing them], they can look a little bit scary with their uniforms, and some are very tall! But once you start talking to them and they know what you want, they can be really helpful. They helped my friend that I told you about, they help with referring people to other organisations" (Ismalia)

The quote above suggests, that for Ismalia, the role of the policing goes beyond criminal justice and extends to linking people with community services and helping people with any problems they may have. She has second-hand awareness of what can be expected from police, though her comment on uniforms indicates the potential psychological impact of police appearance. In early social interactions, clothing and outward appearance has been found to have an effect on people's perceptions and first impressions (Johnson 2017). As indicated in the quote above, police uniforms can be intimidating to those who are not used to seeing them.

Malia also spoke of the public image of police. She explained that refugees might have different expectations of police based on their experiences from their home countries and that it is important for people to interact with them as well as for police to have greater visibility.

"…you can create a real image of the police to the immigrants and to the refugees. In their mind, the police image is based on their behaviour towards the people. Because other countries may have some different experience of the police and they have brought these images from their country to here, so they need to know [where] to find proper [understanding] of the police in [Scotland]. This is like a translation of their previous experiences to their current" (Malia).

Malia's reflection emphasizes the importance of building a more accurate picture of the role of policing in Scotland, particularly for people who bring different experiences and expectations of police with them and that gentle consideration of this through interactions is paramount when considering effective communication between the police and refugees and asylum-seekers.

A representative from a refugee and asylum-seeker support organization reiterated Malia's view, explaining:

"They have had experiences with the police in their countries of origin, which is not the same [as this] country … they've had adverse experiences of the police in relation to experiences that they've had in their country at home and they universalise or generalise from that experience" (P6-Ext).

The above participant also stressed that media representations along with police visibility in the community have a marked impact on public perceptions of police. The media plays a significant role into how they are perceived by the public. For those who have had little to no contact with police, the media and anecdotal accounts are often the only experience or knowledge about police that people will obtain.

Members of the Police Scotland cohort were asked to describe the activities aimed to promote and increase public visibility. All agreed that this is a key element of community policing. A community police officer, for instance, explained:

"I think part of the role of police is to make yourself seen so that people can approach you and speak with you in the street. And maybe it's more comfortable in their own neighbourhood speaking to you" (P7-PSC).

One of the many ways that has been emphasised to increase community visibility has been through engagement with community-based organisations. This ensures there is an open-door policy of support and signposting where needed, especially in relation to refugees and asylum-seeker populations. For example, one participant who works as a community police officer emphasised that working with local organisations and visiting facilities for drop-ins or workshops/group supportive sessions helps promote police visibility as well as supporting prevention and detection of crime in the event police are unavailable.

"We can't be in every street 24 hours a day, seven days a week. We can't be in everybody's living room 24 hours a day, seven days a week. So a way we can help prevent [crime] is by putting people in touch with other folks who can help them and stop the cycle of whatever is happening, for instance if they are getting victimised" (P1-PSC).

The above quote highlights the importance of community gatekeepers or thirdparty contacts. This will be discussed in more detail throughout the remainder of the report.

4.3.2 Trust and confidence in Police

Trust and confidence in police are closely linked with police visibility.

Relationships between police and immigrant groups have been addressed in the literature, with some sources showing that foreign-born individuals are more likely to view the police in a more favourable light than native-born populations depending on group-specific factors that shape police perceptions (Jung et al. 2019). Such factors can include country of origin, previous experiences, and length of time in their current country (Jung et al. 2019). Studies also show that positive perceptions of police trust and fairness promote engagement and compliance with the police (Myhill and Bradford 2012). Findings from this study suggest that police visibility is an important factor for raising awareness of policing in the community, which in turn supports positive public opinion and confidence.

The refugees and asylum-seekers who took part in this study generally agreed that increasing public visibility requires a delicate balance to prevent their presence from feeling overbearing. Several participants noted that more presence in the community would give the public more confidence, however, too much presence can be intimidating for some.

"[Seeing police in the community] will give the public more confidence…but the public probably don't want them in all places everywhere" (Ismalia).

Most of the interview participants shared that they feel confident in policing services in Scotland despite having had negative experiences in their countries of origin. Fairuz, for instance, had negative experiences with the police in her home country of Afghanistan. She feels she could learn to trust the police in Scotland but it will take time to build this trust.

"Is it difficult because I had experienced the behaviour of the police in Afghanistan…so roughly, yes [I trust them], but I need to see what [they are like here]" (Fairuz).

Some participants shared they were reluctant to interact with police for fear of repercussions to their status or that they would be treated with discrimination.

"I have not had direct experience with discrimination but since I've been living in here for nine months now, I've heard there can be discrimination between refugees and others. I [hear] about this and I'm worried. People might be discouraged to go to the police" (Fairuz).

Other reasons for reluctance to interact with police might be due to perceived limited diversity within the service, though Police Scotland has been strengthening efforts in representation among staff.

"[Before] we probably weren't as diverse. I feel like we're trying to do our best in in trying to learn as we go that we need to represent the communities that we serve. So I think we're doing well. We are trying to recruit people from different diverse backgrounds as well so that we can show more representation in the communities that may need us" (P5 PSC).

For Samy, building trust should be a mutual effort between the police and the people they serve. He understands that the police need community support to promote community cohesiveness. He explained that refugees are more prone to experience discrimination and therefore might feel concern when confronted by police. Samy highlights the importance of third-party organisations for linking refugees with police and as an important mechanism for reducing discrimination between refugees and the wider community.

"Some of the people are living with some stereotypes. That's why it's very difficult [for the police] to [approach] someone, because they are probably scared … but they are the ones that look after us. We need to work together. They need us as much as we need them. Only the [third-party] organisations can bring us together. So at the end of the day, we are not in fear of [the police]. We are there to trust them and give them support" (Samy).

Shanar agreed that community discrimination towards refugees is a concerning matter but feels the police treat people fairly.

"…the police of this country do not make any difference between the races, so it doesn't matter what race you are. They look at you equally. If you have any problem, straightaway phone them and they will come and obviously solve your problem. No matter what kind of problem, you have traffic problem, criminal problem, or any sorts of issues you have in this country. The police are always ready" (Shanar).

Participants from the police cohort emphasized the importance of helping people feel welcome and comfortable. One member of the community policing team described a method of promoting community interaction within people's own neighbourhoods and the importance of 'breaking bread' to build rapport. Like Samy, this participant emphasized the mutual effort needed to enhance trust and understand each other.

"You're accepting the culture, you've accepted the invitation [to their home]. They're accepting you. They're obviously looking beyond that uniform and loads of people will speak about [seeing you together]. I remember [other] police officers turned up and they started eating with us … breaking bread for a lot of cultures is a big thing. Obviously our cultures use that, you know, catching up over a cup of tea or eating a

meal with someone builds up trust about the different cultures and an understanding of how you can kind of positively engage with them" (P10-PSC).

These efforts are welcome for participants such as Ismalia. Though her own first-hand experience with police is limited, she feels that they treat people with respect.

"Because when they come in, they are respectful. They're cautious, you know, they're courteous … they are responsive. If you call them, they will immediately come and help" (Ismalia).

4.4 Police Scotland and service provider perspectives

Data from the interviews with the Police Scotland and associated services cohort demonstrated several facilitators and barriers important to policing. It was widely agreed that the police service provides value to the public through effective community policing. All police personnel interviewed commented that the main purpose of policing is to improve the safety and wellbeing of all people and communities. Since the national police force was created in 2013 under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012, there has been improved capacity to deal with major incidents. There has been ongoing concern, however, that staff are stretched thin because of funding cuts, resource shortages, and organisational pressures. All participants equally expressed a willingness and desire to achieve the stated purpose but felt hindered by systemic factors. This section explores these findings, providing further examples from the data in turn on: resources and operational pressures, and socio-structural barriers to service provision and accessibility.

4.4.1 Resources and operational pressures

A consistent message emerging from the police interviews was that Police Scotland is facing significant shortages in resources and staffing which have led to pressures on operational capabilities. A community police officer explained that they advocate positive engagement with refugees and asylum-seekers as a way to help them integrate into the community, but they have difficulty doing so due to staffing constraints. This participant states that more officers are needed to embed themselves in the community and to increase police visibility, trust and confidence, however, understands that shortages are common across the public sector.

"So we do a lot of positive engagement. The reality is we can't do engagement with everyone. You could invest in more officers to do that. You know, train up more officers to go out and embed themselves in the community. But it's all to do with resources now, all to do with that time and commitment. So it's just one of those things, unfortunately, with any public sector, there will be issues around funding and resource availability" (P10-PSC).

Participants commented on the importance of continuous engagement with refugees and asylum-seekers, but they are sometimes hindered by competing demands. A participant from the Police Scotland cohort explained that there are significant efforts and willingness to carry out engagement activities with refugees and asylum-seekers, but this is impeded by funding.

"When I think about the values and issues and you actually strip it all back, it's about funding. I would love to spend my time on engagement and working towards how we can make things better. But unfortunately, I'm pulled in different directions and we're always up against competing demands. Say it's about resources, say I have to get translations done, but I can't because of funding. If we need more resources, we need more funding. Essentially, we do the best we can, but for competing demands, funding, and resources" (P4-PSC)

Another example of operational pressures frequently mentioned was that of resource shortages across sectors affecting referral services. The role of police extends beyond matters of criminal justice, to welfare checks, and advocacy for vulnerable groups. Several participants stressed the value to the public of this aspect of their role. They are holistic providers of community protection and when

structures of effective policing are in place, they are able to refer people in need to relevant support services. A community police officer explains the varied responsibilities they take on in addition to criminal matters and how these can be both challenging and rewarding.

"We are not just police officers, we are counsellors or social workers. We're first responders in an accident and we're pretty much everything these days and not so much on this front-line level. We're not so much about crime. It's about everything. I feel there are a lot more mental health issues that are being asked of police and which aren't anything really to do with crime, you know? And so we're dealing with that. So more of a social work role. I'm feeling that it's turning into a very challenging role, but it can also be massively rewarding" (P9-PSC).

For this participant, the apparent rise of mental health callouts and expectations of police to deal with such matters is indicative of resource shortages across sectors. The police force, along with social support and mental health services are all stretched to the point that police sometimes must take on roles outside of their training or remit.

Another police participant describes the challenges associated with working beyond capacity.

"Actually, I joined the police to deal with criminality, arrest people that are doing things wrong and to help people in the immediate. We're not trained to deal with psychological issues. It feels like the other services are that stretched as well, and we have started plugging the gap. It's the same for asylum-seeking as well. It's just that we get given different things in different training modules and the best cops in the world, quite a lot of cops, as long as they pass the marks … they won't absorb it. It's not like before…we used to have training days and a training department … I felt that settled in better" (P3-PSC).

For the above participant, changes in how training (with a significant rise in online training modules rather than practical, face-to-face or group-based engaging models of training) is offered has a detrimental impact on officers' ability and capacity to deal with tasks that would otherwise be referral based. Demands on resources are again cited as a hindrance to effective training with some participants emphasising the need for more modules targeted to refugees and asylum-seekers as well as other vulnerable groups.

4.4.2 Socio-structural barriers to service provision and accessibility

Participants from both cohorts discussed a range of socio-structural barriers to service provision and accessibility. Issues discussed most frequently were language, gender, and racism and hate crime.

LANGUAGE

Language barriers were at the forefront of discussions. For the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort, limited English language or literacy made it difficult to engage with police or other statutory services. Trust and confidence in police are also hindered by ineffective interpretation and translation. For example, refugees and asylum-seekers often rely on Google Translate or other mobile phone apps to communicate with others. If a person experiences a crime or is in need of help, interacting through a mobile phone app hinders the ability to gather information and build rapport. For reasons such as these, language barriers can slow down the ability to strengthen confidence and trust in the police. Not only does this barrier impact trust and confidence, it also obstructs the police's capacity to respond adequately, and efficiently to any calls for support or help.

Police personnel agreed that language barriers can increase call and response times. Incidents involving crimes or other high pressures situations often require communication to occur quickly, but there may be increased difficulty to gather evidence or provide protection in these circumstances.

"You know that there's definitely going to be some kind of language barrier more often than not. So it's going to be a lengthy process. It's not going to be a five-minute thing. You don't know what to expect as well" (P7-PSC).

A participant who works closely supporting refugees and asylum-seekers explained the necessity of localised or culturally nuanced knowledge for communicating with emergency services, particularly when time is a factor.

"If I didn't speak English and I [needed to report an emergency], what would that call have looked like? If I could do that in my own language you could probably get a better description…In another language it's impossible. I mean, thinking outside the box, that might be something, but again the essence of time, you know, situations when you're often in need of the police, you don't have the time to seek really elaborate solutions" (P6-Ext).

Language barriers may also contribute to underreporting of crimes or incidents. The use of language aids, such as translated information packs, or interpreters for face-to-face or telephonic communications helps alleviate some of these pressures. Telephone interpreters may be available as needed, but in-person interpretation might require advance booking. Given the importance of police interpreters, it is necessary for them to be suitably qualified and vetted prior to taking police assignments. Whilst interpreters can interpret word for word, there may be cultural variations to body language and gestures. The interpreter therefore must be well-versed in understanding the nuances of language, culture and idiomatic expressions. This helps to ensure that refugees and asylum-seekers feel safe and confident enough to have someone assist them with articulating what they need to report.

"I don't know how easy it is in a call centre to get access to interpreters, but people are trying to articulate a problem to a call handler in a language that they're not confident in. [The police] are running a system of prioritizing the requests that they have … they can only prioritize the information given to them. And I think one of the challenges particularly for asylum-seekers and refugees is articulating the nuances around risk and a situation, and giving a clear description is a challenge" (P6-Ext).

Police participants explained that it is generally straightforward and quick to have an interpreter present. However, in situations where there is a delay, an officer who speaks the caller's language may be on hand to help.

"I have used police officers – not to take statements because that would be problematic, but [it can be helpful for] establishing what's wrong or to get a feel for what happened" (P7-PSC).

The above participant emphasised that while it can be helpful to use colleagues as interpreters when interpreters are not available, they still must be conscious of potential bias or discomfort on the part of the caller in question as they may feel apprehensive that they would not be understood.

GENDER

Gender issues were discussed by several participants. While efforts are being made to improve the balance of gender in the police workforce, there are still limitations with the male to female ratio of officers. A community police officer explained that this can impact police callouts and evidence gathering. For instance, if police are sent to a housing block to investigate an assault that took place, it is possible that they may miss vital witnesses who are unwilling or unable to respond to information requests. This participant provided a hypothetical example of how this might be an issue.

"Quite often [if we're knocking] and a single Muslim female is alone in the house, she won't come to the door. Maybe the husband or sons are not home, and we're not allowed to speak with them without a male present in the house. Asylum-seekers and refugees, they might need our help. We're trying to gather all evidence, and move quickly in case somebody needs to be [arrested] … the person may know somebody who we might vitally need to get information off of but we can't get to them in time" (P7-PSC).

Gender imbalances may also cause a problem for refugees and asylum-seekers who are themselves the victim of a crime. Women who experience violence or discrimination may be reluctant to come forward. For refugee women and asylum-seekers, there may be additional fears of religious or cultural persecution. This can be exacerbated by previous experiences with police or other authorities in their countries of origin. Situations of domestic abuse can also be particularly challenging. A community police officer explained that they sometimes come across domestic matters where a woman is being abused by her partner, but the partner does not accept responsibility for his behaviour, citing different cultural understandings of what constitutes abuse. The victim may also withhold reporting abuse to the police out of concern about the impact of stigma on their wider family or community, or because they do not have the social connections available in country to move on, live independently or simply seek help and support.

RACISM AND HATE CRIME

Many refugee and asylum-seeker participants were concerned about experiencing racism from the wider community as well as at the hands of the police, mostly exacerbated by anecdotal accounts from others of such experiences. A major concern for all of the refugees and asylum-seekers who were interviewed, was the potential for repercussions of reporting crimes to their immigration status (e.g. fear of deportation, immigration, border control, Home Office, or previous experiences of authorities in their home country). Several of the police participants confirmed that there would be no risk to a person's status for reporting a crime or supporting the gathering of evidence. The exception to this would be if the person themself committed a crime and was sentenced, however police participants assured that they do not share data with immigration authorities.

"We are not part of the asylum application … We don't report to [the Border Agency]. We are here to help you if you feel that you are a victim" (P1PSC).

When it comes to racism, refugees and asylum-seekers are especially vulnerable to, and disproportionately affected, by hate crimes. Victims of hate crimes experience a range of damaging mental and physical harms. While both criminal justice and healthcare agencies have a role in supporting victims, referrals to such support are often constrained. This can be due to a variety of factors including underreporting, and/or operational barriers to referral mechanisms enacted by the police or healthcare workers. In situations where hate crimes are reported and healthcare referrals take place, the response is treatment focused and less likely to be holistic or preventative. The mitigation of the damaging resultant mental health impacts to hate crimes, requires an approach that is attuned to the particular needs of refugees and asylum-seekers and that emphasises preventative and holistic measures.

Some refugee and asylum-seeker participants had experienced hate crimes, either first-hand or were aware of this happening to someone familiar to them. Participants from both cohorts agreed that media representation negatively affected how refugees and asylum-seekers are perceived by the public.

"There are all sorts of misrepresentations around asylum-seekers in the press and the media. You know, they arrive on boats here to take our jobs. Whatever narrative you want to insert. And that does lead to instances of hate crime" (P6-Ext).

Police officers have an important role to play to protect victims of hate crimes as well as prevent these from occurring. Through effective referral mechanisms, police participants explained that they are able to provide the victim with a point of contact and also help to connect them with appropriate support services and community-based organizations when needed.

4. Knowledge Exchange Workshop

In June 2022, following the preceding data collection activities (i.e. SCMT workshops, online survey, and qualitative interviews), the research team held a knowledge exchange workshop with 12 participants, which provided a platform to share preliminary findings with members from both research cohorts. This workshop emphasised person-centred communication strategies with the intention to maintain or improve trust, contact, and reciprocity between Police Scotland and refugees and asylum-seekers. During the workshop, our key findings were further supported by the rich discussions prompted by the following questions posed to participants:

- How do we increase community awareness of the work that Police Scotland do?

- What would help improve communication between refugees, asylumseekers, and Police Scotland?

This workshop allowed an open dialogue between both cohorts, as further clarifications were sought from the police about what sorts of barriers prevent refugees and asylum-seekers from utilising policing services and how these can best be managed.

Members of the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort emphasised greater need for interpreters during communication with police to improve communication as well as more opportunities for police officers to explain their role and function, to reassure people that they are there to protect and not monitor, and to make the methods of contact more widely known. A suggestion was also made for there to be structured and frequent information sessions explaining the rules and laws in Scotland, with some explaining that cross-cultural differences in expectations and behaviour could potentially lead to inadvertently breaking laws or societal customs.

5. Discussion

The experience of displacement is very difficult for the people who have had to leave their countries of origin. When refugees and asylum-seekers arrive in a new location, they often do so having lost contact with the people and organisations (i.e. the social connections) that have supported them in ordinary daily life. Consequently, some experience emotional difficulties including posttraumatic stress, depression and anxiety which impede their efforts at settlement and integration. Many have continued anxieties exacerbated by uncertainties about residency and ability to positively settle in the new country, limited language proficiency, financial struggles, worry about their families left behind and about separation from them, loss of culture and support, and difficulties accessing health and social care, among others (Vidal et al. 2021).

Moreover, many experience discrimination and often feel there is a lack of understanding amongst their wider community of what it means to be a refugee or asylum-seeker. While all participants from the refugee and asylum-seeker cohort had positive things to say about the Scottish people and were grateful for the safety and security of their new locales, several described first or secondhand experiences with hostility and racism.

However, many also shared positive stories about building their social networks, developing friendships, and finding support within their local communities. Those who reported feeling settled and comfortable in their neighbourhoods also reported a greater quality of connection with others. Conversely, those who felt they were struggling to integrate experienced higher levels of social isolation and loneliness. This impacted on their lives in numerous ways. In terms of awareness and perceptions of police, findings from this study suggest the quality and quantity of social connections

influences people's knowledge about and willingness to access police services. This study highlights the following key findings in relation to social connections and public perceptions of police:

- Community partnerships and the use of gatekeepers (i.e. community liaison) are enhanced through supportive community and friendly neighbourly relations which generate relief, a sense of belonging, and the sharing of knowledge about public services. A liaison between communities and services makes a big difference to the way refugees and asylum-seekers perceive police;

- Problem solving priorities for police include fostering additional support from organisations, teachers, colleagues, and employers to promote information sharing and engagement; and

- Organisational transformation provides a holistic means for supporting community partnerships and proactive problem solving.

The above findings are in line with community policing and community crime prevention models. Community policing is when individuals and organizations partner with traditional police forces to make their neighbourhoods safer and to minimize crime. It promotes organisational strategies in the community to combat potential situations that might create public safety issues. It is defined as involving three key components: developing community partnerships, engaging in problem solving, and implementing community policing organisational features (Police Scotland 2021).

The model attempts to move the focus of police work from monitoring people, which could potentially lead to discrimination or profiling, toward monitoring crime prevention, and solving problems. It attempts to prevent the situations that lead to crimes rather than primarily focusing on punishing offenders. As such, it has the benefit of enforcing law without engaging in discrimination, by preventing situations that can lead to crime (Scottish Government 2014). We describe the three elements as they relate to the population of our study below.

6.1 Community partnerships and implementing gatekeepers

Building partnerships between the police and seldom heard communities such as refugees and asylum-seekers is a complex process. Perceptions of police might be complicated by historical issues, language, or socio-cultural nuances. Efforts made by community policing services to engage with communities are valued and make an important impact to public perceptions of police. However, many of the refugee and asylum-seeker participants felt largely uninformed about the structure and role of various departments within the police service. Many participants had no direct experience dealing with police and were unaware of community engagement activities taking place. Those who were aware of activities accessed this information through local community organisations. Several participants pointed out the importance of a community "gatekeeper" (i.e. a trusted person or organisation from the person's own community who helps connect refugees with public services such as the police). The use of community gatekeepers is helpful for increasing awareness but can also have a role in the prevention of crime. Samy, for instance, explained there is potential for crimes to be committed due to lack of awareness of local laws. This was a sentiment shared by many participants, including those who raised it during the knowledge exchange workshop.

"We need someone to help and give the proper information…one of the problems that most of the refugees and asylum-seekers face when they arrive in UK … [is that], sometimes because of lack of information, sometimes the people do the wrong thing, because they don't have [complete] information about how they are [supposed] to behave when they are here" (Samy).

We argue that the creation of a designated community-police liaison who is partnered with local community organisations, faith leaders or local leaders can be a crucial element for knowledge sharing and mitigating barriers to police service delivery and accessibility. For refugees and asylum-seekers, access to social networks is a core need in supporting wellbeing and protecting safety, stability and a

sense of justice. We propose emphasis on the following factors to continue promoting the strengthening of social connections and to enhance public visibility, trust and confidence with community policing, which in turn supports positive police-refugee relations.

- Partnering with community liaisons;

- Engaging with community-based gatekeepers;

- Gathering information and recruiting community spokespeople through gatekeepers;

- Continue engagement activities while holding additional community discussions;

- Partner with local community and/or faith leaders; and

- Set up community advisory councils or working groups.

6.2 Problem solving priorities

To identify problem solving priorities, community policing actively encourages working closely with the community to identify problems, develop innovative responses based on shared knowledge between communities and police, and systematically evaluating the results. Previous studies have demonstrated that effective community engagement and strategic problem solving can have a positive influence on public confidence in policing (Myhill and Bradford 2012). Essential elements of problem solving often rely on the SARA model (College of policing 2017):

- Scanning: Identify and prioritise problems, determine the nature of the problem, and the scope of the problem;

- Analysis: Research what is known about the problem to gain a thorough understanding of all possible contributing factors:

- Response: Develop solutions to bring about lasting reductions in the number and extent of problems; and

- Assessment: Evaluate the success of the response and make adjustments as necessary.

Findings from this study demonstrate that refugees and asylum-seekers want to be involved in their communities and have a say in identifying policing priorities. For many refugees, their agency and capacity for action is constrained by the lack of language skills, as well as by barriers to accessing key service provisions. Being involved in decision-making, and having a greater awareness of the role and function of police can develop a greater sense of trust and fosters positive police-refugee relations.

While most of the refugees and asylum-seekers in this study reported high levels of trust in policing, trust and confidence is understandably lower amongst those who have heard negative anecdotal accounts about the police, and those who have been in the UK or Scotland for a shorter period of time. However, most stated that greater visibility would be welcome and beneficial for increasing clarity of the role and function of police and reducing anxieties, particularly amongst those who have limited familiarity or negative perceptions.

Tactics to promote positive relationships between refugees, asylum-seekers and Police Scotland include the following:

- Mutual knowledge exchange;

- Educate communities about local laws and the roles of police;

- Provide and promote law enforcement language services to communities

(communication strategies, interpreters);

- Engaging in tailored outreach events; and

- Implement face-to-face training dedicated to cultural awareness issues (e.g. language, gender, experiences with racism and hate crimes) and refugee and asylum-seeker mental health and wellbeing.

Our data demonstrates that many of these activities are already in effect, however, are hindered by the operational and socio-structural barriers described in preceding sections of this report. Additionally, resource and staffing barriers preventing the placement of long-term designated community officers impedes the ability to fully understand the issues or problems certain groups might be facing.

In order to identify the problems specific to a group or community, in this case, refugees and asylum-seekers, there needs to be police officers designated longterm to specific areas of the community, so they become highly familiar with the location and residents. A community police officer explained the difficulty with this.

"I think the biggest hurdle at the moment is a lack of designated local officers … if they can only spend 50% of their time doing the job and then another 50% [elsewhere] or probably even more than 50%, they are being obstructed. If only there was better and long-term ongoing engagement rather than someone [who immediately] moves on to somewhere and someone else" (P8-PSC).

While funding and resource shortages are a persisting problem, community partnerships, gatekeepers, and knowledge exchange activities with refugees and asylum-seekers, as demonstrated above, can serve to fill gaps in knowledge and assist officers to identify problems and effective solutions to facilitate accessibility and delivery of policing services.

6.3 Organisational transformation

Organizational transformation is the alignment of management, structure, personnel, and information systems to support community partnerships and proactive problem solving. It is a primary element of community policing. Police Scotland has been undergoing transformational change since the creation of a centralised police service in 2013 when a model was developed to strengthen the connection between police services and communities. In 2016, Police Scotland committed to strategically focus across four key pillars of activity which reaffirmed the commitment to protecting the public, recognising the needs of diverse communities, achieving the right organisational culture, and delivering a sustainable operating model. (Scottish Government 2017). To fulfil this strategy, the Scottish Government laid out the following priorities for Scottish policing:

- Localism: Ensure that the needs of local communities are understood and reflected in the planning and delivery of policing at a local and national level;

- Inclusion: Ensure the police service is accessible and responsive to the needs of all people in Scotland;

- Prevention: Ensure the police service works to protect people by preventing crime and reducing fear of crime through communication, education, innovation and partnership working;

- Response: Focus policing on improving the wellbeing of individuals and communities by tackling crime and responding to and investigating incidents effectively and efficiently;

- Collaborative working: Ensure that our police service works productively with partners at local, national and international levels to deliver better outcomes for people in Scotland;

- Accountability: Continuously improve public confidence in policing and inspire trust by being transparent, accountable and acting with integrity, fairness and respect; and

- Adaptability: Ensure police service takes advantage of new opportunities and meets emerging threats and challenges.

While prevention plays a significant role within these priorities, scholars have noted a gap in research into the place of prevention in Scottish police reforms and its impact on police practice. Bland et al. (2021) describe how public policy reconfigured the place and purpose of prevention for the police, with a focus on safety, wellbeing, and the prevention of harm. They define a public health typology of prevention, distinguishing between secondary prevention of crime and disorder with Police Scotland's move to focus on primary and tertiary prevention strategies of 'vulnerability' and prevention of 'harm' (Police Scotland and Scottish Police Authority 2017).

We again highlight the importance of partnerships along with social connections, in this case, to support holistic prevention approaches. We focus on the example of hate crime to illustrate how these can support harm prevention among refugees and asylum-seekers.

Police Scotland has a series of interventions underway to deal with hate crimes more generally. These include third-party reporting centres, public engagement with vulnerable communities, and maintaining a database of hate crime occurrences, in addition to criminal justice responses. While supporting hate crime victims often falls under the role of the police, healthcare agencies also have an obvious role in treating and supporting victims. However, coordinated responses might be lacking due to resource pressures or low uptake of services. Public health strategies for tackling hate crime emphasise prevention and victim-led approaches. Rather than solely focusing on the perpetrators and the criminal justice response, public health approaches which focus on the victim prioritise prevention, removing barriers to under-reporting, and engaging with the mental health impacts victims may experience. A coordinated response between police, healthcare agencies including mental health practitioners, and policymakers is thus also a crucial element to promoting holistic recovery from these experiences.

Uptake of services may also be low among certain populations. For instance, different cultural understandings and coping mechanisms of mental health and well-being may lead to reluctance to access mental health services. Findings from previous studies (Vidal et al. 2021) indicate that larger and better-quality social connections (i.e. strong and positive social relationships), are important for preventing social isolation and loneliness and also support the uptake of health and social services. Where formal social services are not appropriate, for example, if a person does not feel they require formal care, social connections can be a vital lifeline for improving one's mental health and wellbeing. We argue that partnerships across all levels (i.e. from local organisations to statutory services) and social connections can be an important mechanism for the targeting of initiatives to address vulnerability and increase prevention of harm.

7. Implications for Research and Practice

Utilising our Social Connections Mapping Tool methodology, combined with indepth interviews with refugees, asylum-seekers, and police personnel, has helped us to build an understanding of the quantity and quality of refugees' social networks and their role in influencing engagement with the police. We highlight below a series of research priorities and practice recommendations corresponding to two areas of focus: social connections and their role in influencing engagement with police and enhancing positive police-refugee relations.

7.1 Social connections and their role in influencing engagement with the police

Understanding the important role that social connections can have to increase awareness and visibility of the police and to encourage mutually supportive interactions between refugees, asylum-seekers, and police, would have the benefit of improving accessibility and delivery of policing services.

7.1.1 Research priorities

- Examine the conditions under which refugees and asylum-seekers can build positive social networks;
- Identify the role of partnerships and gatekeepers in increasing accessibility and delivery of policing services; and
- Explore the experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers who have been victims of crimes and evaluate the impact of services offered to them.

7.1.3 Practice recommendations

- Engage with refugees and asylum-seekers with the aim to gain familiarity of their social networks;

- Maintain higher levels of contact and support for refugees;

- Engage with refugees and asylum-seekers, and their social networks to develop local solutions to local problems;

- Empower communities to solve local issues;

- Supports ongoing community outreach and engagement efforts; and

- Develop trust and partnerships between police, associated services and refugees, asylum-seekers, and their social networks.

7.2 Enhancing positive police-refugee relations

While Police Scotland are indispensable for improving the safety and wellbeing of persons, localities and communities in Scotland, refugees and asylumseekers are sometimes out of reach due to several intersecting individual, community, cultural and systemic barriers. We have identified some challenges and facilitators to improving refugee and asylum-seeker trust and confidence with policing services as well as identifying methods Police Scotland and associated services can adopt to meaningfully engage with members of this population group. Creative approaches are needed to help enhance positive police-refugee relations and overcome underdeveloped organisational capacity when working with refugees and asylum-seekers.

7.2.1 Research priorities

- Examine the relationships between current models of core refugee service provision (e.g. case work, community policing) and their impacts on refugee and asylum-seeker awareness of police roles;

- Identify outreach, engagement and orientation efforts on providing cultural awareness for refugees and asylum-seekers, and police personnel and associated services;

- Explore ways of knowledge sharing through experiential learning approaches and collaboration with partners; and

- Examine police prevention practices and identify the challenges police face in implementing prevention approaches in practice.

7.2.3 Practice recommendations

- Seek out information about police personnel's cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds to promote a greater understanding of local issues;

- Equip all officers with community policing information and resources (e.g. cultural awareness training, working with interpreters, agreeing methods to support inclusion);

- Enlist support of refugee support organisations, local community organisations and/or faith-based organisations, as these can serve as a bridge between law enforcement and community members;

- Work with the wider community to encourage knowledge sharing and mutual understanding of people's needs and expectations from police;

- Form and encourage strategic partnerships with local and formal organisations;

- Implement structured information sessions aimed to raise awareness of rules and laws in Scotland;

- Work with offenders to identify effective crime prevention strategies and meet emerging threats and challenges; and

Prioritise the countering of casual hostility and racism as this is likely to be very costly in terms of refugees' health, mental health and long-term productivity

8. Acknowledgements

9. References

Ager A and Strang A. 2008. Understanding integration: a conceptual framework. Journal of Refugee Studies, 21(2): pp. 166-191.

Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). 2001. Guide to meeting the policing needs of asylum-seekers and refugees. London: Association of Chief Police Officers. Available online at: https://www.nhsggc.org.uk/media/258967/asylum_seekers_refugees_tell_it_like _it_is_2016-06.pdf [Accessed 13th January 2022].

Baillot H, Kerlaff L, Dakessian A, and Strang A. 2020. Pathways and Potentialities: the role of social connections in the integration of reunited refugee families. Available online at: Pathways and Potentialities: the role of social connections in the integration of reunited refugee families (qmu.ac.uk) [Accessed 13th January 2022].

Bland N, Calder A, Fyfe NR, Anderson S, Mitchell J, Reid S. 2021. Public Policy Reform and Police Prevention Practice: A Journey Upstream?, Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, 15(3). pp. 1882–1893.

BMA. 2020. The impact of COVID-19 on mental health in England: supporting services to go beyond parity of esteem. Available online at: https://www.bma.org.uk/media/2774/emb07072020-bmamental-healthpaper.pdf. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3(2). pp. 77-101.

British Red Cross. 2019. Hate crime experiences of Refugees and Asylumseekers. Available online at: https://portsmouth.cityofsanctuary.org/wpcontent/uploads/sites/123/2019/11/Final-Report-Hate-Crime-experiences-ofrefugees-and-asylum-seekers_August-2019v4.pdf. [Accessed 13th January 2022].

Carswell K, Blackburn P, Barker C. 2009. The relationship between trauma, post-migration problems and the psychological wellbeing of refugees and asylum-seekers. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 57(2): pp. 107-119.

Christie G and Baillot H. 2020. The impact of COVID-19 on refugees and refugee-assisting organisations in Scotland. Glasgow: Scottish Refugee Council. Available online at: https://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2020/09/Covid-impact-survey.pdf. [Accessed 5th July 2022].

College of Policing. 2017. Problem-oriented policing. Available online at: https://www.college.police.uk/research/crime-reduction-toolkit/problem-orientedpolicing. [Accessed 13th September 2022].

Doyle L. 2014. 28 days later: experiences of new refugees in the UK. British Refugee Council. Available online at: http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2019/03/28_days_later.pdf . [Accessed 5th July 2022].

Hameed S, Sadiq A, Din AU. 2018. The increased vulnerability of refugee population to mental health disorders. Kansas Journal of Medicine, 11(1): pp. 20-23.

Home Office. 2020. National immigration statistics, year ending September 2020. Available online at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigrationstatistics-year-ending-september-2020. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Independent Asylum Commission. 2008. Fit for purpose yet? The Independent Asylum Commission's interim findings. A nationwide review of the UK system in association with the Citizen Organising Foundation. Available online at: http://www.citizensforsanctuary.org.uk/pages/reports.html. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Johnson R. 2017. The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform.. (n.d.) The Free Library. Available online at: https://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+Psychological+Influence+of+the+Police+Uniform.-a073845616. [Accessed 12th September 2022].

Jung M, Sprott JB, Greene C. 2019. Immigrant Perceptions of the Police: The Role of Country of Origin and Length of Settlement, The British Journal of Criminology. 59:6, pp. 1370–1389.

Myhill A and Bradford B. 2012. Can police enhance public confidence by improving quality of service? Results from two surveys in England and Wales, Policing and Society 22, pp 397-425.

Ndofor-Tah C, Strang A, Phillimore J, Morrice L, Michael L, Wood P, Simmons J. 2019. Home Office Indicators of Integration Framework 2019: third edition. Available online at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/att achment_data/file /835573/home-office-indicators-of-integration-framework2019-horr109.pdf. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Pavlicevic M, Impey A. 2013. Deep listening: towards an imaginative reframing of health and well-being practices in international development. Arts Health. 13;5(3): pp. 238-252.

Police Scotland and Scottish Police Authority. (2017). Policing 2026: Our 10 year strategy for policing in Scotland. Available online at: http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/138327/386688/policing-2026strategy.pdf [Accessed 30th September 2022].

Police Scotland. 2021. Your Community. Available online at: https://www.scotland.police.uk/your-community/. [Accessed 13th September 2022].

Quinn, N, Shirjeel S, Siebelt L, Donnelly R. 2011. An evaluation of the Sanctuary Community Conversation programme to address mental health stigma with asylum-seekers and refugees in Glasgow. Mental Health Foundation.

Refugee Council. 2020. Asylum claims fall as people waiting more than six months for a decision hits record high. Published 26 November 2020. Available online at: https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/latest/news/asylum-claims-fall-aspeople-waiting-more-thansix-months-for-a-decision-hits-record-high/. [Accessed 5th July 2022].

Refugee Council. 2021. Top 10 facts from the latest statistics on refugees and people seeking asylum. Available online at: https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/information/refugee-asylum-facts/top-10-facts-about-refugees-and-people-seeking-asylum/. [Accessed 5th July 2022].

Scottish Government. 2018a. New Scots: refugee integration strategy 2018 to 2022. Published 10 January 2018. Available online at: https://www.gov.scot/publications/new-scots-refugeeintegration-strategy-20182022/. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Scottish Government. 2017. Policing 2026 Strategy Scotland. Available online at: https://www.scotland.police.uk/spa-media/jjkpn4et/policing-2026strategy.pdf?view=Standard. [Accessed 13th September 2022].

Scottish Government. 2014. What Works to Reduce Crime?: A Summary of the Evidence. Available online at: https://www.gov.scot/publications/works-reducecrime-summary-evidence/pages/6/. [Accessed 13th September 2022].

Scottish Refugee Council. 2020a. Future of UK resettlement and community sponsorship schemes "Scottish Refugee Council response to Sajid Javid's announcements on UK resettlement and 80 community sponsorship". Published 17 June 2020. Available online at: https://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/future-of-uk-resettlement-andcommunitysponsorshipschemes/#:~:text=Creating%20one%20global%20UK%20resettlement,every%20council%20in%20the %20country. [Accessed 15th June 2022].

Shisheva M, Christie G and Mulvey G. 2013. Improving the Lives of refugees in Scotland after the Referendum: An appraisal of the options. Available online at: http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0000/5495/4087_SRC_Referen dum_Report_V3.pdf. [Accessed 5th July 2022].

Skogan W. 2009. "Concern about Crime and Confidence in the Police: Reassurance or Accountability", Police Quarterly 12, pp 301-318.

Strang A and Ager A. 2010. Refugee integration: emerging trends and remaining agendas, Journal of Refugee Studies, 23(4): pp. 589–607, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq046.

Strang A, Baillot H, Mignard E. 2016. Rights, resilience and refugee integration in Scotland: New Scots and the Holistic Integration Service. Glasgow: Scottish Refugee Council.

Strang A, Baillot H, Mignard E. 2017. I want to participate: transition experiences of new refugees in Glasgow. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44(2): pp. 197-214.

Strang A and Quinn N. 2019. Integration or isolation? Refugees' Social Connections and Wellbeing Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(2).

UK Government 2019. Home Office Indicators of Integration framework 2019 third edition. Available online at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/home-office-indicators-ofintegrationframework-2019. [Accessed 5th July 2022].

UNHCR 1951. United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Available online at: https://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf. [Accessed 2nd June 2022].

UNHCR 2019. Global trends. Forced displacement in 2019. Available online at: https://www.unhcr.org/5ee200e37.pdf. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

UNHCR 2022. Asylum in the UK. Available online at: https://www.unhcr.org/uk/asylum-in-the-uk.html. [Accessed 12th June 2022].

Vidal, N., M. Salih, A. Strang, O. Sagan, and C. Smith. 2021. Impacts of COVID-19 Restrictions on Scotland's Refugees: Sudden-onset Isolation in a Neglected Population Group. Research report to the Chief Scientist's Office, Scottish Government. https://www.qmu.ac.uk/media/ohqeqzxa/csocovid_final-report_14sep-2021.pdf. [Accessed 2nd June 2022].

Appendices: Research tools and supporting documents

Appendix 1: Police Scotland (and associated services) Start-up meeting/mapping exercise

Overall Aims of workshop

- To introduce the project to all of the participating policing staff

- To develop a shared understanding about social connections mapping

- To identify policing resources and generate a relevant connections list

- To understand the ways people's social connections may (or may not) influence interactions with Police Scotland and related services in their social networks;

- To understand the barriers hindering refugees and asylum-seekers from accessing and engaging with Police Scotland and associated services; and

- To understand the barriers hindering police personnel from effectively and meaningfully engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers.

Overall Objectives of workshop

- Support development of the locally specific SCMT questionnaire -intended to be distributed to refugees and asylum-seekers.

Scenario 1: Deep sadness
If someone in your community has been struggling to cope with everyday life for a long time due to deep sadness who would they speak to about it and who could they ask for help?
- Who could they speak to about this?

- Who could they ask for help?

Extra probe questions to explore extra information:
- Any organisations or people that could offer practical help or advice?

- What kind of help would they give?

- Where would they signpost you/service users to?

- Is there anyone else you would refer people to talk about this to get some support, even if they weren't in a position to help service users find a new place to live?

- Are there any places people in your community could go to meet new people?

- Each time a person or organisation is suggested, write the name on the chart and draw a line from the problem to the person/organisation.

- Then ask how they would help, and whether they would contact someone else to help with the problem.

- After participants seem to have run out of ideas, ask what someone could do if none of these people or organisations could help.

- Ask if there are resources that they wold like to use, but cannot – mark these with a dotted line on the chart, and ask why not.

Scenario 2: Terminated tenancy
If someone in your community has experienced their landlord or housing provider issuing them with a notice to quit their tenancy who would they speak to about it and who and where could they ask for help?

- Who could they talk to about it?

- Where could they ask for help?

Follow same prompts as above.

Scenario 3: Theft
Start to ask the questions about scenario 3.

If someone in your community had something stolen from them/their home who would they speak to about it and who and where could they ask for help?

- Who can they speak to?

- Where can they go to for help?

Appendix 2: Social Connections Mapping Tool – Workshop for Refugees and Asylum-Seekers

Overall Aims of workshop

- To develop a shared understanding about social connections mapping

- To map social connections with refugees and asylum-seekers in Scotland

- To understand the ways people's social connections may (or may not) influence interactions with Police Scotland and related services in their social networks;

- To understand the barriers hindering refugees and asylum-seekers from accessing and engaging with Police Scotland and associated services; and
- To understand the barriers hindering police personnel from effectively and meaningfully engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers.

Overall Objectives of workshop

- Support development of the locally specific SCMT questionnaire -intended to be distributed in COHORT (refugees and asylum-seekers) of the research.

- To produce visual maps of refugees' social connections which can be used as a tool to facilitate discussions when facilitating the semi structured interviews with refugees and asylum-seekers.

- To support the participants in building their social connections.

Scenario 1: Deep sadness
If someone in your community has been struggling to cope with everyday life for a long time due to deep sadness who would they speak to about it and who could they ask for help?

Who could they speak to about this?

Who could they ask for help?

Extra probe questions to explore extra information:

- Any organisations or people that could offer practical help or advice?

- What kind of help would they give?

- Where would they signpost you to?

- Is there anyone else you would talk about this to get some support, even they weren't in a position to help you find a new place to live?

- You obviously have a really good English – how about others who may not be so confident with their English, is there anywhere else they could go to?

- Are they close friends or acquaintances?

- Are they refugees or Scottish friends?

- How did you meet them?

- Are they friends who live near you, elsewhere in the UK or abroad?

- Are there any places you or someone in your community could go to meet new people?

- How would you help, and would you contact someone else to help with the problem?

- What could someone do if none of these people or organisations could help?

- Are there resources that you would like to use, but cannot?

Scenario 2: Terminated tenancy

If someone in your community has experienced their landlord or housing provider issuing them with a notice to quit their tenancy who would they speak to about it and who and where could they ask for help?

Who could they talk to about it?

Where could they ask for help?

Same prompts as above.

Scenario 3: Theft

If someone in your community had something stolen from them/their home who would they speak to about it and who and where could they ask for help?

Who can they speak to?

Where can they go to for help?

Same prompts as above.

Appendix 3: Social Connections Mapping Tool – Online Survey

A. Interview intro text

This questionnaire is part of a research study conducted by Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. The aim of the research is to build an understanding of the quantity and quality of refugees' and asylum-seekers' social networks and their role in influencing engagement with the Police. If you agree to take part in the study, the answers you give in this questionnaire will be shared with the QMU research team.

You can switch between your language and English by clicking on the 'Select Language' tab on any page.

Please remember to click on the 'Save Interview' button at the end of the questionnaire. Thank you!

B. Consent Question

I understand that my participation in this questionnaire is entirely voluntary; that only the Queen Margaret University research team will have access to my answers; that my answers will be analysed only for the purpose of research on refugee integration; and that I can choose to withdraw my participation in this questionnaire at any point.

C. Demographic Intro Text
The next page of the questionnaire asks you a series of questions about you and your family. We ask these questions so that we can understand the ways that people's personal circumstances affect their social connections.

What is your immigration status?

Refugee

Asylum-seeker Other

How old are you?

18-24 years old
25-34 years old
35-44 years old
45-54 years old
55-64 years old
65+ years old

What is your gender?

Man

Woman
Non-binary   Other
Prefer not to say

How would you describe your household where you live now?

I live alone
I live with my spouse/partner
I live with my child/children.
I live with my spouse/partner and one or more of my children   I live with other
adults who are not related to me

How long have you lived in the UK? Less than 6
months

7-12 months
13 months – 2 years

Longer than 2 years but less than 5 years
Longer than 5 years but less than 10 years   More than 10
years

How long have you lived in Scotland?   Less than 6
months

7-12 months
13 months – 2 years

Longer than 2 years but less than 5 years

Longer than 5 years but less than 10 years   More than 10
years

How confident are you when communicating in English?

Not at all confident
A little bit confident
Moderately confident   Fairly
confident
Very confident

D. Contact, Trust and Reciprocity Questions:

Recent Contact

The next set of questions asks you about which people and organisations had contact with in the last 6 months. If you do not know the person or organisation, then you can just select 'no'.

Contact with an organisation can mean that you have used a service; asked for or received advice/signposting; attended an activity; or had communication with/from the organisation.

Q. Have you had any contact with this person or organisation in the last six months?

Trust

The next set of questions are about how much you trust these people and organisations. If you do not know of the person or organisation, you can select 'not applicable'.

Q. How much would you trust this person or organisation to try to help you?
A lot
A little
Not at all

Help You Have Given

The next set of questions are about whether you have had an opportunity to help any of these people or organisations in the last six months.

Help can mean practical help or emotional support. Examples of help you might have given could include helping a friend or neighbour with childcare, encouraging someone to attend a group with you, volunteering for an organisation or sharing information about a service or project.

Q. Have you had an opportunity to help this person or organisation in the last six months?

Personal Details

We may want to contact you to discuss your answers. If you would be happy to give us permission to contact you further to arrange a short 1-1 interview, please complete your name and contact details below. If you do not want us to contact you for feedback, you can leave this section blank and press 'Next page'.

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, we really appreciate your help! Below is a list of your responses.

Please remember to click 'save interview' at the bottom of this page.

CONNECTION LIST:

The connection list will be a bespoke and unique list of people and organisations developed from the content of the SCMT Workshops and Police mapping exercises.

1. Freedom from Torture

2. Scottish Friends

3. Non-Scottish Friends

4. Neighbours

5. Family / friends living elsewhere in the UK

6. Family / friends living overseas

7. Local community organisations (e.g. Govan Community Project, Maryhill Integration Network, etc.)

8. Place of worship (e.g. church, mosque)

9. GP / doctor / health practitioner

10. Social Media groups (e.g. groups or contacts on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.)

11. Police

12. Staff at your children's school or nursery

13. Scottish Refugee Council

14. Migrant Help

15. Third-party reporting services (e.g. Amina, Bridges Programme, British Red Cross, etc.)

16. Lawyer / Solicitor / Immigration services

17. Maslows

18. Asylum Accommodation Provider (e.g. Mears Group, SERCO, etc.)

19. Refuweegee

20. Home Office

21. Housing Manager / Housing Association (e.g. Glasgow

    Housing Association, Loretto)

22. Community Leaders

Appendix 4: Semi-Structured Interview Guide (Police Scotland and Associated Services)

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule – Police Scotland and Associated Services

Aims of the interviews:

• To identify the people and organisations that refugees and asylumseekers reach out to for help;

• To understand the ways people's social connections may (or may not) influence interactions with Police Scotland and related services in their social networks;

• To understand the barriers hindering refugees and asylum-seekers from accessing and engaging with Police Scotland and associated services; and
• To understand the barriers hindering police personnel from effectively and meaningfully engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers;

Questions:

• Please describe your role with Police Scotland (or relevant organisation). • Do you know of someone who has really benefited from Police Scotland? Can you tell me about them?

• Do you know of someone who has not benefited much from Police Scotland? Can you tell me about them?

• If you were going to describe Police Scotland to someone who didn't know anything about it, what would you tell them?

• If you were going to describe [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops] to someone who didn't know anything

about it, what would you tell them?

• Do you feel that refugees and asylum-seekers trust Police Scotland? Why? How has this affected your work?

• Do you feel that refugees and asylum-seekers trust [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops] Why? How has this

affected your work?

• If you were in charge of the Police Scotland, what changes would you make? What would you definitely not change?

• How do you feel when you need to contact members of the refugee and asylum-seeker community?

• Do you feel that there are any communication barriers during these interactions? Tell me about this.

• Do you feel that your voice is heard outside by [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops]? Tell me about this. • Have you had any contact with outside organisations through Police Scotland? If so, which ones? How do you feel they responded to you?

• Do you have any other points to add? Do you have any questions for us?
End.

Appendix 5: Semi-Structured Interview Guide (Refugees and Asylum-seekers)

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule – Refugees and Asylum-seekers

Aims of the interviews:

- To identify the people and organisations that refugees and asylumseekers reach out to for help;

- To understand the ways people's social connections may (or may not) influence interactions with Police Scotland and related services in their social networks;

- To understand the barriers hindering refugees and asylum-seekers from accessing and engaging with Police Scotland and associated services; and

- To understand the barriers hindering police personnel from effectively and meaningfully engaging with refugees and asylum-seekers.

Researchers will be using individual maps generated by the SCMT questionnaire to support the development of unique questions. For example; 'we can see from your map that you do not trust 'victim support' – can you tell us why this is?/a little more about why you answered this way?'.

Furthermore, researchers will be probing about particular organisations that are associated/partnered with Police Scotland that have been identified in the prior SCMT workshops.

- Do you know of someone who has really benefited from Police Scotland? Can you tell me about them?

- Do you know of someone who has not benefited much from Police Scotland? Can you tell me about them?

- If you were going to describe Police Scotland to someone who didn't know anything about it, what would you tell them?

- If you were going to describe [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops] to someone who didn't know anything about it, what would you tell them?

- Do you trust Police Scotland? Why? How has this affected your life?

- Do you trust [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops]? Why? How has this affected your life?
- If you were in charge of the Police Scotland, what changes would you make? What would you definitely not change?

- How do you feel when you need to contact Police Scotland/speak to a police officer?

- Do you feel that your voice is heard by Police Scotland? Tell me about this.

• Do you feel that your voice is heard outside by [insert partner organisation here – as identified in the SCMT workshops]? Tell me about this.

• Have you had any contact with outside organisations through Police

Scotland? If so, which ones? How do you feel they responded to you?

• Do you have any other points to add? Do you have any questions for us? End.